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TEXT-BOOK

OF

CHURCH HISTORY.

BY

DR. JOHN HENRY KURTZ,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DORPAT; AUTHOR OF "A MANUAL OF SACRED HISTORY," "THE BIBLE AND ASTRONOMY," ETC. ETC.

VOL. II.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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TRANSLATORS' PREFACE.

THE present volume completes "Kurtz's Text-book of Church History." In preparing the translation, I was largely aided by the Rev. John Beck, A.M., of Easton, who consented to carry on the work during my protracted summer's illness, and to whom the last twenty paragraphs must be accredited.

This volume differs from the first in being a direct American translation from the original, instead of a republication of a foreign work. Its preparation, consequently, demanded a greater amount of labor than that expended on the first volume, but it was labor of a vastly more pleasant kind. And I cannot but hope, that the course thus adopted will receive general approval.

As the prosecution of the undertaking has necessarily brought me into closer intimacy with this Text-book, my earlier convictions of its great excellence have been fully confirmed. It would be hard to find a *text-book* in any department of literature, to equal it in lucid conciseness, and its admirable arrangement of the material on hand. In this respect it is a book which cannot fail to be welcomed by teachers and students, in all our institutions of learning, in which due attention is given to this important branch of knowledge.

The book possesses, however, another virtue, worthy of commendation. I refer to the courageous distinctness with which it assumes and maintains its theological and ecclesiastical character. Dr. Kurtz, of Dorpat, is a true Lutheran, and is not ashamed to let his book bear testimony to the fact. To many moving in

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a different Church sphere this may seem an objection, and they may especially complain of occasional partialities of statement into which his denominational preferences may have betrayed him. But such faults are fully atoned for by excellencies springing from the same root with themselves, and should be the less offensive because they may be so easily corrected by every intelligent student.

With but three exceptions, the author has been allowed to pursue his course uninterruptedly, and even then the brief corrections of what are thought misstatements have been thrown into brackets, easily distinguished from the author's text, or into a foot-note.

Those parts of Dr. Kurtz's history referring to the British and American Churches will be found somewhat meagre and defective. But its wants, in this respect, may be readily supplied by those into whose hands the book may fall.

It has been the single aim of the translators to furnish the English student and reader with a true and faithful rendering of the original, holding themselves responsible, not for the sentiments of the author, but only for the style and fidelity of the translation.

J. H. A. BOMBERGER.

PHILADELPHIA, December 13, 1861.

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THIRD SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

IN ITS

MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

§ 1. CHARACTER AND LIMITATIONS OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

In the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Germanic spirit, which, until then, had been under the tutelage and discipline of the Romish Church, attained to maturity and independence. It fully emancipated itself from the bondage of its master, who had become an ambitious oppressor, and had made every effort to suppress all independent attempts to secure ecclesiastical, theological, and scientific freedom — all movements in favor of evangelical reforms. In the primitive history of the Church, the person of Christ was made the centre of salvation, and the Holy Scriptures were set forth as the *source* of all announcements and knowledge of salvation. The development of Christianity was impelled in the *ancient* Church by tradition, in the *mediæval* by the hierarchy, in the *modern* by science. Tradition represents the continued agency of the *Holy Ghost* in the Church—the hierarchy represents *Christ's* supremacy over the Church. By the former the catholicity of the Church was developed; the latter protected the Church against the storms which arose amid the conflicts of the ancient and modern world, and secured its perpetuation. But both tradition and the hierarchy transcended their proper limits; hence upon modern science devolved the duty of leading men back to the fountain of salvation in Christ, and of the knowledge of that salvation in the Scriptures, that thus the truth might be sifted of falsehood, and that which was normal be separated from abnormal developments in the history of the Church. This happened in the Reformation. Not that science produced the Reformation, for it was rather called forth by deep anxieties for the salvation of the soul, against which Romish tradition had sealed the Sacred Scriptures, and Romish indulgences and justification by works

had barred faith in Christ. But the Reformation became the most zealous patron of science, because science furnished the means of discovering, establishing, and perfecting the principles of true reform. These principles were: the sole normal authority of the Holy Scriptures, and justification by faith alone, without any merit of works.

1. As the Romish Church, in opposition to the Reformation, clung to its peculiarities, both in form and substance, and even reaffirmed them, the occidental Church was sundered into an Evangelical Protestant and a Roman Catholic Church. And, as the principles of the Reformation were differently apprehended, Protestantism divided into two branches, the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. In addition to these three western Churches, and the ancient oriental Church, all which were based upon the common foundation of primitive catholicism, various sects arose which repudiated that catholicism, and set up for themselves. In consequence of these divisions and schisms, modern Church History exhibits varieties, activities, and rivalries, with good and bad fruits, such as no previous period presents. Another still more distinctive peculiarity of this age of the Church is found in the fact that infidelity, fanaticism, worldliness, and anti-Christianity have developed themselves in its course more vigorously, widely, and consistently, than ever before, so that an anti-Christian secular Church is seen in violent antagonism to the true Church of Christ. This progress of anti-Christianity has its ground in this: that, according to prophecy and historical necessity, the kingdom of darkness will develop itself parallel with the kingdom of God more decidedly and vigorously as it approaches its end, and thus become ripe for judgment. In regard to the duty of the Church to *extend its limits*, we find that, whilst the early Church prosecuted the work of missions among the Greeks and Romans, and the mediæval Church spread Christianity among the Germanic-Slavonian nations, the modern Church has engaged in the work of bearing the Gospel to countries beyond the ocean, so that, before the end of all things, Christianity may make the circuit of the earth.

2. Modern Church History clearly and distinctly presents four separate forms of development, by which its division into as many periods is justified. The main characteristic points of their distinction consists partly in the opposition between particular Churches, partly in the antagonism between faith and infidelity. The transitions from one period to another nearly correspond with those of the several centuries. The *first* period is the *age of the Reformation* (the sixteenth century), in which the reformatory German church-life was separated from the Romano-German, and their reciprocal relation became fixed. The *second* period, extending beyond the seventeenth century, was that of the general conflict between the leading particular Churches, and

exhibits their free, independent development. It is characterized as the *age of orthodoxy*, and of the supremacy of confessions of faith. In the *third* period, reaching to the commencement of the nineteenth century, infidelity, in the form of *deism*, *rationalism*, and *naturalism*, began to assert its authority. The *fourth* period, beginning with the present century, includes our own times. Revived faith, invigorated by its triumphant conflict with rationalism, branches out on the side of Protestantism, into latitudinarian *unionism*, and strict *confessionalism*, whilst the Romish Church mounts to the pinnacle of the most zealous *ultra-montanism*. Infidelity, also, assumes new and decidedly anti-Christian forms, in the shape of *pantheism*, *materialism*, and *communism*, and seems to wage a war of extermination against everything Christian in Church and State, in science and faith, in social and political life.

FIRST PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I. THE REFORMATION.

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A. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

§ 2. COMMENCEMENT OF THE WITTENBERG REFORMATION. (1517–19.)

No historical event so clearly and plainly displays a ruling divine Providence as the German Reformation. In its case, place, time, persons, circumstances, and relations, religious and political, all combined most wonderfully to secure, for the great work, a firm basis, a safe position, a healthy tendency, strict purity, powerful protection, general recognition, successful progress, and permanent results. There was a lively sense of the errors of the Church, and a deep and general longing after a reformation; and science offered it ample means to effect a reformation. The papal chair was occupied by a man as indifferent and indolent as *Leo X.;* and another, as foolhardy and shameless as *Tetzel,* vended indulgences. For the tender plant, there was provided a protector as pious, faithful, and conscientious, as honored and esteemed, as *Frederick the Wise.* On the imperial throne sat *Charles V.*, sufficiently powerful and inimical to kindle the purifying fires of affliction, but too much involved in political troubles to render a reckless and violent suppression of the movement either prudent or possible. Besides these, there were a great many other persons, circumstances, and complications, all which seemed to conspire, as by design, to strengthen and advance the cause. Then, finally, at the proper time, at the most desirable place, and amid the most favorable circumstances, arose a genius like *Luther,* in whom was found the rarest combination of all the gifts and qualities of spirit, mind, character, and will, requisite to the great work. He was, moreover, providentially trained for his high mission by the events of his life, and by being made to experience in his own soul the essential principles of the Reformation, and to make such proof of its divine power, that he felt irresistibly impelled to communicate to the world this most sacred and precious experience of his life. The great work began with the nailing of ninety-five simple *theses* to the door of the Wittenberg Cathedral, and the Leipsic disputation constituted the first prominent point in his history.

1. *Luther's Early Years.*—*Martin Luther* was born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483. After growing up under strict parental discipline, and amidst the wants and privations of poverty, he went, in 1501, to study law at the University of Erfurt. Deeply affected by the sudden death of his friend *Alexius*, he entered the Augustine monastery at Erfurt in 1505. In great distress for the salvation of his soul, he sought to quiet his conscience by fastings, prayers, and penances. But his temptations ever returned with new power. An old brother in the monastery, one day, repeated to the distressed and almost exhausted penitent the article of the creed: "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." It was a word of comfort to his soul. He was still more cheered by the counsel of his noble superior, *John Staupitz*, the provincial of the Augustines for Germany. He pointed out to him the way of true repentance and faith in the Saviour, who was crucified not for imaginary sins. Following his advice, Luther zealously studied the Bible, along with the writings of Augustine, and of the mystics of the middle ages. In 1508, Staupitz aided him in obtaining an appointment to the chair of philosophy in the University of *Wittenberg*, founded in 1502. This compelled him thoroughly to study scholastic authors. A journey to Rome, undertaken in 1510, at the request of his order, had a mighty influence upon his future course. Indignant at the blasphemous levity and immorality exhibited there by the clergy, and unappeased by the outward penances to which he submitted, he returned home. All the way back, these words resounded in his ears: "The just shall live by faith." It was a voice from God to his soul, and filled his troubled spirit with divine peace. After his return, Staupitz gave him no rest until he was promoted to the theological doctorate (1512), when he commenced lecturing upon theology, and also preaching in Wittenberg. Guided by the study of Augustine, he penetrated ever more deeply into the knowledge of the Scriptures, and of their fundamental doctrine of justification by faith; he attained daily to greater freedom from the trammels of scholastic formalism, and from those of mediæval pantheistic mysticism, by which he had, at first, allowed himself to be unduly influenced.

2. *Luther's Theses.* (Cf. *F. G. Hoffmann*, Lebensbeschr. Tetzel's. Lpz. 1844.—*Val. Gröne* (Cath.) Tetzel u. Luther. Soest. 1853. In reply: *H. O. Köhler*, röm. Geschichtsverdrehung, etc., in the Luth. Ztschr., 1855, III.—*J. H. Hennes*, Albr. v. Brandb. Mainz, 1858).—Pope Leo X. had authorized a general indulgence, avowedly to complete St. Peter's, but really to relieve his pecuniary embarrassments, and gratify his love of splendor. Germany was divided among three commissioners. The Elector *Albrecht of Mayence*, who was also Archbishop of Magdeburg (a brother of the Elector of Brandenburg), himself assumed the chief management of the commission for his provinces, reserving the half of the receipts for the liquidation of his own debts. Among the vendors of indulgences whom he appointed, *John*

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Tetzel, the Dominican prior, was the most scandalous. Attended by a numerous retinue, he travelled from place to place, and offered his wares with the most unexampled impudence and obtrusive publicity. Thus he set up in *Jüterbock*, near Wittenberg, and attracted crowds of purchasers from all directions. Luther discovered, in the confessional, the pernicious consequences of this disorder, and on the eve of All Saints' Day, *Oct.* 31, 1517, he nailed ninety-five theses (in Latin), "in explanation of the power of indulgences," on the door of the castle church in Wittenberg. Although these theses did not assail the doctrine of indulgence itself, but merely its abuse, their decided reference to faith in Christ as the only ground of salvation, involved the life-principle of the Reformation. With incredible rapidity the theses were spread over Germany, and indeed over all Europe. Luther connected with them a sermon for the people upon "indulgences and grace." The movement met with so much favour, that the friends of the old order of things were compelled to resist it. Tetzel publicly burned the theses at Jüterbock, and, with the aid of *Conrad Wimpina*, of Frankfort, prepared counter-theses, which he wished to discuss with Luther. A number of copies of these were bought by the Wittenberg students, and, in retaliation, burned by them; an act of which Luther highly disapproved. *John Eck*, pro-chancellor in Ingolstadt, one of the most learned theologians of his day, and a professed friend of Luther, wrote *Obeliscos*, in which, without naming Luther, he severely denounced the Bohemian poison. Luther rejoined in his *Asteriscos*. At first Leo X., in his self-security, regarded the matter as nothing more than an unimportant quarrel among the monks, and even praised Brother Martin as a remarkable genius. *Hogstraten's* cry of heresy he did not heed, but had no objections that the Dominican, *Sylvester Prierias*, master *sacri palatii*, should controvert Luther. His book was a miserable affair. Luther briefly and effectually refuted it. Prierias wrote a second more wretched reply. Luther's only answer to which was its republication. Leo then enjoined silence upon his unskilful advocate. — In May, 1518, Luther addressed a humble letter to the pope, and, in self-justification, added detailed *Resolutiones* upon his theses. Both were to be sent to Leo by Staupitz.

3. *Cajetan and Miltiz* (1518).—At length it was resolved, at Rome, to lay vigorous hold of the Wittenberg movement. The papal fiscal entered complaints against Luther, who was thereupon summoned to answer to the charge, in Rome, within sixty days. But, at the solicitation of the University of Wittenberg, and especially of *Frederick the Wise*, the pope committed the settlement of the matter to his legate, *Cardinal Cajetan*, at the Diet of Augsburg. Luther appeared and appealed to the Bible. But the legate wished to refute him by the testimony of the scholastics, and, after vainly demanding an unqualified retraction, arrogantly turned away. Luther made a formal appeal to the pope, and happily escaped from Augsburg. Cajetan now sought to incite

Frederick the Wise (1486–1525) against the refractory monk; but Luther's meek and cheerful confidence won the heart of the noble elector.—No good was to be looked for from Rome; hence Luther prepared, in advance, an appeal to a general council, which, however, the covetousness of the printer prematurely circulated, against the will of Luther. — In Rome, the unhappy issue of the diet was charged to Cajetan's unwise obstinacy. By a papal bull, the doctrine of indulgences was carefully defined, their abuse disapproved, and the papal chamberlain, *Charles of Miltiz*, a Saxon, a man of worldly adroitness, was sent, in 1519, as papal nuncio to Saxony, to confer upon the elector the sacred golden rose, and adjust the controversy. He began his work by severely condemning Tetzel, and approached Luther with the most flattering kindness. Luther apologized for his violence, wrote a humble, submissive letter to the pope, and, in order to do all in his power, publicly issued an explanation of the views ascribed to him by his opponent. But, notwithstanding these concessions, he firmly adhered to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without any merit of good works. He promised the nuncio to abstain from further controversy, provided his opponents also remained silent; these, however, did not comply.

4. *The Leipsic Disputation* (1519). (Cf. *J. K. Seidemann*, d. Lpz. Disp. Dresd. 1843. — *C. G. Hering*, de disp. Lps. hab. Lpz. 1839).— *John Eck*, of Ingolstadt, who had previously exchanged controversial treatises with Luther, had engaged in a dispute with *Andrew Bodenstein, of Carlstadt*, a zealous adherent and colleague of Luther, a professor and preacher in Wittenberg, and Luther himself had proposed a disputation between them. This was to take place in *Leipsic*, in 1519. But the vain Eck not only sought to attract as much attention as possible to the proposed disputation, but to involve Luther in the controversy. For eight days Eck debated with Carlstadt upon grace and free will, and with overpowering skill, boldness, and learning, defended Romish semi-pelagianism. Then for fourteen days he discussed, with *Luther*, the pope's primacy, repentance, indulgences, and purgatory, and sorely pressed him with accusations of the Hussite heresy. But Luther vigorously defended himself with Bible proofs, and became convinced that even general councils (like that of Constance) might err, and that not all Hussite doctrines are heretical. Both parties claimed the victory. Luther followed up the debate with several controversial tracts; neither did Eck keep silent. Other combatants also entered the field. The party of *Liberal German Humanists* had, at first, taken but little notice of Luther's movements. But the Leipsic disputation changed their views of the case. *Luther* seemed to them a second Reuchlin, *Eck* as another *Ortuinus Gratius*. A pungent anonymous satire, "Der abgehobelte Eck," which surpassed the Aristophanian wit of the epistolæ obscurorum virorum, was published early in 1520. It was succeeded by several satires by *Ulric von*

Hutten ("Die Anschauenden," "Vadiscus, oder die römische Dreifaltigkeit," etc.), whom Luther's appearance at Leipsic had anew electrified. *Hutten* and *Sickingen* offered themselves and their entire party, soul and body, pen and sword, to the service of Luther. Though this league with the Humanists was temporarily needful to the Reformation, it would have given a wholly false direction to the cause, had it not been, in due time, providentially dissolved. — The Leipsic disputation likewise led to amicable relations between the *Bohemian Hussites* and the German reformer; letters, gifts, and messages, were exchanged between them. But, on the other hand, Duke George of Saxony, in whose castle and presence the disputation was held, became from that time an irreconcilable foe of Luther and his Reformation. (Cf. *A. M. Schulze*, Herz. Georg. u. M. Luther. Lpz. 1834.)

5. *Philip Melanchthon.* (Cf. Melanchthon's Leben by *F. Galle*, Halle, 1840, and by *K. F. Matthes*, Altenb. 1841.)— There was a man present at the Leipsic disputation who occupied a prominent place in the progress of the Reformation. Born at Bretten, in the Palatinate, in 1497, *Philip Melanchthon* (*Schwartzerd*) entered the university at Heidelberg in his thirteenth year. Three years later he published a Greek grammar; in his seventeenth year he obtained the master's degree, and in his twenty-first (1518), at the recommendation of *Reuchlin*, a relative, was appointed professor of Greek at Wittenberg. His fame soon spread over all Europe, and attracted to him thousands of hearers from all countries. Luther and Erasmus both lauded his talents, his fine culture, and his learning, and his age pronounced him the *Præceptor Germaniæ*. He was an Erasmus of loftier power and nobler mien, a complementary counterpart of Luther. His entire nature breathed forth modesty, mildness, and goodness. With child-like simplicity he yielded to the power of evangelical truth, and humbly bowed to the more forcible practical spirit of Luther, who, on his part, however, gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God in raising up such a coadjutor for him and his cause. — Melanchthon wrote a report of the Leipsic disputation to his friend Œcolampadius, which incidentally fell into Eck's hands. This occasioned a controversy between them, in which Eck's vain self-exaltation, and Melanchthon's noble modesty, were equally manifest. His first participation in the new movement was in the form of an apology for Luther, issued under an assumed name.

§ 3. THE PERIOD OF LUTHER'S EARLIEST CONFLICTS AND STRAITS. (1520, 1521.)

The Leipsic disputation led Luther to assume an essentially more free stand-point. He was made to see that he could not stop half-way; that his great principle of justification by faith was wholly incompatible with the hierarchical system of the

papacy and its fundamental doctrines. But along with his violence and subjective one-sidedness, which he displayed in this period of his earliest conflicts and straits (1520, 1521), he still possessed sufficient considerateness to hold fast to the spiritual character of his reformatory labors, and to reject the carnal aid offered by Ulric von Hutten and his warlike associates, however thankfully he acknowledged their ardent sympathy. The position he then occupied, as well as the full height of his subjectivism at that time, are set forth in two papers written during the first half of the year 1520: "*An kaiserliche Majestät und den christl. Adel deutscher Nation* von des christlichen Standes Besserung," in which he razed the three breastworks behind which the papacy had intrenched itself, the supremacy of the pope over all temporal powers (its exclusive authority to interpret the Bible, and its sole right to convoke councils), and proposed measures for the radical improvement and reconstruction of the German Church, — and "*De captivitate babylonica ecclesiæ*," the main subject of which was the doctrine of the sacraments. He admits only three (baptism, repentance, and the Supper), and rejects the communio sub una, transubstantiation, and the idea of a sacrifice in the Mass. Some of his works of a more edifying character, also belong to this period, as the exposition of Galatians, the manual on confession, the sermon on good works, etc. The papal bull of excommunication incited him to more violent words and acts, and with heroic boldness he hastened to Worms, to render an account of his doings before the emperor and diet. The papal ban was followed by the imperial proscription. But as an exile in Wartburg he escaped from the hands of his foes and — his friends.

1. *The Romish bull of excommunication* (1520). — To reap the fruits of his imaginary victory, *Eck* had gone back to Rome, and returned triumphantly as a papal nuncio with a bull dated June 15, 1520, in which Luther was pronounced a heretic, his writings ordered to be burned, and he threatened with the ban, unless he appeared in Rome within sixty days. *Miltiz* made new attempts to compromise matters, which, of course, were unsuccessful, although Luther, to show his good intentions, gave them consideration, and proposed a basis of compromise in his tract — "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen," in which he shunned controversy as much as possible. He accompanied this paper with a letter to the pope, in which, with all its sincere expressions of humility, and reverence for the person of the pope, whom he represented as dwelling in the midst of a most abominable

Romish Sodom and Gomorrah, like a sheep among wolves, or like Daniel in the lions' den, there was no trace of repentance or retraction. It was easy to foresee, however, that neither papers would suit the taste of the Romish court. Meanwhile, Eck came with the bull itself. After its publication, Luther opened his assault upon it with three writings ("Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen," "Contra exsecrabilem Antichristi bullam," "Assertio omnium articulorum per bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum"), and renewed his appeal to a general council, which he had carefully prepared two years before.—In Saxony, Eck's bull only excited derision, but in Lyons, Mayence, Cologne, etc., Luther's writings were really burned. Then Luther took the boldest step of his life. Attended by a large concourse of doctors and students, invited by a placard posted on the black board, he burned the bull with the papal decretals on Dec. 10, 1520, at 9 A. M. This was an absolute divorce from the pope and Romish Church. He had thus rendered all retreat impossible. Hutten shouted approbation, and proclaimed in German rhymes a full catalogue of the sins of the Romish curia.

2. *Erasmus* (1520). (Cf. *W. Chlebus*, Erasm. u. Luth., in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1845, II.—*W. E. Eberhardi*, Warum blief Erasm. Kath., ibid. 1839, III.)—Thus far Erasmus kept on good terms with Luther; they cherished mutual respect and esteem. However diverse their positive tendencies, they agreed in opposing scholasticism and monasticism. Erasmus rejoiced in the defeat of an obnoxious monasticism, and persistently rejected all solicitations to write against Luther; neither did he care, as he confessed, to feel the rasp of Luther's wrath. When the papal bull appeared, he decidedly disapproved of it, and even expressed doubts as to its genuineness. As the oracle of his day, his opinion of the whole matter was often asked. He said, the papal decision itself was not to be condemned, but its manner and form. He desired an arbitration of learned and pious men, with three princes (the German emperor, and the kings of England and Hungary), to whose decision Luther should submit. *Frederick the Wise* also (before Luther had taken his boldest step) had consulted Erasmus, who then said, that Luther had made two mistakes, he had touched the pontiff's crown and the monks' bellies; he also regretted Luther's want of moderation and considerateness. The elector heard these declarations of Erasmus, not without approbation. The proposal to submit the case to an arbitration, also had its influence upon subsequent public measures against Luther.

3. *The Emperor Charles V.* (1519–20).—The Emperor Maximilian died Jan. 12, 1519. The Elector of Saxony, the regent of the empire, declined his election in favour of Charles I., the young King of Spain, Maximilian's grandson, who was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on Oct. 23. All hopes centered in the young emperor. It was expected

that he would place himself at the head of the religious and national movement in Germany. But Charles, who was a stranger to the impulses of the German spirit, and did not even understand the language, had interests which he was not disposed to subordinate to German politics. The German crown was but an integral part of his power; its interests had to subserve the general interests of the empire, on whose domain the sun never set. He considered the religious agitation in Germany important, but not so much in its religious as in its political aspect. It furnished him with the desired means of keeping the pope in check, and of compelling him to favour his interests. Charles demanded two things of the pope for the suppression of the religious movement in Germany: first, that he should renounce French alliances, and league with the emperor against France; secondly, the cassation of the previously issued papal breve, which ordered a reconstruction of the Spanish Inquisition—a main prop of absolute monarchy in Spain. Leo X. yielded to both demands, and thus the hopes of the Germans, that Charles would at length rid the nation of the ignominious Roman yoke, were frustrated. The compact between the emperor and pope was concluded on May 8, 1521.—*Charles* opened his first diet at Worms on Jan. 28, 1521. In February a papal brief arrived, urgently admonishing the emperor legally to enforce the bull against Luther. During a tournament Charles summoned the princes to his quarters, communicated the brief to them, and submitted an edict couched in strong terms, enjoining the execution of the bull. He desired them at once to give their assent. But he met with unexpected opposition. The States demanded that Luther should be summoned to Worms, under an imperial safe-conduct, to answer the charges made against him. They could not consider his assaults upon Romish abuses a crime, since they themselves had drawn up an indictment of 101 gravaminum against Rome, which they intended laying before the diet. Still they declared themselves ready to subscribe the edict, if Luther would not retract in regard to points of doctrinal dispute. Earnestly as the papal legate *Alexander* protested against a temporal diet affording a heretic the opportunity of a trial, the opinion of the Estates prevailed. An imperial herald was dispatched to Wittenberg to summon Luther to Worms under an imperial safe-conduct. Before his arrival, the confessor of the emperor, *Glapio*, a Franciscan, who was by no means a blind devotee of the Romish chair, sought to effect an amicable settlement of the affair. He thought if Luther would but retract the most offensive of his books, as that of the Babylonian captivity of the Church, and acknowledge the decrees of Constance, the whole case might be dismissed. He first laid this proposition before the Elector of Saxony, and after failing with him, sought *Francis of Sickingen* in the castle of Ebern. He embraced the plan, and invited Luther to a conference in his castle. But Luther did not trust Glapio, and declined the invitation.

4. *Luther at the Diet of Worms* (1521). (Cf. *W. Boye*, Luth. zu W. Halle. 2 A. 1824.—*Zimmer*, Luth. zu W. Heidelb. 1821.)—In the meantime Luther had not been idle at Wittenberg. He preached twice daily, delivered lectures, wrote books and letters, had conferences, and contended with opponents, especially with *Jerome Emser* in Leipsic, with whom he became involved in a long and odious correspondence in regard to his memorial addressed to the German nobility. The imperial herald found him in the midst of these various labors. He dropped everything, and obeyed the citation with courage and confidence. The fears of his friends in Wittenberg, the admonitions to return which were addressed to him on his way, he discarded with Christian heroism, in his usual vigorous manner. His journey resembled a triumphal march. He reached Worms on April 14, amidst a dense mass of people, attended by his theological friends, *Justus Jonas* and *Nicholas Amsdorf*, and the legal counsellor, *Jerome Schurf*. Soon after his arrival, on April 17, he was cited before the diet. He acknowledged the books laid before him as his own; in regard to the required retraction, he obtained time for consideration until the following day. In his subsequent declaration, he divided his books into three classes (those setting forth positive doctrines, controversial writings against the papacy and papal doctrines, and those directed against private persons), and gave his reasons, at length, for refusing to recall any of them. A direct answer was demanded. He gave this by saying that he would not and could not retract, unless it could be shown, from Scripture, or by other clear proofs, that he was in error, and concluded with the words: "Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helfe mir! Amen." He had won the hearts of many German knights and princes, but had not favorably impressed the emperor. Still, Charles spurned the suggestion to withdraw the promised safe-conduct from the heretic. Well-meant attempts, urging him still to retract, Luther met with the words of Gamaliel (Acts 5 : 38, 39), and on April 26, left Worms without hindrance. On May 26, after some of the princes (including the Elector of Saxony) had gone away, the papal legate succeeded, by various secret machinations, in having the imperial decree, couched in the severest terms, pronounced against Luther and all his adherents, and falsely antedated May 8 (*the edict of Worms*). But Luther had been safely concealed.

5. *The Wartburg Exile* (1521–22). (Cf. *C. Köhler*, Luth. auf d. Wartb. Eisenach, 1798, 4to.)—By the provident arrangement of the elector, two masked knights, with some servants, had surrounded Luther's carriage, in a forest near Eisenach, seized Luther, and, with seeming violence, borne him off to the Wartburg, where, dressed in the garb of a knight, and known as Knight *George*, he was directed quietly to await further developments. It was generally supposed that he was dead. But when Cardinal *Albert*, of Mayence (as Archb. of Magdeburg), reopened the sale of indulgences in Halle, he soon dis-

covered, to his terror, that the bold monk was still living. At the elector's request, he indeed kept back his tract, "Wider den Abgott von Halle," for the time, but in a letter addressed to the cardinal, peremptorily required him to cease the traffic within fourteen days. The archbishop succumbed, and wrote a mild apologetic answer. Luther also gave more public proof that he still lived, and was not inclined to keep silent, or change his course, by writings of an instructive or destructive character. He completed his exposition of the magnificat, sent forth the first part of his Church-postils, wrote "Wider den Missbrauch der Messen," "Von den geistlichen und Klostergelübden," etc. Nevertheless, he was greatly dissatisfied with the elector's precaution, by which, at such a time, he was withdrawn from active life. He would rather "burn on glowing coals than rot in such inaction." But this very involuntary exile rescued him and the Reformation from a ruinous downfall. Apart from the dangers to which the imperial sentence exposed him, and which might have compelled him to seek refuge with an Ulric von Hutten and his associates, which would have made the Reformation degenerate into a revolution — apart from this, the compulsory detention in the Wartburg was advantageous and important to Luther and his cause, in many respects. One advantage of it was, that men thus learned to distinguish Luther's work from his person; but a still greater advantage was that which accrued to Luther himself from this exile. His past life had exposed him to the danger of attempting to carry on the work by violent, stormy measures, rather than by considerate and positive means. The leisure of the Wartburg compelled him quietly and earnestly to examine himself and his labors, which he could not do amid the conflicts and perplexities of his public life, and the fanaticism of the Wittenberg iconoclasts, and prophets of Zwickau, which he could now observe and judge of calmly and without prejudice, showed him, as in a warning mirror, whither he too, and his work, might have been hurried. His theological knowledge, also, had not acquired that ripeness, circumspection, and clearness, which he needed to carry on his work, for he was still largely involved in subjectivism. At the Wartburg, however, he could turn from his work of demolition to that of building up, and by the undisturbed study of the Holy Scriptures, extend, purify, and strengthen his religious views. It was of special importance, also, that at the Wartburg he formed and partly (in regard to the New Testament) executed the plan of *translating the whole Bible* into German. His exile, likewise, by restraining his violent temper, and, by the inward temptations and conflicts he then experienced, served to humble him, to strengthen his religious character, and to purge and sanctify his entire nature.

§ 4. DEGENERACY AND PURIFICATION OF THE REFORMATION IN WITTENBERG. (1522–25.)

During Luther's absence, the Reformation had progressed, in Wittenberg, only too rapidly, and soon became entangled in the wildest fanaticisms. But Luther hastened to the scene, obtained control of the movement, and soon brought it back to prudent evangelical measures. The fanatics fled from Wittenberg, but only to carry on their revolutionary disorders elsewhere. At the same time, however, danger threatened from other directions. The religious movement started by Luther happened to be simultaneous with a twofold political agitation, the conflict of the German knights with the princes, and the insurrection of the German peasants against the nobility. The Reformation was in danger of being mixed up with these political movements, and of sharing their fate. But Luther stood firm as a rock against all temptations, and the dangers passed by.

1. *The Wittenberg Fanaticism* (1522). (Cf. *H. W. Erbkam*, Gesch. d. protest. Secten im Zeitalter d. Ref. Hamb. 1848. — *J. Hast*, Gesch. d. Wiedertäufer von ihrer Entst. zu Zwickau bis zu ihr. Sturz in Münst. 1835.)—An Augustine monk, Gabriel Didymus, preached in the Church of St. Augustine in glowing terms against vows and private masses. Thirteen of his Order left it together in consequence of his preaching. Two neighboring priests married. *Carlstadt* wrote against celibacy, and followed their example. At a monastery of the Order in Wittenberg it was resolved to abolish mendicancy and the mass. But this was not all. *Didymus*, and still more *Carlstadt*, so inflamed the people and students, that under their guidance they perpetrated the grossest violence. Public worship was wantonly disturbed, under the pretence of exterminating the "idolatry" of the mass; images were cast out of the churches, altars were broken down, and some desired wholly to abolish the clergy and theological learning. A fanatical spirit began to show itself simultaneously in *Zwickau*. At the head of the movement were two weavers, *Nicholas Storch* and *Thomas Marx*, and a literary character, *Marcus Stübner*, who pretended to divine revelations, whilst *Thomas Münzer* proclaimed the new gospel from the pulpit with glowing eloquence. Restrained in their operations by energetic civil interference, the Zwickau prophets went abroad. Münzer went to Prague; Storch, Marx, and Stübner to Wittenberg. There they proclaimed their revelations, and zealously denounced infant baptism as an institution of Satan. The disorder in Wittenberg daily increased. The enemies of the Reformation rejoiced; Melanchthon was at his wits' end; the elector was thunderstruck. Luther could endure it no longer. Against the elector's express command he left the Wartburg

May 3, 1522, wrote a heroic letter to the electors, availed himself of his knightly incognito at a hotel in Jena, and calmly indulged in cheerful fellowship (*John Kessler*), and soon after appeared publicly in Wittenberg. For a whole week he preached night and day against the fanatics, and soon became master of the storm. The Zwickau agitators left Wittenberg; Carlstadt remained, but kept quiet for a few years. Luther and Melanchthon labored steadfastly to lay a positive basis for the Reformation: Melanchthon had already made a beginning in Dec. 1521, by publishing his *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*. In 1522, Luther also published, against the wish of his modest friend, Melanchthon's *Annotationes in Epist. Pauli ad Rom. et Cor.* The same year Luther's translation of the N. T. appeared, besides many defensive and offensive reformatory writings.

2. *Francis of Sickingen* (1522–23). (Cf. *E. J. H. Münch*, Fr. v. Sick. Stuttg. 1827, 2 Bde.) — It was primarily a private feud, like those of the middle ages, which led Francis of Sickingen, with a considerable force, to invade the domain of the elector and Archbishop of Treves. But prospective interests of quite a different character were connected with it, and incited the whole body of knights to take part with Sickingen. Sickingen's opponent was a prelate and an avowed foe of the Reformation; he was also a prince of the empire. Sickingen assailed him in both capacities, and invoked co-operation in the name of religion and political liberty. The knights who thoroughly disliked the state of public affairs, and were dissatisfied with the imperial government and the court, with princes and prelates, joined him in great numbers. Sickingen eagerly desired to have Luther in the league, but Luther could not be moved.—Sickingen's enterprise proved unfortunate. The Elector of the Palatinate, and the young Landgrave of Hesse, hastened to the assistance of their princely neighbor. The knights were singly put down, and Sickingen died of a mortal wound immediately after the storming of Ebernburg (May, 1523). The power of the knights was completely broken. The Reformation thus lost a brave and vigorous protector, but escaped destruction.

3. *Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt* (1524–25). (Cf. *Max Göbel*, Andr. Bodst. v. Karlst.; in the Stud. u. Krit. 1841. — *C. F. Jäger*, Andr. Bodst. v. Karlst. Stuttg. 1856.—*H. W. Erbkam*, l. c., p. 174, etc.) — Even after the suppression of the Wittenberg fanaticism, Carlstadt adhered to his revolutionary tendencies, and with difficulty remained quiet for two years. In 1524, he left Wittenberg and went to Orlamünde. There he violently denounced Luther's popery, again assailed the images, and began to advocate his view of the Lord's Supper, in which he wholly rejected the doctrine of the real presence. (§ 13, 1). To check the disorder, *Luther* went to Jena, by direction of the elector, and there preached in Carlstadt's presence against the iconoclasts and sacramentarians. Carlstadt was greatly enraged. During a visit to

Orlamünde, Luther was greeted with curses and stones. The elector now commanded Carlstadt to quit the country. He first went to Strassburg, and tried to gain *Martin Bucer* and *Wolfgang Capito* to his side. Luther addressed a warning to the Christians of Strassburg, who endeavored to reconcile the two. Carlstadt next went to Basel, and issued still more violent tracts against Luther's "stupid and shallow literal theology." Luther rejoined earnestly, thoroughly, and severely in his "Wider den himmlischen Propheten von den Bildern und Sacrament" (1525). *Carlstadt*, meanwhile, had drawn the Swiss Reformers into his disputes, and they kept up the controversy with Luther. He himself became implicated in the peasants' war; then, through Luther's mediation, obtained permission to return to Saxony, retracted his errors, but soon again revived his old agitations; and, after wandering from place to place, became professor and preacher at Basel, where he died of the plague (1541).

4. *Thomas Münzer* (1523–24). (Cf. *Ph. Melanchthon*, Hist. Th. Müntzer's; in Luther's Works by Walch, XVI.—*G. Th. Strobel*, Leb., Schriften, u. Lehren Th. Müntzer's. Nüremb. 1795.—*J. K. Seidemann*, Th. M. Dresd. 1842.—*L. Köhler*, Th. M. u. s. Genossen. Lpz. 1846, 3 Bde.) — In Wittenberg, fanaticism had, happily, been subdued. But a great portion of Germany began to ferment with a kindred, but more general and dangerous agitation. The prophets driven from Wittenberg had not been idle, and persons of a still more fanatical and factious spirit strove to uproot all order in Church and State. Their leader was *Thomas Münzer*. After his expulsion from Zwickau he had gone to Bohemia, and became an apostle of the Taborite doctrines. In 1523 he returned to Saxony, and took up his abode in *Allstädt*. There he gained many adherents. The Wittenberg Reformation was as vehemently reviled as the papacy. Not the letter of the Holy Scriptures, but the Spirit should be made the principle of this reformation; not only all ecclesiastical but all civil institutions should be abolished, and reconstructed. The doctrine of the evangelical liberty of Christians was grossly abused, the sacraments despised, infant baptism reviled, and all importance attached to the so-called baptism of the Spirit. Princes should be driven away, the foes of the Gospel be extirpated with the sword, and all possessions be held in common. When Luther wrote a letter to the church at Mühlhausen, warning it against these fanatical measures, Münzer became furious, and issued a libellous reply, entitled: "Hochverursachte Schutzrede und Antwort gegen das geistlose sanftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg," in which he heaped upon Luther the most vulgar revilings, and sneered at his "honigsüssen Christum," and "gedichtetes Evangelium." Soon afterwards he was ordered by the elector to leave Saxony (1524). He went to the Upper Rhine districts, where he found a luxuriant soil for his factious schemes.

5. *The Peasants' War* (1525). (Cf. *G. Sartorius*, Berl. 1795.—*F. Fr. Oechsle*, Heilbr. 1830.—*Burkhardt*, Lpz. 1832. 2 Bde.—*S. Bauer*, Ulm, 1836.—*H. W. Bensen*, Erlg. 1840.—*W. Zimmermann*, 2. Aufl. Stuttg. 1856.—*W. Wachsmuth*, Lpz. 1834.—*J. G. Jörg* (Cath.), Deutschl. in d. Revolutionsepoche 1522–25, Freib. 1851; and also *K. Hegel*, in the kieler allg. Monattsschr. für Wsch. u. Kunst 1852, July and August.)—For thirty years the peasantry of the empire had been restive under oppressive political exactions. Twice, already (1502 and 1514), had conspiracies (called "Bundschuh," from their signal,) been formed and quelled. They now seized upon Luther's ideas of Christian liberty, and drew their own inferences from them; and when *Münzer* began to operate among them with his agitating and fanatical sermons, their perverted views tended more and more to decided communism. As early as August, 1524, an insurrection of peasants broke out in the Black Forest; but it was speedily put down. But, in the beginning of 1525, fresh disturbances arose, and assumed a much more dangerous character. The peasants reduced their demands to twelve articles, and compelled princes, nobles, and prelates, to concede them. All Franconia and Swabia soon joined the movement, and even many cities made common cause with the insurgents. Still *Münzer* was not satisfied with the result. The twelve articles were too temperate for him, and the compacts concluded with the nobility and clergy were not at all to his mind. Returning to Thuringia, he took up his abode in *Mühlhausen*, endeavored to stir up fanaticism in the entire country, and organized a general insurrection. Thousands were murdered with unmerciful cruelty; all the monasteries, castles, and courts, were attacked and destroyed.—Boldly as *Luther* had assailed the existing ecclesiastical powers, he just as firmly maintained civil authority, and preached that *the Gospel secured spiritual liberty, but did not subvert civil government and social institutions.* He did indeed sympathize with the peasants in their extreme oppressions, and, whilst their demands were limited to the twelve articles, he hoped the movement might be controlled by the power of the Gospel. The insurgents had declared that, if any of their twelve articles could be proved inconsistent with the Word of God, they would yield. When *Münzer* began his disturbances in Thuringia, Luther himself visited the towns most in danger, and admonished them to quietness and subordination. He was recalled to Wittenberg by the death of the Elector Frederick (who departed in peace, May 5, 1525). From Wittenberg Luther then addressed his "Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die 12 Artikel der Bauerschaft in Schwaben," in which he appealed earnestly to the consciences of the princes as well as the peasants. But as the factious malcontents still gained greater ascendancy, and cruelties were multiplied, he gave vent to his ire in the book entitled, "Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Bauern." In it he warmly called upon the princes to put down the Satanic rebellion by violent and effectual measures.

Philip of Hessen was the first to respond. He was joined by the new Elector of Saxony, *John the Constant* (1525–32), the brother of Frederick, and soon after by *George of Saxony* and *Henry of Brunswick*. On May 15, 1525, the rebels were annihilated at *Frankenhausen*, after a stubborn resistance. Münzer was captured and beheaded. In Southern Germany, also, the princes everywhere almost simultaneously obtained the mastery over the insurrection. A hundred thousand people perished in this war, and the most flourishing districts were laid utterly waste.

§ 5. LUTHER'S FEUDS WITH HENRY VIII. AND WITH ERASMUS. (1523–26.)

Cf. *Chlebus*, *l. c.* § 3, 2. — *Jul. Müller*, Luther. de. predest. et lib. arbitr. doctr. Gottg. 1832. 4to.

Henry VIII., of England, originally destined for the priesthood, always retained a partiality for theological studies, and was ambitious to be thought a learned theologian. This led him to enter the arena of controversy in defence of the Romish doctrine of the seven sacraments, against Luther's "Babylonian Captivity of the Church." In his book he treated the swain's son with the greatest contempt. Luther paid him back in his own coin, and dealt with his crowned antagonist as though he were an Emser or an Eck (1523). Henry, indeed, obtained what he sought; the pope conferred upon him the honorary title of defensor fidei. But Luther's plain dealing extinguished all desire to prosecute the controversy. He complained to the elector, who consolingly referred him to a general council. But this affair bore heavily upon the relation between *Erasmus* and Luther, who had thus far continued upon tolerably pleasant terms with each other. Erasmus, who was under obligations to Henry for many favors, became bitterly enraged against Luther for his unsparing severity. Hitherto he had declined all solicitations to write against Luther, so that many papists charged him with collusion with the heretic, and others said he was afraid of Luther's pen. All this incited him, at length, to come out against the reformer. He diligently studied Luther's writings, after obtaining papal permission to do so, and seized upon a doctrine, in discussing which he would not be required to defend Romish errors, but which he was least qualified to comprehend.

1. Luther's personal experience, associated with his study of Paul's Epistles and the writings of St. Augustine, had served to convince him that man was incapable of doing good, and therefore *not free*, and that

he could obtain salvation only through the free grace of God, without any personal merit. This persuasion, in his case, as in Augustine's, had led him to embrace the doctrine of absolute predestination. Melanchthon, also, had avowed the same view in the first edition of his Loci communes. It was upon this doctrine *Erasmus* seized in his Διατριβή de libero arbitrio, denouncing it as dangerous and unscriptural, and setting forth in opposition to it his own semi-pelagianism (1524). After the lapse of a year, Luther replied in the work: De servo arbitrio (in German by Justus Jonas: "Daz der freie Wille nichts sei"), exhibiting the power and confidence of personal conviction. Erasmus rejoined in his Hyperaspistes diatribes adv. Lutheri servum arbitrium (1526), in which he gave full vent to his passion, but without adding aught to the argument, wherefore Luther paid no further attention to his attack.

2. Among the most violent opponents and abusive villifiers of Luther and his cause, was the satirist, *Thomas Murner*, a Franciscan monk of Strassburg, subsequently of Luzerne (died about 1536). First of all, he issued a perverted translation of Luther's Babylonian Captivity (1520). To this he added slanderous productions: "Ain new Lied von dem Undergang des christl. Glaubens;" "Von dem Babstenthume wyder Dr. M. L.;" "An den Adal tütscher Nation, das sye den christl. Glauben beschirmen wyder den Zerstörer des Glaubens Christi. M. Luther, einen Verfiehrer der einfeltigen Christen," and many others of the sort. He also translated the book of Henry VIII., concerning the seven sacraments, and defended Henry in a tract entitled: "Ob der König uss Engellant ein Lügner sei oder der Luther." His principal satire against Luther is "Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren, wie ihn Dr. Murner beschworen hat 1522." It is the most important satirical production ever written against the Reformation. The author, it is true, does not take up the real nature of the Reformation; indeed he could not appreciate it; but its revolutionary, fanatical, and rhetorical element which then, already, followed at its heels, is chastised with uncouth but vigorous severity, and with the keenest wit (New ed. by *H. Kurtz*, Zurich, 1848). — Luther allowed the rude satirical reviler to pass unrebuked; but the humanist poured down upon him a very flood of scornful satires and lacerating lampoons.

3. The "Onus ecclesia," of Bishop *Berthold of Chiem-see*, published anonymously, at Landshut, 1524, bore remarkable *Catholic* testimony in favor of the Reformation. Appealing to the Apocalypse, he unsparingly depicts the corruptions of the Church, and argues for the necessity of a thorough reformation, if the Church shall be saved from utter ruin. He does not wish the reformation to be effected in the manner of Luther, whom he reproaches as the leader of a sect, a perverter of the Scriptures, and a seditious person, although he approves of Luther's views concerning indulgences; but he desires the work to proceed

from within the Church, and by its own proper organs. His book is the more remarkable, since the same author published a "Teutsche Theologey," four years later (Munich, 1528. Republished by W. Reithmeier, Munich, 1852), in which he attempts to ignore and conceal the corruptions of the Catholic Church (§ 19, 6), although it still contains traces of his previous views, especially concerning indulgences. (Cf. *Dr. Schwarz*, of Jena, in Galzer's protest. Monatsblätt. I. 210, etc.)

§ 6. DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORK OF THE REFORMATION IN THE EMPIRE. (1522–26).

At the diet of Worms, Charles V., to secure his election, had been compelled to assent to the establishment of an *imperial regency of the estates*, at Nuremberg, which exercised supreme authority during his absence in Spain. Although the Archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, and vicegerent, presided over this board of regents, a decided majority of its members soon became favorable to the new religious movement, and furthered it. Protected by the highest authority of the empire, and even in league with it, the Reformation found, for a time, no obstacles to its spread, and really made rapid progress. The Nuremberg regency, indeed, soon succumbed to the united efforts of its political opponents, among whom were many friends of the evangelical cause; but these only the more energetically sustained, by their personal zeal, the interests of the Reformation, which had lost an important support in the downfall of the regency. And their exertions were so effectual, that measures were vigorously urged for disposing finally of the whole matter, favorably to the Reformation, by a general national assembly of the German States, independent of the pope and council. But, in opposition to this, the papal legate, *Campegius*, induced the Catholic estates to form a league at Regensberg (1524), for the maintenance of the edict of Worms; against this movement, the evangelical party did not form their defensive league of Torgau until 1526. The general national assembly was prevented by the strict prohibition of the emperor, and thus the hoped-for union was not effected. But the decision of the diet of Spires (1526) gave all the estates the right of managing the religious affairs of their respective districts, according to their own judgment.

1. *The Diet of Nuremberg* (1522–23).—The regency of the empire opened its first diet towards the close of 1522. Pope *Hadrian VI.* was

represented in it by his legate, *Chieregati*. Leo X. had died in December, 1521. Hadrian (1522–23), the son of a Utrecht mechanic, after having been a professor at Louvain, tutor of Charles, Bishop of Tortosa, and grand inquisitor of Aragon, succeeded Leo X. He was a pious and learned Dominican, firm in his principles, zealous for the Thomist orthodoxy, anti-hierarchical in his opinions, and deeply lamented the secularization and corruptions of the Church. He ascended the papal chair with the determined purpose of restoring the purity of the Bride of Christ, yet of simultaneously suppressing the Lutheran heresy. At Nuremberg, his legate handed in a papal brief, which admitted and deplored the fallen condition of the Church, and promised a thorough reformation, but likewise earnestly insisted upon the execution of the papal ban, and the edict of Worms. A committee of the regency, selected for the purpose, submitted to the diet an opinion upon the overtures of the pope, in which they urged the immediate convocation of a general council, in some German city, at which the temporal estates should likewise be represented, and liberty guaranteed to utter evangelical sentiments; but they declared the execution of the edict of Worms to be impracticable, mainly on account of the admitted corruptions of the Church. Until the opening of the council, all controversy should be shunned, and the Word of God preached according to its true Christian, evangelical sense. The estates, who, on their part, had submitted a new paper, containing 100 complaints against the Roman court, adopted the report of the committee, with some slight modifications, as the decree of the empire.

2. *Spread of Evangelical Doctrines* (1522–24).—The *monastic orders* furnished the most energetic heralds of the Reformation. Their moral condition had become so corrupt, that purer spirits among them could no longer endure the foul odors of dissolution. All such, glad to catch a breath of the new life, sprang forth, everywhere, as the zealous evangelists of the purified doctrine. Foremost among them were the *Augustine monks*, almost to a man. This order likewise enjoys the honor of having furnished the first martyr to the evangelical cause (§ 8, 1). The Order regarded Luther's honor and reproach as its own. The *Franciscans* came next, by no means so generally, but with all the greater power and energy on the part of those who tore loose from their traditions. A spirit of opposition to secularization and moral corruptions had constantly, from the earliest times, exhibited itself. In numerous cases, this opposition had degenerated into fanaticism (Vol. I. § 98, 4). Now it assumed a true form. The two distinguished preachers, *Eberlin of Günzburg* and *Henry of Kettenbach;* the Hamburg reformer, *Stephen Kempen;* the fiery *Lambert*, the reformer of Hessen; Luther's friend, *Myconius*, and many others, had been Franciscans. But all the other orders yielded their contingents to the martial hosts of the Gospel, not excepting the Dominicans, to whom the Strassburg reformer, *Martin Bucer*, belonged. *Ambrose Blaurer*, the

Würtemberg reformer, was a Benedictine; *Urbanus Rhegius*, once a pupil of Eck, was a Carmelite; *Bugenhagen*, in Pomerania, was a Præmonstrant; *Otto Brunsfels*, a Carthusian, etc. The secular clergy also, in many instances, took part. At least one of the German bishops, *Polenz* of Samland, at once openly joined the movement, preached the Gospel even from the pulpits of Königsberg, and appointed men of like views to the parishes of his diocese. Other bishops, as those of Augsburg, Basel, Bamberg, and Merseburg, participated in the movement, or at least laid no hindrances in its way. The inferior secular clergy, however, furnished multitudes of advocates. In the pulpits of all the larger, and even in many of the smaller towns of Germany, Luther's sentiments were preached with the approbation of the magistrates; and where this was prohibited, the doctrines were proclaimed in the market-place and in the field. When clergymen were wanting to do this, mechanics and knights, even women and virgins, became missionaries. A distinguished lady, *Agnes* (Argula) *of Staufen*, married to *Grumbach*, having been urged to recant by a young magister, challenged the whole University of Ingolstadt to discuss the doctrines with her, upon the basis of the Scriptures.—Wittenberg was, and remained, the heart and centre of the entire movement — the gathering-place of all who were persecuted and banished for conscience' sake—the nursery and fountain of new advocates of the cause.

3. *The Diet of Nuremberg* (1524). — On Jan. 14, 1524, a new diet was opened at Nuremberg. Its first business was the continuance of the regency of the empire. As that had become decidedly favorable to the Reformation, the question of its existence seemed to involve that of the continued existence of the Reformation. Among its chief supporters were the arch-Catholic *Ferdinand*, who hoped, through it, to obtain the Roman crown; the Elector of Mayence, the author of the traffic in indulgences (who favored the regency because he hated its foes); the Elector of Saxony, who was really its originator, and the house of the Brandenburg princes. But the opposite party was stronger. It included the Swabian league, the princes of Treves, the Palatinate, and Hessen, who had triumphed over Sickingen, and the states of the empire, who, though agreeing with the reformatory views of the regency, were inimical to it on account of its fiscal measures and projects. The opposition acquired a new confederate in the papal legate Campeggio. Hadrian VI. died in 1523, and was succeeded by *Clement VII.* (1523–34), an illegitimate son of Julian de Medici. Clement was, in all respects, the reverse of his predecessor. A skilful politician, yet regardless of religious interests, he was exceedingly zealous to raise to its highest pitch the temporal power of his chair. Campeggio was the man for his purpose.—The opposition triumphed, the regency fell, and even Ferdinand, after long resistance, consented to its dissolution. A new regency was organized, which was but a shadow of the old one, for it had neither power, influence, nor inde-

pendence. Thus the Reformation lost a second important prop, and the legate, confident of success, insisted upon the execution of the edict of Worms. Then the evangelical party combined all their powers, especially the cities, and once more secured a majority. The states had, indeed, to acknowledge the legal authority of the edict; they also promised to maintain it, with the clause "as far as possible." But, at the same time, they insisted upon the calling of a council, in the sense of the diet of the preceding year, and resolved to hold a *national assembly at Spires*, in November of the current year, which should be exclusively devoted to the careful consideration and disposal of religious and ecclesiastical affairs. Meanwhile, as the preceding diet had enjoined, the Gospel and the Word of God should be preached in all simplicity.

4. *The Convention of Regensburg* (1524). — Whilst the theologians and diplomatists of the evangelically-inclined states of the empire were zealously engaged in preparing for the diet of Spires, a meeting of the adherents of the old order of things was held at *Regensburg* (June and July, 1524). In direct violation of the unity of the empire, partizan resolutions, with reference to religious and ecclesiastical questions, were there adopted, which, according to the decision of the Nuremberg diet, were to be discussed and acted upon by all the states at Spires. This was the work of the legate Campeggio. In the maintenance of the edict of Worms, he was joined, in Regensburg, by the Archduke *Ferdinand*, the *Bavarian* dukes, the Archbishop of *Salzburg*, and most of the bishops of *Southern Germany*. Luther's books were once more prohibited, and all subjects were strictly forbidden to visit the University of Wittenberg. Some external abuses were corrected, ecclesiastical imposts were alleviated, the number of festivals diminished; the four Latin Church fathers, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory, were declared standard authorities in matters of faith and doctrine, and public worship was to be conducted in the ancient form. The unity of the empire, thus rent asunder, could never again be restored.—Simultaneously, the emperor was wrought upon by appeals from Rome. The imperial and papal policy were still identical in interest; both the diets of Nuremberg, with their national tendencies, were offensive to the emperor; so that, as early as the end of July, an imperial proclamation was issued, calling the states to an account for their course, and prohibiting the contemplated national assembly, as a crimen læsæ majestatis, on pain of the ban and double ban. The states obeyed, the assembly was abandoned, and with it all hopes of a peaceable and organic development of Germany, as a united political power, vanished.

5. *The Evangelical States* (1524). — The evangelical states still persisted in maintaining their position as constituents of unity of the empire. Several princes, also, who had hitherto been indifferent or

neutral, now became more decided in favor of the evangelical cause. This was the case, first of all, with the young landgrave *Philip of Hessen*, who was led, by a conversation with Melanchthon, to devote the whole strength of his youthful energy to the service of the Reformation. The Margrave *Casimir of Brandenburg*, Duke *Ernest of Luneburg*, the *Elector of the Palatinate*, and *Frederick* I. of Denmark (as Duke of Schleswig and Holstein), in their several countries, also promoted the cause with more or less energy and decision. The ejected Duke *Ulric of Würtemberg* was also gained over, and his subjects, groaning under the Austrian oppressions, were already desiring his return. *Albert of Prussia*, the grand-master of the Teutonic Order, returned from the diet of Nuremberg, where he had frequented *Osiander's* preaching, with doubts as to the consistency of his office with the Word of God; and, during a visit to Wittenberg, did not take it amiss when *Luther* advised him to dissolve the Order, to marry, and to raise Prussia to a hereditary duchy. — But the *cities* took the most decided measures. At two large municipal diets, in Spires and Ulm (1524), it was resolved that the clergy should be sustained in preaching the pure Gospel, and that they should mutually aid each other in self-defence against any attempt to execute the edict of Worms.

6. *The Torgau Alliance* (1524). — The friends and foes of the Reformation had unitedly opposed the insurrection of the peasants, and with equal zeal (§ 4, 5). Their religious diversities had, thereupon, displayed themselves all the more decidedly. In July, 1525, Duke George had a conference at Dessau with several Catholic princes, and, soon afterwards, he ordered two citizens of Leipsic, with whom Lutheran books had been found, to be executed. The Elector of Saxony, also, made Casimir of Brandenberg promise, at Saalfeld, that he would adhere to the Word of God under all circumstances, and in the castle of *Grimmenstein* (subsequently called *Friedenstein*), Hessen and the electorate of Saxony pledged themselves to stand by each other as one man, in matters affecting the Gospel. A diet convened at Augsburg in Dec. 1525 could conclude nothing definitely for want of a quorum. A new diet was called at Spires, and all the princes required to be personally present. It seemed that it would bring matters to a point. Both parties zealously prepared for it. Duke George and several Catholic princes met at Leipsic. They agreed to send one of their number (*Henry of Brunswick*) to the emperor in Spain. He arrived most opportunely. Not long before, the emperor had concluded the peace of *Madrid* (Jan. 1526) with the King of France, whom he had captured in the battle of Pavia (1525). Francis I. had agreed to everything, because he did not intend to fulfil any of the conditions proposed; among the rest, also, promised to make common cause against the heretics. Charles believed that his hands were now free, and was resolved, before doing anything else, to exterminate the German heresy. Henry of Brunswick brought back a document from Charles in which

he strenuously avowed his purpose. But before its arrival the landgrave and elector had met at *Torgau* (Feb. 1526) and entered into an alliance to sustain each other in defence of the Gospel in Saxony. Philip undertook to induce the estates of Upper Germany to join the league; but he effected little, most of them having feared the emperor. The elector succeeded better in his mission to the states of Lower Germany. On the 9th of June the princes of electoral Saxony, Luneburg, Grubenhagen, Anhalt, and Mansfeld, met in *Magdeburg*, and all signed the Torgau league. The city of *Magdeburg*, also, which had in 1524 cast off the jurisdiction of its archbishop, Albert of Mayence, and made the Lutheran Confession predominant, was admitted into the alliance.

7. *The Diet of Spires* (1526).—The diet convened on June 26, 1526. The evangelical princes were of good cheer. On their escutcheons was inscribed: Verbum Dei manet in æternum. In spite of the opposition of the prelates, three committees (one of the electors, one of the princes, and one of the states) were appointed to deliberate upon the best means of correcting abuses. Of their three reports, that of the princes insisted upon a rule which should be equally binding on both parties, and thus, with all the existing diversity of evangelical views (Scriptura scripturæ interpres) possessed a conciliatory character (the Communio sub una, ex. gr. was left free, and the seven sacraments were retained). This report was received for further consideration. But just as the debates, the issue of which could be foreseen, were about to begin, the imperial commissaries submitted an imperial order, commanding that no resolution should by any means be passed, which proposed a change of any of the old customs in doctrine or worship, and that provision should be made for ultimate execution of the edict of Worms. At first this produced general consternation among the evangelical members of the diet, and many wished at once to leave, as nothing could be effected. On calmer reflection, however, it was noted how far back the order dated, for it was known at Spires that since its date the political circumstances of the emperor had greatly changed. For some time there had been serious misunderstandings between Charles and the pope. Francis I. had been released of his oath by the pope, and informed the emperor that he would observe none of the conditions of the peace of Madrid. Francis I., the pope, and all the Italian princes, had formed a league at *Cognac*, to which Henry VIII. of England also gave his assent. All Western Europe was leagued together to break the preponderance of power which the Spanish-Burgundy house had gained at Pavia, and the duped emperor found himself in a most difficult position. Could he still hold the views expressed in his instructions? It was probable that at Ferdinand's request the commissaries had kept back the paper, until the cause of Catholicism seemed lost in the diet, and the prelates urged them to present it. Thus at least their strange conduct was interpreted by the evangelical party. Their first

panic over, the states resolved to send an embassy to the emperor. But before they had started Charles anticipated their desires. In a letter to his brother he communicated a plan prepared by his privy-council, for the abrogation of the penalties of the edict of Worms and the adjustment of religious differences by a council. (But he advised his brother to delay the formal abrogation of the edict, lest the Catholic princes should be too much provoked). At the same time he asked for aid against his foes in Italy.—But as neither the repeal nor execution of the edict seemed advisable, nothing remained but to allow each state to do as seemed best in the respective territories. The diet therefore decreed that "each state should act, in matters relating to the edict of Worms, so as to be able to render a good account to God and the emperor." This was the birthday and legitimization of the territorial constitutions.

§7. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL EVANGELICAL CHURCHES. (1526–29.)

It was now not only the privilege, but the duty, of the states to arrange ecclesiastical affairs, within their territories, according to their best judgment. The next succeeding three years, therefore, form the period of the founding and organization of the evangelical state churches. Electoral Saxony set a good example. In imitation of her ecclesiastical constitution, the churches of Hessen, Franconia, Luneburg, East Friesland, Schleswig and Holstein, Silesia, Prussia, and a number of cities of lower Germany, were organized.

1. *Organization of the Church in the Electorate of Saxony* (1528–29). (Cf. *Æm. L. Richter*, Die ev. Kirchenordungen d. 16. Jahrh. Weim. 1846. Bd. I.)—Luther advised the elector to order a thorough *Church-visitation* of his entire country, in order thus to gain accurate information of its ecclesiastical condition. To this end, Melanchthon drafted a paper of "Instructions of the Visitors to the Clergy in the Electorate of Saxony," which Luther published early in 1528. In these the ministers were directed what and how to preach and teach. The instructions were moderate, but positive in tone. Controversy with the papacy was not encouraged. Reforms in worship were to be made with extreme forbearance. To guard against an abuse of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, the necessity of preaching the law, and the freedom of the human will, in matters of worldly righteousness (justitia civilis), was recognized. This modification of strict Lutheran doctrines exposed Melanchthon to the assault of some zealous adhe, rents of Luther (especially *Amsdorf* and *John Agricola*). But Luther reconciled these difficulties. — Thereupon instructions for the visitors themselves were prepared, in accordance with which they performed

their circuit in 1528–29. The entire territory was divided among four commissions, consisting of secular and clerical members. To Luther the electorate was assigned; to Melanchthon, another district. Ignorant or otherwise unfit clergymen were removed, but provided for. A large number of abuses were corrected; preachers and teachers of schools were carefully instructed how to discharge their duties most efficiently, and their future supervision was entrusted to superintendents, to whom, also, matrimonial questions were referred. Those who adhered to the old order, and would not accept of improvements, were "commended to God," but not disturbed; vacated benefices were protected against avarice, and applied to the improvement of churches and schools; those not yet vacated, were obliged to contribute their portion to the same objects. Various measures were also adopted for the erection of hospitals, the relief of the poor, and the founding of schools. The Constitution of the Church of Saxony, which resulted from this visitation, became the model for the organization of the other evangelical State Churches. The gloomy experience which *Luther* thus acquired of the incredible ignorance of the people and their teachers, led him to prepare his *two catechisms* (1529).

2. *Organization of the Church in Hessen* (1526–28). (Cf. *B. Denhard*, Gesch. d. Entw. d. Christenth. in d. hess. Ländern bis zur Theilung. Frkf. 1847.—*Martin*, Nachr. v. d. Syn. zu Homberg. Cass. 1804.—*W. Bach*, Gesch. d. kurhess. Kirchenverf. Marb. 1832.—*K. A. Credner*, Philipp's hess. K. O. Giess. 1852.—*J. W. Baum*, Franz Lambert v. Avignon. Strassb. 1840.)—As early as Oct. 1526, the Landgrave Philip, of Hessen, had convened the temporal and spiritual states of his territory at *Homberg*, for consultation in regard to ecclesiastical reforms. A reactionary attempt of the Catholic party quailed before the fiery eloquence of the Franciscan, *Francis Lambert*, of Avignon. He was a most remarkable man, and had been awakened by reading Luther's works, in his convent at Avignon. Not fully convinced, he started for Wittenberg, stopped on the way at Zurich, and engaged in a public disputation (1522) against Zwingli's reforms. Converted by his opponent, he left Zurich, passed through Luther's school at Wittenberg, and then, at Melanchthon's recommendation, went to Hessen. Lambert's spirit ruled the Synod. An organization of the Church was drafted, according to Lambert's ideal of a communion of saints, on a democratic basis, and with a strict church discipline, to be administered by the congregations themselves. But the inadequacy of this *Homberg scheme* was soon demonstrated, and, in 1528, the Hessian Church adopted the principles of the Saxon Church visitation. The confiscated benefices were appropriated to the foundation of the University of *Marburg* (1527), as the second nursery of reformed theology. Lambert became one of its first professors.

3. *Organization of other German State Churches* (1828–29). (Cf. *Rhesa*, de primis sacrorum reformatoribus in Prussia. Regiom. 1825–27.

—*W. Löhe*, Erinner. aus d. Refgesch. v. Franken. Nürnb. 1847. — *L. Wallis*, Abr. d. Refgesch. Lüneb. Lüneb. 1832).—Margrave *George*, of Franconian-Brandenburg, after the death of his brother *Casimir*, organized the Church of his territory, at the diet of Anspach (1528), upon the model of that in Saxony. Under the direction of its excellent recorder, *Lazarus Spengler*, *Nuremberg* united with George in introducing the organization adopted. The same was done in *Lüneburg*, at the diet of *Scharnebeck* (1527). *Ulric of Dornum* took the matter into his own hands in *East Friesland*, the ruler of the country not venturing to introduce a reformation of the Church there. In *Schleswig* and *Holstein*, the prelates made no opposition, and the civil government favored the change. In *Silesia*, both the princes of Liegnitz, Podiebrad's grandsons, and Margrave *George* of Brandenburg, who had estates there, cheerfully granted the request of the people for an evangelical constitution. In Breslau, the Reformation had long been predominant; and even the archduke, who, as King of Bohemia, possessed feudal supremacy over Silesia, found himself obliged to allow his states there the same rights which the diet of Spires had granted to the imperial states. In *Prussia*, the grand-master *Albert of Brandenburg* (the brother of the Margraves Casimir and George) had, with the approval of the Polish crown, become hereditary duke (1525), and gave to his duchy, with the cordial coöperation of both his bishops, a thoroughly evangelical constitution.

4. *The Reformation in the Cities of Lower Germany* (1524–31).— In the cities of Lower Germany there prevailed, even before the rise of the Reformation, a powerful effort to effect emancipation of episcopal and aristocratic rule. Hence their inhabitants, for the most part, embraced the Reformation with open arms. A characteristic feature of the work, there, is the surprisingly potent influence of Lutheran psalms and hymns. The Reformation was introduced into *Magdeburg* as early as 1524, and the Church there was organized by *Nich. of Amsdorf*, whom Luther sent thither. From 1525, *Martin Scultetus* preached and labored there with great success. In 1526, the city joined the Torgau alliance. In *Brunswick*, at the close of a Catholic controversial sermon (1526), the congregation began to sing: "Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein." In 1528, *Bugenhagen* went over from Wittenberg and organized the Church. In *Gosslar*, *Eimbeck*, *Göttingen*, *Rostock*, *Hamburg*, etc., the enthusiasm of the people for Lutheran hymns and doctrines carried the council with them, whether they would or no. In *Bremen*, as early as 1525, all the churches but the cathedral were in the hands of Lutheran preachers; in 1527, the monasteries were converted into schools and hospitals, and the cathedral, with its grounds, taken from the Catholics. Still more violent excitement attended the introduction of the Reformation into *Lübeck* (1529–31). Until then, the nobility, council, and clergy, had suppressed all reformatory movements, and expelled the evangelical

preachers. But financial embarrassments compelled the council (1529) to ask the citizens for extraordinary levies. They appointed a committee of sixty-four citizens, who constrained the council to yield one condition after another. The expelled preachers were to be recalled, the Catholic priests to be removed, the monasteries to be converted into hospitals and schools, and, finally, *Bugenhagen* was called in to frame a Lutheran constitution for the Church.

§ 8. MARTYRS OF THE EVANGELICAL FAITH. (1521–29).

Cf. *L. Volkert* u. *G. W. H. Brock*, d. h. Märtyrer d. evang. K. Erlg 1845. — *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens in d. rhein. westph. K. Cobl. 1849. Bd. I.—*Rudelbach*, chr. Biogr. Bd. I. H. 4.

The lands of the Reformation were early enriched by the blood of martyrs. Persecutions were begun, soon after the issue of the edict of Worms, by some Catholic princes, Duke *George* of Saxony taking the lead. He imprisoned, scourged, and banished Luther's adherents; and, in 1521, had a bookseller, who sold Luther's works, beheaded (cf. § 6, 6). Persecution raged most, however, in the low countries, the hereditary territories of the emperor, not connected with the German Empire (where, really, the first martyr's blood was shed, 1523), but also in the Austrian domains, in Bavaria, and in the territory of the Swabian league, especially after the conclusion of the Regensburg confederacy (1524). The peasants' war (1525), added fuel to the persecutions. Under pretence of punishing the insurgents, the executioners of the Regensburg confederates went through the land, and, along with the guilty, put to death many who were innocent of every crime but adherence to the Gospel. The decision of the diet of Spires fanned the flames (1526). The more cheerfully the evangelical states, on the strength of that decision, proceeded to organize evangelical Churches in their territories, so much the more zealously did the foes of the innovations inflict upon their evangelical subjects the most cruel persecutions. The forgeries of *Pack*, consequently, revived, and increased the spirit of persecution. In 1527–28, a church-visitation was instituted in Austria, similar to that in Saxony, but for the purpose of detecting and punishing heretics. In *Bavaria*, the public roads were guarded, to prevent preachers from going abroad into other countries; those caught were first fined, then drowned or burned in large numbers.

1. The first martyrs were two young Augustine monks, at Antwerp, *Henry Voes* and *John Esch*, whose heroic sufferings (1523) Luther celebrated in a beautiful hymn ("Ein neues Lied wir heben an"). Their example was followed by *Lampert Thorn*, the prior of the monastery, who was suffocated in prison. The same year, *George Buchführer* was burnt in Hungary, and, during the next year, a large number of scaffolds and stakes were erected, for Protestants, in Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia. The most notable of these was *Caspar Tauber*, who was beheaded and burnt in Vienna. Instead of the recantation he was expected to announce, he bore powerful testimony, from the pulpit, in favor of evangelical truth. Among later martyrs, *Leonard Käser* (Kaiser) holds a distinguished place. Impelled by filial love to visit his dying father in Passau, he perished there at the stake, with joyful courage, Aug. 16, 1527. A few months previously, *George Carpentarius*, an ecclesiastic, had obtained the honor in Munich.—The Swabian League, after the recess of Spires, revived its cruel executions against all who held evangelical views, under an order for the extermination of Anabaptists. In 1527, the Bishop of Constance had *John Hüglin* (Heuglin) burnt alive, as an opposer of the Holy Mother Church. The Elector of Mayence summoned the cathedral preacher of Halle, *George Winkler*, to Anschaffenburg, for having administered the Communion under both forms. Winkler vindicated himself, and was acquitted, but was murdered on his way home. This led Luther to write his "Tröstungen an die Christen zu Halle über den Tod ihres Predigers." — In *Cologne*, on Sept. 28, 1529, *Adolf Clarenbach* and *Peter Flysteden*, were honored with martyrdom, and the joy and steadfastness of their faith shone forth amid the flames.—In Northern Germany no blood was shed, but Duke *George* drove those who confessed the evangelical faith out of the land with scourges. The Elector *Joachim of Brandenburg* and his states resolved, 1527, zealously to maintain old doctrines and customs. Nevertheless, the Gospel took continually deeper root in his territory; and his own wife, *Elizabeth*, secretly read and admired Luther's writings, and, in her private chamber, even received the Lord's Supper according to the Lutheran mode. But she was betrayed, and the elector raged and threatened to imprison the offender. Disguised as a peasant, she fled to her relative, the Elector of Saxony.

§ 9. LUTHER'S PRIVATE AND PUBLIC LIFE. (1523–29.)

Cf. *W. F. Walch*, warh. Gesch. d. Frau Kath. v. Bora. Halle, 1751. —*W. Beste*, Kath. v. B. Halle, 1843. — *F. G. Hoffmann*, Luther als Gatte u. Vater. Lpz. 1845. — Apologetisches über Luther's Tischreden in d. Ztschr. für Protestantism u. K. Bd. II. H. 4. 5.

Luther and the prior, the last of its inhabitants, did not leave the monastery until December, 1524. In July, 1525, he married

Catharine v. Bora, of the monastery of Nimptsch. Although Luther was often prostrated by sickness, almost overwhelmed with business, and kept constantly sensible of the uncertainty of his life by the threats of enemies against it, he still preserved a cheerful disposition, and spent many happy hours in the circle of his friends, joining them in simple repasts, in singing, music, religious conversation, and harmless, though often pungent and lively jokes (cf. his *Table-Talk*, subsequently collected by *Aurifaber*). At the same time he cheered and aided, by his counsel and efforts, all who were in straits. By his unremitted literary labors, by personal intercourse with students and strangers who flocked to Wittenberg, and by extensive correspondence, he acquired and retained an extraordinary influence upon the spread and firmer establishment of the Reformation. By his *translations* and *expositions* of the *Scriptures*, by his *sermons* and *didactic writings*, his evangelical views spread among all classes of people. *German hymns* proved a mighty lever of the Reformation; by them a pure knowledge and cheerful confession of the truth were planted deeply in the heart of the nation. By translating or reconstructing older hymns, and by composing new ones of unsurpassed excellence, which he furnished at the same time with remarkably vigorous and beautiful tunes, Luther laid the basis of the incomparably rich and glorious hymnological treasury of the German evangelical Church. He labored, also, with special diligence for the improvement of *instruction* in the churches and schools; urged the establishment of new schools, both for the higher and ordinary branches of education, and insisted upon the importance of philological studies for the Church of pure Gospel.

1. The first *collection of spiritual hymns and psalms* appeared in 1524, with a preface by Luther. In the reformation of the *cultus*, Luther proceeded cautiously and with forbearance. In 1523, he issued his "*Deutsches Taufbüchlein*," and his "Weise, christliche *Messe* zu halten und zum Tische Gottes zu gehen," in which all allusions to a sacrifice were avoided, and the communio sub utraque was maintained. In 1524, he sent forth his tract: "Vom Greuel der Stillmesse," in which he directly assailed the *canon of the mass*, the central point of the Romish system. Finally, in 1526, he published his "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes," which was introduced into most of the churches of electoral Saxony. The *system of education* was especially improved by his impressive tract: "An die Bürgermeister und Rathsherren aller Städte Deutschlands, dass sie christliche Schulen

aufrichten und halten sollen." Besides his controversy with Erasmus and Carlstadt, against Münzer and the insurgent peasants, as well as against the sacramentarians of the upper countries (cf. § 131), he had, during this period, his dispute with *Cochlæus*, whose abusive assault Luther parried with his tract: "Wider den gewappneten Mann Cochläus, ein Bescheid vom Glauben und Werken" (1523). A papal bull, canonizing Bishop *Benno of Meissen* (died, 1106), called forth Luther's tract: "Wider den neuen Abgott und alten Teufel, so zu Meissen soll erhoben werden" (1524). In reply to a soldier who had doubts concerning the lawfulness of his profession, he wrote the small volume: "Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können" (1526); and, for sport, had some copies struck off, without the author's name, or that of the place of publication, and sent to Duke *George*. At the persistent request of *Christian II.*, of Denmark, he wrote a very humble letter to *Henry VIII.*, which called forth, from England, an extremely malignant and opprobrious answer. He quieted the triumphant outcry of his foes, that he had recanted, by his tract: "Wider des König's von England Lästerschrift" (1527), in which he again displayed the confident tone and fearlessness of his polemics. He fared no better in an equally humble attempt to reconcile Duke George, to which he was persuaded (1526). He continued to work, untiringly, at the *translation of the Scriptures*. The first edition of the entire Bible was published in 1534, by *Hans Luftt*, Wittenberg.

§ 10. THE REFORMATION IN GERMAN SWITZERLAND. (1519–31).

Whilst Luther's Reformation in Germany spread more widely every day, and became purer, stronger, and more fully organized, a similar movement was started in the adjacent country of (German) Switzerland. Indeed, its first symptoms were of earlier date (1516); but it did not make decided or comprehensive progress until two years after Luther came forward. The differently constituted peculiarities of its first and chief leader, and the politico-democratic current in which it moved, imparted to it a tendency differing from the Lutheran reform, in various respects. Most strongly did the opposition between them appear in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper (§ 11). As the Swiss view of this doctrine found favor in the cities of Upper Germany, the division spread into the Reformed Church of Germany, and, in spite of common interests and perils, hindered their common progress and co-operation (§ 13, 14).

1. *Ulric Zwingli.* (Cf. Zwingli's Leben von *Osw. Myconius*. Bas. 1536; *J. J. Hess*, Zürich, 1818; *Rotermund*, Bremen, 1818; *Schuler*,

Zürich, 1818; *J. J. Hottinger*, *Zürich*, 1843 [transl. by *T. C. Porter*, Harrisburg, 1857]; *W. Röder*, St. Gall, 1854. [Especially: *R. Christoffel*, Elberfeld, 1857.]—Zwingli's Works: *Gualter*, Tig. 1581, 4 voll.; *Schuler* u. *Schulthess*, Zürich, 1829, etc., 8 vols., royal 8vo.; *Usteri* u. *Vögelin*, Zürich, 1819, 2 Bde.). — *Zwingli*, born in Wildhaus, in the Toggenburg, on Jan. 1, 1484, a pupil of the learned humanist, Thomas Wyttenbach, in Basel, arose as a reformer, in German Switzerland, almost simultaneously with Luther. Unlike Luther, he was not led to greater purity and freedom of religious knowledge by any inward experience, but by classical culture, and a scientific study of the Sacred Scriptures. After serving the parish of Glarus as pastor for ten years, he received charge of that at Einsiedeln, in 1516. The miraculous virtues attributed to an image of Mary, there, attracted crowds of pilgrims. This led Zwingli to preach against superstitious reliance on good works. But he took a much more decided stand after *Jan.* 1, 1519, as a public preacher in Zurich, where he first learned of Luther's movements, and defended his course against Rome. But, from the beginning, Zwingli's reformatory measures diverged from those of Luther. He aimed at being not only a religious but political reformer. For several years he had strenuously endeavored to abolish the practice of hiring Swiss youth as mercenary soldiers to foreign powers. He maintained the struggle with this evil during his whole life. His political opponents, the oligarchy, who were anxious to retain this source of revenue, were consequently also his religious enemies, as, reversely, the democracy supported him. A still more fundamental difference was, that Zwingli had been trained for his reformatory work, not by convictions of sin, or spiritual struggles, but by classical studies. Justification by faith, therefore, was by no means so central and vital a matter, in his life and labors, as in Luther's case. He began his work, as a reformer, not so much with the purification of doctrine as the life-blood of all churchliness, but with external improvements in worship, order, and manners. Of the two anti-Romish reformatory principles (*material*, in opposition to Romish work-righteousness: justification by faith; —*formal*, in opposition to an unqualified adherence to all the traditions of the Romish Church: the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures), the *Wittenberg* Reformation gave most prominence to the material, the Zurich Reformation to the formal, principle. The former rejected only such things as were irreconcilable with the Scriptures, the latter every thing not expressly taught by them. The former proceeded cautiously and forbearingly in changing forms of worship and external customs; the latter was destructive, impetuous, and violent. Luther retained images, altars, the ornaments of churches, and the sacerdotal character of public worship, simply pruning off its unevangelical excrescenses and deformities; Zwingli rejected all, unconditionally, as idolatry, and even abolished organs and bells. Despite the one-sided prominence given by Zwingli to his formal principle, he

often did violence to the Scriptures; for he approached them externally, and explained them according to his subjective judgment, and called Luther's real submission to them servitude to their letter! Luther acknowledged no operation of the Spirit, excepting through the Word and the Sacraments; Zwingli severed the influence of the Spirit from these instruments, and held that he could operate immediately upon the heart. He regarded the sacraments as only commemorative signs; in the doctrine of the person of Christ, he verged towards Nestorianism, by denying that the human nature of Christ participated in the divine predicates. For him, justification by the merits of Christ alone was less of positive than of negative (in opposition to Romish work-righteousness) importance, for, in original sin, he saw only a moral disease, which, of itself, did not constitute sin; and his views of the essence of virtue were so superficial, that he ranked even heathen, like Socrates and Cato, without further qualifications, in the communion of saints. Along with this, his speculations led him to adopt a *fatalistic* predestination, which deprives the will of moral freedom, as over against divine *providence*. — Luther was right in subsequently saying to Zwingli: "Ihr habt einen andern Geist, denn wir." — (Cf. *E. Zeller*, das theol. System Zwingli's. Tübg. 1853. — *Chr. Sigwart*, Ulr. Zw. Der Char. sr. Theol. mit bes. Rücks. auf Pic. v. Mirandola. Stuttg. 1855. [See, also, *Ebrard's* Lehre v. heil. Abendm., for a complete refutation of the above, and *Zwingli no Radical*, in the Mercersburg Review, 1849, p. 263, etc. — *Tr.*]

2. *The Reformation in Zurich* (1519–25). (Cf. *Sal. Hess*, Urspr. Gang, etc., der durch Zw. in Z. bewirkt. Ref. Zürich, 1820.)—In Switzerland, also, a seller of indulgences, *Bernard Sampson*, prosecuted his scandalous business. At Zwingli's instigation, the gates of Zurich were closed against him. Soon afterwards (1520) the council granted the priests and preachers of the city and territory the privilege of preaching according to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament alone. All this took place under the eyes of two papal nuncios, then in Zurich—and yet it went unpunished, for the Roman court was then too intent upon procuring troops for a papal army, designed for the conquest of Milan. Nevertheless, a large annuity was offered to Zwingli, if he would cease to preach against the Pope. He rejected the offer, and went forward on his reformatory course. Under the continued forbearance of Rome, the new views took deeper root. During Lent, 1522, the people of Zurich unscrupulously ate meat and eggs. Then first did the bishop (of Constance) adopt corrective measures; the opponents of reform in the city and council also roused themselves. At this time, *Francis Lambert*, of Avignon (§ 7, 2), came to Zurich. He preached against the innovations, had a public debate with Zwingli in July, and declared himself vanquished and convinced. Zwingli's opponents had reckoned confidently upon Lambert's eloquence and dialectic skill. The unexpected result of the disputation produced

the greater effect. The council changed the permission to preach the pure Gospel into a command to do so. Against this the adherents of Rome protested. A public *disputation* was therefore appointed in Feb., 1523. *John Faber*, a former friend of Zwingli, but who had totally changed his views, after a visit to Rome, and had been made vicar-general of the Bishop of Constance, undertook the defence of old doctrines and customs against Zwingli. Having let himself be drawn into the Scriptural argument, he was defeated. The clergy now began to marry, and the monasteries were forsaken. Violent assaults were made upon the mass, and the worship of images and saints. The council resolved to have the question concerning images decided by another disputation, in Oct., 1523. *Leo Juda*, pastor of St. Peter's, in Zurich, discussed the worship of images; *Zwingli*, the mass; and they met with scarcely any opposition. At Whitsuntide, 1524, the council ordered all images to be removed from the churches, the frescoes to be cut out, and the walls to be painted white. The playing of organs and ringing of bells were likewise to be abolished, because they were connected with superstitions. A new, purely Scriptural formula of baptism was introduced, and, finally, the mass abolished (1525). At Easter, 1525, Zwingli administered a love-feast, at which the bread was carried about in wooden trays, and the wine was drunk from wooden cups. Thus he thought he had restored the Lord's Supper to its apostolic Christian simplicity!

3. *The Reformation in Basel* (1520–25). (Cf. Œcolampad's Leben, by *Grynaeus*, Bas. 1536.—*Sal. Hess*, Zurich, 1793.—*J. J. Herzog*, Bas. 1843, 2 Bde.—[*K. R. Hagenbach*, Elberfeld, 1859.]—*Burckhard*, die Ref. in Basel. Bas. 1818.)—*Wolfgang Fabricius Capito* (Köpflin) and *Caspar Hedio* early began to preach the Gospel in Basel. But, before they could lay a firm foundation, they obeyed a call to Mayence (1520), and soon afterwards went to Strassburg. Their work was carried on with zeal and success by William Röublin. He preached against the mass, purgatory, and the worship of images, often to four thousand hearers. At Corpus Christi, instead of relics, which he ridiculed as dead men's bones, he carried a Bible before him. He was banished, and subsequently joined the Anabaptists. A new epoch for Basel opened with 1523. *John Hausschein* or *Œcolampadius*, of Weinsberg, in Franconia (Zwingli's Melanchthon), preached in Basel, as early as 1516. Then he accepted a call to the cathedral in Augsburg, but, in the course of a year, withdrew to a monastery of St. Bridget, in Augsburg. There he studied Luther's writings, and, being persecuted for this, he took refuge in the castle of Sickingen, where he officiated for a season as chaplain. After Sickingen's overthrow, he fled to Basel (1523), became preacher at St. Martin's, and professor in the university. A circle of young men, awakened by him, soon gathered around him, and energetically sustained him in his reformatory labors. They baptized in German, administered the eucharist in both forms, and

were untiring in their preaching. In 1524, the council gave all monks and nuns liberty to quit the monastery. *William Farel*, of Dauphinè, a refugee from France, whom Œcolampadius kindly received, remained several months in Basel (1524), and rendered important service in furthering the Reformation. In February, he had a public disputation with the opponents of the cause. The university and bishop had forbidden it, but the council was only the more intent upon it. Its result gave a mighty impulse to the Reformation.

4. *The Reformation in other Cantons* (1520–25). (Cf. *Stierlein*, die Ref. in Bern. Bern. 1827.—*S. Fischer*, d. Ref. in Bern. 1827.—*J. Kuhn*, die Reformatoren Berns. Bern. 1828.—*M. Kirchhofer*, B. Haller's Leben. Zürich. 1828.—*C. Grüneisen*, Nicl. Manuel, Leb. u. Wirk. eines Malers, Dichters, Kriegers, Staatsm. u. Ref. Stuttg. 1837.)—From 1518, *Berchtold Haller*, of Rothweil, in Swabia, with *Francis Kolb* and *Sebast. Meyer*, labored in Bern as political and religious reformers, in harmony with Zwingli. As an auxiliary to their preaching, *Nicholas Manuel*, poet and painter, wrote and issued satirical plays for the carnival ("Der Todtenfresser," 1522; "Die Krankheit der Messe," 1526, etc.). In 1523, the council authorized the monks and nuns to leave the monastery; some left and married. The opposite party called upon *John Heim*, a Dominican, to defend their cause in the city (1524). A violent controversy arose between him and the Franciscan, *Sebastian Meyer*, and the council expelled both from the city. Thus *Haller* alone remained. But he was vigilant, and the cause progressed.—In *Mühlhausen*, where Ulric v. Hutten had found refuge in his last days, the council issued an ordinance (1524) which gave free course to the Reformation; in *Biel*, also, it was admitted without restriction. In Eastern Switzerland, *St. Gall* distinguished itself for zeal in the cause, under the lead of its burgomaster, *Vadian*. *John Kessler* (§ 4, 1) preached the Gospel in the corporation hall of Sattlerschurz, and *Balth. Hubmeier* from the pulpit. Hubmeier afterwards fell over to the Anabaptists. In *Schaffhausen*, the Catholics put forward *Erasmus* Ritter in a disputation with the Reformed preacher, *Sebast. Hofmeister*. Ritter acknowledged his defeat, and thenceforth coöperated with Hofmeister. In *Valais*, *Thomas Plater*, the original and learned rope-maker (afterwards rector of the high-school of Burg), was active in preparing the way for the Reformation. In *Appenzel* and *Glarus* also, as well as in the confederate cantons, the cause everywhere progressed.—In the interior, on the contrary, the nobility, clinging to their pensions, resisted; the mountain people also, whose idea of religion consisted of pilgrimages, images, and saints, persistently opposed all innovations. *Luzerne*, at the head of the original cantons, and *Freiburg* in the West, were the chief bulwarks of popery in Switzerland.

5. *Anabaptist Disorders.*—Although the Reformers in Switzerland

carried their operations to greater extremes, a multitude of fanatical ultraists sprang up, who thought that far too little was done. Among them, also, *Anabaptism* was the symbol of those fanatical, spiritualistic, communistic movements which first overran Zwickau. Their chief leaders in Switzerland were *Lewis Hetzer*, *Conrad Grebel*, *Felix Manz*, *Balth. Hubmeier*, and *Stephen Stöhr*. They began their disorders in Zoltikon, near Zurich. Hubmeier, on Easter-eve (1525), held a council of Anabaptists at Waldshut. The district of Basel, where Thomas Münzer had been uprooting the soil, now arose in open clamors against the city. In St. Gall, alone, there were 800 Anabaptists. At Zwingli's urgent advice, Zurich adopted thorough measures against them. Many were banished, some were drowned without mercy. Bern, Basel, at St. Gall, followed this example.

6. *The Disputation at Baden* (1526). — At the public assemblies, the anti-reform party of the oligarchs, whose spirit of opposition was sustained by their fear of losing their annuities, was still predominant. *John Faber*, of Constance, was the soul of the party. Zurich was repeatedly required to abstain from the innovations. At the assembly of 1525, it declared itself ready to comply, as soon as they were refuted by the Scriptures. The oligarchs could not evade the demands for a disputation; but, in spite of all protests, they appointed it in the strictly Catholic *Baden*. The contestants and representatives of the cantons, and bishops, met there in May, 1526. *Faber* again stood at the head of the papists, but wisely committed the defence to *Eck* of Ingolstadt, who had offered his services. Opposed to him were *Haller*, of Berne, and *Œcolampadius*, of Basel. The Reformed party was treated most shamefully, whilst every honor and advantage was shown the Catholics. *Eck*, it was said, bathed in Baden, but in wine. *Zwingli* was not there; the council of Zurich had forbid his going; but *Thomas Plater* sent him a daily account of the proceedings. *Eck's* theses were discussed one by one; this took eight days. Eck's boisterousness drowned Œcolampadius' weak voice; but the calm self-possession of the latter had an imposing effect. At the close, *Thomas Murner* (§ 5, 2), the monk of Luzerne, arose and read forty abusive articles against Zwingli. Œcolampadius, and ten of his friends, persevered to the end in rejecting Eck's theses; all the rest subscribed them. The assembly pronounced the Reformers heretics, and called upon the respective cantons to banish them.

7. *The Disputation at Berne* (1528). (Cf. *S. Fischer*, Gesch. d. Disp. zu Berne. Berne, 1828.) — *Berne* and *Basel* were highly offended at the indignity done to their deputies at Baden. The democratic element, which was on the side of the Reformers, was increasing in strength. *Berne* grew weary of the distraction. A *solemn disputation* was therefore instituted, to which deputies were invited from all parts, who should decide the matter. It took place on January 7–27, 1528.

Zwingli was present. On the Catholic side there were no competent debaters, and they were completely defeated. Every trace of Catholicism, in worship and discipline, was then exterminated. The various institutions and monasteries were secularized; preachers made their oath of office to the civil rulers. Some violent measures attended the abolition of images. The valuable organ, in the church of St. Vincent, was stamped to pieces under the rough heels of the iconoclasts. The political reformation progressed simultaneously with that of religion, and all annual stipends were recalled.

8. *Complete Triumph of the Reformation in Basel, St. Gall, and Schaffhausen* (1529).—The burgomaster, *Vadian*, brought back tidings of the triumphant issue of the Berne disputation to *St. Gall*. This was the death-blow to the Catholic party. As early as 1528, though not without some iconoclastic excesses, the Reformation gained sole sway.—In *Basel* the council was divided, hence its measures were partial and wavering. On Good Friday, some citizens (without the knowledge of Œcolampadius) destroyed the images in St. Martin's Church. They were imprisoned for it. But an insurrection of the citizens compelled the council to release them, and to grant the Reformed the unconditional use of several churches, from which, of course, all images were removed. In December, 1528, the guilds presented a petition, couched in the most moderate terms, for the entire abolition of "idolatry." The Catholic party took up arms; the Reformed followed their example; a civil war threatened. The council succeeded in quelling the disturbance by appointing another public disputation, after which the whole matter was to be decided by a vote of the citizens. But the Catholic minority protested so energetically against this, that the council again had recourse to half-way measures. The dissatisfaction of the Reformed exploded in a fearful destruction of images, on Shrove Tuesday, 1529. Great piles of broken images and altars were burnt. The strictly Catholic members of the council fled, and the rest had to yield to the will of the burghers. Erasmus, also (Vol. I., § 120, 3), escaped.—In *Schaffhausen*, likewise, dissensions prevailed until 1529. But the course of things in Berne and Basel hastened the victory of the new measures. Here the drama ended very cheerily with a double marriage. The Abbot of All-Saints married a nun, and Erasmus Ritter married a sister of the abbot. The images were removed without a tumult, and the mass abolished.

9. *The First Peace of Cappel* (1529). — The Catholic party had retained the ascendency in the five primitive cantons. They were as unwilling to lose the annuities, and the right of engaging in foreign military service, as to give up the mass and saints, and sanguinarily punished every attempt to smuggle the new doctrine into their territories. But they wished to have their measures carried out in all the allied bailiwicks. Zurich and Berne resolved no longer to endure this.

As, moreover, Unterwalden had, under these circumstances, been guilty of publicly violating the peace of the confederacy, and was sustained by the other four cantons, the burgher cities threatened serious vengeance against this infraction. The forest cities turned to Austria, the old hereditary foe of Swiss liberty, and, in the beginning of 1529, concluded a formal treaty with King Ferdinand, at Insbrück, pledging reciprocal aid in matters of faith. Emboldened by this treaty, they increased their persecutions of the Reformed, nailed the escutcheons of the burgher cities to the gallows, and burnt alive a Zurich preacher, *Jacob Keyser*, whom they took on the highway, in neutral territory. Then the Zurichers broke out. With their decided preponderance, they might easily have put down the five cantons, and thus have opened all Switzerland to the Reformation; and Zwingli urged this course. But Berne was jealous of Zurich's growing power, and even many Zurichers, fearing war, were inclined to negotiate for peace with their confederated brethren. This led to the *First Peace of Cappel*, Nov. 16, 1529. The five cantons gave up the deed of confederation with Austria, which the mediators immediately tore in pieces; they agreed to pay the costs of the war, and conceded that, in the bailiwicks, each congregation should decide by vote upon matters of faith. In regard to preaching the Gospel, it was agreed that neither party would disturb the faith of the other. The matter of foreign pensions was adroitly evaded. Thus, much was gained, but less than Zwingli desired. On the basis of this peace, Thurgovia, Baden, Schaffhausen, Solothurn, Neuenburg, Toggenburg, etc., did away with the mass, images, and altars.

10. *The Second Peace of Cappel* (1531). — Even after the peace, the five cantons continued stubborn in excluding and persecuting the Reformed, and formed a new alliance with Austria. At the diet, by the old laws of confederacy, they still had the preponderance; a fact which stood in glaring contrast with the actually much greater preponderance of the burgher cities. Zurich, therefore, insisted upon a reorganization of the confederacy. On the other hand, the forest cantons treated the Reformed with greater cruelty. Then Zurich decided, forthwith, to seize arms; but Berne carried a decree to punish the forest cantons by cutting off all intercourse with them. This measure, however, totally failed. It excited, in those cantons, the greatest indignation and anger, not against their stubborn rulers, as the Bernese hoped, but against their unmerciful oppressors, so that the people only clung the more closely to their governments. At the diet of *Luzerne*, the five cantons resolved (Sept., 1531) to save themselves from perishing with hunger, by immediately renewing the war. By carefully guarding the borders, they kept their resolution and preparations so secret, that no tiding thereof reached the burgher cities. These, conscious of their greater strength, were therefore wholly unprepared, when suddenly, Oct. 9, an army of 8000 men, breathing vengeance, invaded the territory of

Zurich. Zurich hastily collected a force of 2000 men, which met the foe at *Cappel*, Oct. 11, and was wellnigh annihilated. *Zwingli was among the slain.* His body was quartered, burned, and his ashes scattered to the winds. Zurich and Berne soon brought to the field an army of 20,000 men; but the courage and audacity of the enemy had increased, whilst the defeat of Cappel had robbed the Reformed of confidence and hope. They attacked the enemy, intrenched at Baar, near the Zug mountain, but were repulsed with great loss. The season was against them, and, what was worse, they were disheartened. Hence, when the forest cantons reassumed the offensive, the other party submitted to the scandalous *Second Peace of Cappel* (1531), which, whilst it guaranteed them liberty to maintain the Reformation in their own territories, gave to the five cantons the right of restoring Catholicism in the bailiwicks. The Reformed had to defray the costs of the war, and to surrender their deed of confederacy with Strassburg, Constance, and Hessen. A restoration of Catholicism was now begun. The Catholic minority, till then kept down, was active on all sides, and carried its measures more or less triumphantly through in many places. Thus in Aargau, Thurgovia, Rheinthal, Sollure, Glarus, Rapperschwyl, St. Gall, etc.

§ 11. THE SACRAMENTARIAN CONTROVERSY. (1525–29).

Cf. (*Selnecker u. Chemintez*), Hist. d. Sacramentstreites. Lpz. 1591. —*V. E. Löscher*, ausf. hist. motuum Zw. Luth. u. Ref. 2. A. Frkf. u. Lpz. 1722, etc.—*M. Göbel*, Luther's Abendmahlslehre vor u. in der Streite mit Karlstadt; in d. Studd. u. Kritt. 1843, III.—Ib., Karlstadt's Abendmahlslehre, id. 1842, II.—*J. H. A. Ebrard*, d. Dogma, v. h. Abdm. u. s. Gesch. Frkf. 1846. Bd. II.; adv.: *K. F. A. Kahnis*, d. Lehre v. Abdm. Lpz. 1851.—*A. W. Dieckhoff*, d. evang. Abendmahlsl. im Reform. Zeitalter. Göttg. 1854, Bd. I.—*C. F. Jager* (§ 4, 3).

Luther, in his work on the Babylonian captivity of the Church (1520), had given rather undue prominence to the subjective aspect of the sacraments, in opposition to the prevailing view, which attributed their efficacy to the mere objective reception of them, independently of subjective faith (opus operatum). Thus, in the first period of his reformatory labors, he was in danger, as he subsequently admitted in his message to the Strassburgers, of erring by a depreciation or denial of the divinely-objective contents of the sacraments. But, whilst he decidedly opposed transubstantiation as a scholastic invention, and was naturally inclined to regard the bread and wine as mere symbols, the words of Holy Writ impressed him so powerfully, that he could not deny the real presence of the body and blood of Christ.

The vagaries of fanatics and sacramentarians soon led him to that unconditional submission to the letter of the Scriptures, to that firm and joyful confidence in its import, which thenceforth became the support and guide of his life. Teaching that the true body and blood of Christ were received IN, WITH, and UNDER, the bread and wine — to the benefit of believers, and the judgment of unbelievers — he maintained the true Biblical medium between the unbiblical extremes of papists and sacramentarians.

1. *Carlstadt* had already, in Orlamund (§ 4, 3), advanced his doctrine of the Supper, totally denying the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. He explained away the force of the words of institution by an absurd explanation of τοῦτο. He argued that Christ thereby pointed to his body then present, and designed to say: "*This* is my body, which I will offer in death for you, and, in remembrance of the fact, eat this bread." When Carlstadt, driven from Saxony, went to Strassburg, he interested the ministers of that city, *Martin Bucer* and *Wolfgang Capito*, in favor of his views. Their efforts to effect a reconciliation were, of course, unavailing with Luther. *Zwingli*, also, sympathized with Carlstadt. Agreeing with him, essentially, though on different grounds, Zwingli explained the words of institution, "*This is*" by "*this signifies*," and reduced the entire significance of the sacrament to a symbolical commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ. In a letter to *Matthew Alber*, in Reutlingen (1524), who held Luther's view, he expressed this opinion, and defended Carlstadt against Luther. He developed the same opinion more fully in his "Commentarius de vera et falsa religione," 1525, in which he designates Luther's view as an opinio non solum rustica sed etiam impia et frivola. *Œcolampadius* also took part in the controversy, and vindicated his friend Zwingli against *Bugenhagen's* attack, in his "De genuina verborum Domini: Hoc est corpus meum, expotione," 1525. In this work, Œcolampadius attempts to show that σῶμα, in the words of institution, signify as much as "*sign of the body*." He submitted the work to the Swabian reformers, *John Brenz* and *Erhard Schnepf*, who, in conjunction with twelve other Swabian preachers, replied to it in accordance with Luther's view. The controversy spread, disputants multiplied, each eagerly replying to his opponent. Luther issued two more powerful works upon the subject: one in 1527, "Das die Worte: das ist mein Leib, noch fest stehen;" the other in 1526, "Bekenntniss vom Abendmahle." The struggle progressed, in spite of the conciliatory efforts of the Strassburg divines. Zwingli's view became the shibboleth of the Swiss Reformation, and was approved in many cities of Upper Germany. Strassburg, Lindau, Memmingen, and Constance adopted it; it even found favor in Ulm, Augsburg, Reutlingen, etc.

§ 12. THE PROTEST AND CONFESSION OF THE EVANGELICAL STATES. (1529–30.)

After the diet of Spires, public action upon religious matters was suspended for three years. But, incited by the growing strength and the progress of the Reformation during this time, embittered by intervening mistakes, and encouraged by the improvement of the emperor's political position, the Catholic party obtained the preponderance again at the next diet of Spires (1529), and secured the passage of a decision designed to put a full end to the evangelical cause. The evangelical party entered a formal protest (thenceforth they were called *Protestants*), and made every effort to give it effect. The attempted union with the Swiss and cities of Upper Germany failed; but, in the Augsburg Confession, they raised, at Augsburg (1530), a banner in the presence of the emperor and empire, around which they thenceforth confidently rallied.

1. *The Affair of Pack* (1527–28). — In 1527, gloomy reports were spread of some imminent peril to the evangelical cause. The landgrave suspected a conspiracy of the Catholic princes in Germany. He, therefore, pressed *Otto v. Pack*, the chancellor of Duke George, to reveal what he knew of the matter. Pack, at length, confessed that a league was already formed against the Lutherans. The landgrave offered him 10,000 guilders for the original document. Pack brought a copy with the ducal seal affixed. According to this paper, the Catholic princes of Germany had bound themselves to fall upon electoral Saxony and Hessen with their united forces, to exterminate the Reformation, and divide the country among them, etc. The landgrave was fired with indignation, and even Elector John allowed himself to be drawn into a league, by virtue of which both were to make energetic demonstrations against the impending assault. But *Luther* and *Melanchthon* reminded the elector of the words of the Lord: "He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword;" and persuaded him to await the attack, and confine himself to a simple vindication of his views. The landgrave, greatly provoked by the loss of his ally, sent a copy of Pack's document to Duke George, who pronounced it a shameful falsehood and forgery. Meanwhile, Philip had entered the territory of his ecclesiastical neighbor. At Wittenberg, bitter tears were shed at this violent infraction of the peace of the country. The landgrave, also, on calmer reflection after his return, was ashamed of his course. Pack was examined; he contradicted himself, and was soon found to be a bad character, who had been guilty of other frauds. The landgrave banished him. For a long time he wandered about,

and, finally at the instigation of Duke George, was beheaded in the Netherlands. This affair greatly damaged the evangelical cause. Mutual confidence was irretrievably lost; the Catholic princes now seemed to be the injured party, and they were highly exasperated.

2. *The Emperor's Position* (1527–29). — The treachery of the King of France, and the consummation of the league of Cognac, had placed the emperor in a most trying position. Old *Freundsberg* gathered an army in Germany; and the German soldiery, burning with a desire to vex the pope, marched over the Alps without hire or pay. On May 6, 1527, they stormed Rome; the pope yielded himself a captive. But once more Germany's hope in her emperor failed. Regard for the sentiments prevailing in his Spanish hereditary domains, and his own antipathy against the Saxon heresy, together with other political combinations, did not suffer him to forget that he had been rescued by *Lutherans*. In June, 1528, he concluded a peace with the pope at *Barcelona*, and pledged his entire strength for the extermination of the heresy. The *Peace of Cambray* (July, 1529) finally terminated the war with France. In the articles of peace, both sovereigns promised to support the dignity of the papal chair, and *Francis I.* renewed the pledge to furnish aid against heretics and the Turks. Charles then hastened to Italy, to be crowned by the pope, intending, after that, to go to Germany in person, and adjust existing difficulties there.

3. *The Diet of Spires* (1529). (Cf. *J. J. Müller*, Hist. v. d. ev. Stände Protestation. Jena, 1705, 4to. — *J. A. H. Tittmann*, d. Protest. d. ev. Stände, Lpz. 1829.) — In the latter part of 1528, an imperial message was sent from Spain, appointing a diet at Spires, on Feb. 21, 1529, for the purpose of devising measures in regard to the war with the Turks, and to religious innovations. The existing state of affairs differed widely from that in 1526 (§ 6, 7). The Catholic princes were irritated by the frauds of Pack; the wavering states were controlled by fear of the emperor; the prelates were present in full numbers; and the Catholic party had, for the first time since the diet of Worms, a decided majority. The proposition of the imperial commissaries, to annul the decision of the diet of 1526, was approved by a committee, adopted by a majority, and engrossed, by Ferdinand's orders, as a decision of the diet. Thus all who had hitherto observed the edict of Worms were still to maintain it, and others were forbidden to introduce further innovations, at least until a council should be held; the mass was to be tolerated, and the jurisdiction and revenues of the bishops were to be every where restored. It was the death-sentence of the Reformation; for the last point, especially, gave bishops full power arbitrarily to punish or depose offensive ministers. As no remonstrances availed with the stubborn Ferdinand, the evangelical party entered a solemn *protest* against the decision, and demanded its incorporation with the decision. But Ferdinand declined accepting it.

The Protestants at once prepared and published a document legally drawn up, and containing all the acts, in which they stated their grievances, and appealed to the emperor, a free council, and a German national convention. The document was signed by the *Landgrave of Hessen*, Margrave *George of Brandenburg*, the two Dukes of *Lüneberg*, and Prince *Wolfgang of Anhalt*. Fourteen cities of Upper Germany subscribed it.

4. *The Marburg Colloquy* (1529). (Cf. *Rudelbach*, Ref. Lutherth. u. Union, p. 345, etc.—*H. Heppe*, d. 15 Marb. Artikel. With a fac-simile of the autographs. 2 Aufl. Kass. 1854.)—Before leaving Spires, electoral *Saxony* and *Hessen* united with *Strassburg*, *Ulm*, and *Nuremberg*, in a defensive alliance. The theologians present strongly opposed the admission of Strassburg to this league, on account of its Zwinglian views. At the same time the landgrave formed a compact with Zurich, and Zurich applied to Francis I. of France. Thus a coalition was forming which might have become more dangerous to the house of Austria than any preceding one. But *one* point was ignored which soon frustrated all these plans, the diversity between the Lutheran and Zwinglian confessions. Melanchthon returned to Wittenberg with severe chidings of conscience. Luther was opposed to any confederacy —most of all, to fraternization with sacramentarians—and the elector half agreed with him. The Nuremberg theologians had the same scruples. The league was to be ratified at *Rotach*, in June. The parties met, but effected nothing. The landgrave was distracted, but the elector remained firm. *Philip* then invited the leading theologians of both sides to hold a colloquy at his castle in *Marburg*. It lasted from Oct. 1–3, 1529. On the one side were *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Justus Jonas*, from Wittenberg, *John Brenz*, from Swabian Hall, and *Andrew Osiander*, from Nuremberg; on the other side were *Zwingli*, from Zurich, *Œcolampadius*, from Basel, and *Bucer* and *Hedio*, from Strassburg. After private interviews between Zwingli and Melanchthon, and Luther and Œcolampadius, according to the well-considered arrangement of the landgrave, the public colloquy commenced on the second day. In the first place, several points were discussed touching the divinity of Christ, original sin, baptism, the Word of God, etc., regarding which the Wittenbergers suspected the orthodoxy of Zwingli. These were all secondary matters with Zwingli, in reference to which he dropped his unchurchly views, and declared his agreement with the views of the œcumenical councils. But, in regard to the article of the Lord's Supper, he was the more persistent. Appealing to John, 6 : 33, "*The flesh profiteth nothing*," he showed the supposed absurdity of Luther's view. Luther had written, with chalk, on the table: "This is my body," and insisted that these were words of God, which should not be perverted. Agreement was out of the question. Zwingli, nevertheless, declared himself ready to maintain fraternal fellowship, but Luther and his party rejected the offer. Luther said: "Ihr habt

einen andern Geist denn wir." Still Luther found that his opponents did not hold as offensive views as he supposed; and the Swiss, also, that Luther's doctrine was not so gross and Capernaitic as they thought. They united, therefore, in a mutual promise to drop disputes, and to earnestly pray God to lead them all to a right understanding of the truth. They adopted and subscribed fifteen articles. In the first fourteen they declared unanimous consent to the œcumenical faith of the Church against the errors of Papists and Anabaptists. In the fifteenth, the Swiss conceded that the body and blood of Christ were present in the *sacrament*, but they could not agree to his *corporeal presence in the bread and wine*.

5. *The Convention of Schwabach* (1529).—Whilst the theologians were conferring at Marburg, the Elector John and Margrave George were in consultation at *Schleiz*. They agreed that unanimity in faith was the indispensable condition of fraternity. In October following, a convention was held at *Schwabach*, in accordance with the agreement at Rotach. On the basis of the Marburg articles, Luther had drawn up a confession (*the seventeen articles of Schwabach*), which the delegates from Upper Germany were required to subscribe before proceeding further. They declined doing this, and the convention was adjourned. Meanwhile, the imperial orders with regard to the recess of the diet, which arrived from Spain, contained very ungracious expressions against the Protestants. The evangelical States sent an embassy to the emperor, then in Italy; but he, also, refused to receive their protest, and wellnigh treated the commissioners as prisoners. But they escaped, and brought back bad news. Hitherto the only question had been about a defensive and offensive league against the apprehended assaults of the Swabian league, or other Catholic princes. Luther's hope that the emperor would still examine the matter was now destroyed. The question could not be shunned, what to do if the assault upon their faith came from the emperor himself. The jurists, indeed, thought that the German princes were not in a relation of unconditional subjection to the emperor, but that they themselves were rulers by the grace of God, and, as such, bound to protect their subjects. But Luther did not hesitate, for a moment, to compare the relation of his elector to the emperor with that of the burgomaster of Targau to the elector, for he clung to the idea of the empire as firmly as to that of the Church. He entreated the princes not to resist the emperor, and for God's sake to suffer every thing for themselves and their countries. Only, if the emperor should require them to persecute, banish, or put to death their own subjects for conscience' sake, they were not bound to obey. Under such circumstances, the *Convention of Smalcald*, agreed upon at Schwabach, took place.

6. *The Diet of Augsburg* (1530). (Cf. die Jubelschr. v. *Pfaff*, Nuremb. 1830; *Veesenmeyer*, Nuremb. 1830; *Facius*, Lpz. 1830, and

Förstemann, Urkundenb. z. Gesch. d. Reichst. zu Augsb. Lpz. 1830–35, 2 Bde.) — From Bologna, where the Pope crowned him, the emperor issued a call for a diet *at Augsburg*, which, after being absent from Germany nine years, he promised to attend in person. The removal of religious errors was to be the chief business. He wished, first of all, to try, by peaceable means, to win back the Protestants to the old faith. Hence his proclamation was conciliatory in its tone. But before his arrival in Augsburg, new disorders arose. The Elector *John* had brought *Melanchthon*, *Jonas*, and *Spalatin*, with him to Augsburg, and had them to preach there. The emperor heard of this with great displeasure, and dispatched a message requiring him to have this stopped. The admonition was not heeded. On June 15, he, accompanied by the papal legate, *Campegius*, entered the city in great pomp; the Protestants (according to 2 K. 5 : 18, 19) participated, without opposition, in all the religious and civil ceremonies of reception. The emperor then the more confidently demanded the preaching to be stopped. But the Protestants were firm. Margrave George broke the fury of the emperor's rage by his equally decided and humble declaration: before he would renounce the Word of God, he would kneel down on the spot, and let his head be cut off. With like firmness did they refuse to participate in the procession of Corpus Christi, because it was announced to be "in honor of Almighty God." In regard to preaching, they finally consented to impose silence on their clergy during the emperor's stay, since the opposite party was also required to abstain from controversial discourses. The diet was opened on June 20. The matter of the Turkish war, which the emperor first introduced, was postponed until the religious questions should be settled.

7. *The Augsburg Confession* (*June* 25, 1530). (Cf. *D. Chyträus*, Hist. d. Augsb. Conf. Rost. 1576, 4to.—*E. Sal. Cyprian*, Hist. d. A. C. Gotha, 1730. — *Chr. A. Salig*, vollst. Hist. d. A. C. Halle, 1730, 4to. — *G. G. Weber*, krit. Gesch. d. A. C. Frkf. 1784, 2 Bde. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, hist.-krit. Einl. in d. A. C. Lpz. 1841. [*G. J. Planck*, Gesch. d. prot. Lehrbegr. III.]—When the imperial proclamation announced the purpose of settling religious dissensions amicably, the elector requested his theologians to prepare a brief and lucid statement of the evangelical faith. They presented him, accordingly, a revised copy of the seventeen Articles of Schwabach (the *Torgau Articles*). As the emperor's arrival was delayed, Melanchthon improved the interval in preparing the *Augsburg Confession* (Confessio Augustana) on the basis of the Torgau Articles. This compact, lucid document, as decided as it was mild, received the full approval of Luther, whom the elector had left in Coburg, because he was still under sentence of excommunication and proscription. It contained twenty-one articuli fidei præcipui, and seven articuli in quibus recensentur abusus mutati. On June 24, the Protestants desired to read their confession; but it was

only with great difficulty that the emperor consented to its being *read on June* 25—and then not in the great hall of the public sessions, but in the much smaller chamber of the episcopal chapter, to which only the members of the diet were admitted. The chancellors of electoral Saxony, Doctors *Baier* and *Brück*, each came forward with a copy of the Confession, the former in German, the latter in Latin. Charles wished the latter to be read, but the elector carried the point of having the German copy read on German soil. This done, Brück handed both copies to Charles, who kept the Latin copy and gave the other to the Elector of Mayence. The former was subsequently placed in the archives of Brussels, but was taken thence by the Duke of Alba, and lost ; the other was deposited in the archives of Mayence, but only a copy of it was afterwards found there. Both were signed by the Elector John, the Margrave George, Duke Ernest of Luneburg, the Landgrave Philip, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, and the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. The Confession made a favorable impression upon many of the assembled princes, and scattered many prejudices against the faith of the Protestants, whilst the evangelical confessors felt themselves greatly strengthened by the unanimous confession of their faith before the emperor and nation. Charles now directed the Catholic theologians, *John Faber*, *Eck*, and *Cochlæus*, to refute the Confession. They prepared a so-called *Confutation*, which was read Aug. 3. Charles declared that their document contained the views by which he would abide; that he would expect the princes to do the same; otherwise, he was the protector of the Church, and was not disposed to tolerate a schism in Germany. The Protestants requested a copy of the Confutation, that they might examine it more closely; this was denied them. Then the landgrave left the diet. He told the elector that he placed person and property, country and people, at his disposal; and to the delegates of the cities he wrote: "Tell the cities not to be women, but men. You need not fear; God is on our side." The Zwinglian cities of Strassburg, Memmingen, Constance, and Lindau, handed in their own confession (*Confessio tetrapolitana*), the 18th article of which declares: Christ, in the sacrament, gives his *true* body and *true* blood, to be eaten and drunk *for the nourishment* of the soul. Charles directed a Catholic refutation of this also to be read, as a settlement of the matter. — Meanwhile *Luther*, at Coburg, had, by his earnest prayers, counsel, and encouragement (Exod. 7 : 11), sustained his friends in their conflicts at Augsburg. He preached often, wrote numerous letters, negotiated with Bucer (§ 13, 7), labored at the translation of the Prophets, and wrote several works for edification. Probably the powerful hymn: "Eine veste Burg," etc., and its tune, were composed at this time.

8. *Recess of the Augsburg Diet* (1530.) — The hopeful firmness with which the Protestant minority maintained their position, caused the Catholic majority to hesitate about a public rupture. They therefore

resolved to attempt a mediation once more. For this purpose the emperor appointed a commission of two princes, two doctors of canon law, and three theologians, from each party. The 21 doctrinal articles of the Confession were assented to, without altering a single fundamental point; on the other hand the Protestants were to give up everything relating to constitution and customs. So the measure failed. Five imperial cities took sides with the emperor, the others attached themselves to the protesting princes. At the close the Protestants desired to read and present an *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, drawn up by Melanchthon, as an offset to the Catholic confutation, but the Emperor inflexibly refused permission. (After the adjournment of the diet, Melanchthon obtained a full copy of the confutation, and revised his admirable apology; — it is among the most decided productions of his pen, and was translated into German by Justus Jonas.) On Sept. 22, the Protestant states were notified by the recess of the diet, that time would be given them until April 15 following, to consider the matter; but meanwhile no new work should be published, and confession and the mass should be tolerated in their dominions. A promise was also given that a general council should be called within six months. The spiritual princes were confirmed anew in all their prerogatives. The emperor declared that it was his fixed purpose strictly to maintain the edict of Worms, and enjoined his fiscal to prosecute all violations, even to passing sentence of proscription. The supreme court of judicature itself was formally and expressly bound to maintain the recess of the diet. Finally, Charles expressed the desire that, in view of his frequent absence, his brother Ferdinand might be chosen King of the Romans. This was soon afterwards done at Frankfurt; but electoral Saxony entered a protest against it.

§ 13. EVENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS DURING 1531–36.

The Protestants had not yet been able to effect a permanent alliance. Now, however, it became necessary to set themselves earnestly about it. Thus arose the *Smalcaldic league*, 1531, for six years. To this energetic measure, and the simultaneous political exigency of the emperor, the Protestants owed the concession of the first or *Nuremberg Religious Peace*. The bold progress of the landgrave released *Würtemberg* from the Austrian yoke, and popish coercion. At the same time the Reformation triumphed in *Anhalt*, *Pomerania*, and several cities of *Westphalia*. But for the *Anabaptist disorders of Münster*, all Westphalia would have become Protestant. The untiring assiduity of *Bucer*, also, secured the northern countries for the Smalcaldic league, by means of the *Wittenberg concord*. The league now presented an imposing and powerful front.

1. *The Formation of the Smalcaldic League* (1530–31). — The obligation of the imperial chamber to carry out the Augsburg recess, threatened most danger to the Protestants. To ward off this danger the evangelical states unanimously resolved, at a *convention in Smalcald* (Dec. 1530), to sustain each other against every attack of the chamber. But when the question arose whether, in any extremity, they would be justified in taking arms against the emperor himself, their views were divided. The legal opinions of the jurists finally prevailed over all religious scruples, and the Elector of Saxony demanded the formation of a league against *every* assailant, even should it be the emperor himself. At a second convention in Smalcald, March, 1531, such a league was formally concluded, for six years. The parties to it were: Electoral Saxony, Hessen, Lüneburg, Anhalt, Mansfeld, and eleven cities.

2. *The Religious Peace of Nuremberg* (1532). — The energetic combination of the Protestants made an impression; its effect was also increased by a threatened attack of the Sultan *Soliman*, who seemed determined to enforce his pretensions to imperial power and universal dominion. In order to subdue the Protestants, it would be necessary to make terms with the Turks; before these could be humbled, a peaceable union among the Protestants was indispensable. *Ferdinand* decided upon the latter policy, and by his advice the emperor ordered a *diet at Regensburg*, and directed his fiscal of the chamber to stay all proceedings, instituted by virtue of the Augsburg recess, until the diet should convene. But the catastrophe in Switzerland, soon after, (§ 10, 10,) changed Ferdinand's policy. This seemed to him the best time for inflicting the same fate upon the evangelical party in Germany which befell the Swiss. He therefore sent an embassy to the Sultan, which was authorized to propose the most ignominious terms of peace. But Soliman spurned every offer, and, in April, 1532, marched forward with an army of 300,000 men. In the meantime the diet was opened at Augsburg, April 17, 1532. Here the Protestants were not, as two years previously, the suppliants, but the entreated party. They would no longer listen to a compromise, but demanded peace in religious matters, the annulling of all religious processes in the chamber, and a free general council, where matters at issue should be decided alone according to the Word of God. As long as Ferdinand could hope that his ambassadors to the Turks would obtain a favorable answer, he did not seriously entertain negotiations for peace. But when this hope was destroyed, and he saw the terrible army of Soliman rolling onward, there was no time to be lost. To be nearer the emperor, (in Brussels,) the diet's further proceedings were transferred to Nuremberg, where the first, or *Nuremberg Religious Peace*, was concluded (June 23, 1532). On account of the Catholic majority, and the papal legate, the demand regarding the imperial chamber could not be engrossed in the public records; hence the emperor granted it in a separate pledge, but

only in favor of the then existing states. It was permitted the *Elector John*, as a reward for his fidelity, to see this peace concluded. He died soon after (1532) of apoplexy, and was succeeded by his son, *John Frederick the Magnanimous.* — A considerable army was soon gathered. Soliman was defeated by land and sea, and returned home discomfited. The emperor then went to Italy, and urged the pope to call a general council. The pope, however, thought the measure premature. The other condition of the peace, the staying of processes before the chamber, was also disregarded for a time. Charles had indeed at Mantua directed his fiscal to delay all religious suits until further orders. But the chamber declared that the pending processes (mostly relating to the restitution of ecclesiastical property and immunities) were not of a religious nature, but involved violations of public peace and confiscations. Then the Protestants entered (Jan., 1534) a formal recusation of the chamber, which, nevertheless, did not stay its proceedings, and was about to pass sentence of ban upon some states, when occurrences in Würtemberg changed the aspect of things.

3. *The Evangelization of Würtemberg* (1534–35).—(Cf. *J. C. Schmidt* u. *F. E. Pfister*, Denkw. d. württb. Ref. Gesch. Tübg. 1817.—*J. Hartmann*, Gesch. d. Ref. in W. Stuttg. 1835.—*K. Mann*, Jubelbüchl. d. ev. Ref. in W. Stuttg. 1836.— *C. Römer*, K. G. Ws. Stuttg. 1848; *K. Th. Keim*, schwäb. Ref. Gesch. Tübg. 1855.—*L. F. Heyd*, Herz. Ulr. v. W. Tübg. 1841, etc., u. 3 Bde.— *J. Hartmann* u. *K. Jäger*, Leb. u. Wirk. d. Joh. Brenz. Hamb. 1840, 2 Bde.—*J. G. Vaihinger*, Leb. u. Wirk. d. Joh. Brentz. Stuttg. 1841.) — After the expulsion of Duke *Ulrich*, by virtue of the Swabian league (1528) Würtemberg was under Austrian rule. The fanaticism with which every reformatory movement was put down, had long awakened in the breast of the people a desire for the return of their hereditary prince, and this desire was increased by his adoption of the evangelical faith in his Swiss exile. But the vigilance of the Swabian league had thus far frustrated all the attempts of Ulrich to regain the inheritance of his fathers. His son *Christopher* was educated at the court of Ferdinand, and was to accompany (1532) the emperor to Spain. Whilst crossing the Alps he fled, and openly reclaimed his inheritance in Germany. The Landgrave *Philip*, Ulrich's personal friend, had long resolved to seize the first opportunity of recovering Würtemberg for him. At length, in the spring of 1534, he carried out his plan, with the aid of French gold. At *Laufen*, Ferdinand's army was well-nigh destroyed, and he was compelled, at the Peace of *Kadan* (1534) to cede Würtemberg to Ulrich as a mesne fief, granting him, however, a seat and vote at the diet, and allowing him full liberty to introduce the Reformation into his territory. The Elector of Saxony, also, participated in this Peace, by acknowledging Ferdinand as King of the Romans, and for this receiving the assurance that the chamber should definitively arrest all proceedings against existing members of the Smalcald league. From the beginning, *Luther's views*

had met with a warm response in Würtemberg; but all expressions of sympathy therewith had been suppressed by Ferdinand's bloody rule. Now the Reformation spread all the more rapidly over the land. *Ulrich* committed the reformation of the district above the Staig to *Ambrose Blaurer*, a respectable theologian of that section, a pupil of Zwingli, and a friend of Bucer, approving of Bucer's conciliatory measures (n. 7). The reformation of the countries below the Staig was undertaken by *Erhard Schnepf*, a professor at Marburg, and a decided adherent of Luther. Both agreed upon a doctrinal formula ("*Corpus et sanguinem Christi vere*, i. e. *substantialiter et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel localiter præsentia esse et exhiberi in cœna.*") Ulrich merits special praise for the establishment of the university at *Tübingen*, modelled after that at Marburg, and which became one of the most important nurseries of Protestant learning. The example of Würtemberg encouraged many of the neighboring courts of the empire and imperial cities to follow its course, and among them the powerful city of *Augsburg*.

4. *The Reformation in Anhalt and Pomerania* (1532–34).—(Cf. *F. L. B. v. Medem*, Gesch. d. Einf. d. ev. Lehre in Pommer. Greifsw. 1837.)—Prince *Wolfgang* of *Anhalt*, one of the evangelical confessors at Spires and Augsburg, had previously introduced the Reformation into the district along the Saale and into Zerbst. In 1532, another Anhalt prince, *George*, cathedral provost of Magdeburg and Merseburg, at first an opponent of Luther, but afterwards won over by his writings, began the work in the district east of the Elbe, not so much by his authority as a temporal prince as by virtue of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in exercising which he did not allow the opposition of the archbishop cardinal Albrecht to hinder him. At his right hand stood *Nicholas Hausmann*, a friend of Luther; and when the Bishop of Brandenburg refused to consecrate his married priests, he had them ordained by Luther in Wittenberg. In *Pomerania*, however, the cause was introduced amid more violent agitations. The nobility and clergy endeavored to restrain by force the inclinations of the people. Prince *Barnim* had been an admirer of Luther ever since the Leipsic disputation, whilst his brother *George* united with the clergy in their opposition. But George died, and his son *Philip* coöperated with *Barnim* in introducing the Reformation into the entire territory. At the diet of *Treptow* (Dec., 1534) they submitted a plan for carrying on the work, which the cities hailed with joy, and which *Bugenhagen* executed by a visitation of the churches like that pursued in Saxony.

5. *The Reformation in Westphalia* (1532–34).—(Cf. *C. A. Cornelius*, Gesch. d. Münster. Aufruhrs. Bd. I. Die Reformation. Lpz. 1855.—*H. Jochmus*, Gesch. d. Kirchenref. zu Münster. Münst. 1825.—*Max. Göbel*, Gesch. d. Chr. Lebens in d. rhein. Westphal. K. Cobl. 1849. Bd. I.)—In the cities of Westphalia, the Reformation assumed the

same character as in those of Lower Germany, Lutheran hymns doing the chief work. *Pideritz*, a pastor in *Lemgo*, was an adherent of Eck. In order to see the nature of Lutheranism with his own eyes, he visited Brunswick, and returned with wholly altered views. He then reformed the city without opposition.—In *Sæst*, the Catholic council resolved to inspire terror by condemning to death *Schlachtorp*, a tanner, who had severely denounced the council. The Lutheran citizens, following Luther's example, endured the violence of the authorities without resistance. But the executioner, missing the neck of his victim, dealt him a terrible wound in the back. Another executioner came forward to finish the work, when Schlachtorp, reviving, wrested the sword from his hand, and was borne home in triumph by the crowd. S. died the next day. The council left the city, and thus Catholicism lost its last footing there (July, 1533). — In *Paderborn*, the people had defiantly claimed the freedom of the pulpit; and when the Elector *Hermann of Cologne* visited the place to receive allegiance (§ 15, 7), the refractoriness of the Lutherans was reported to him in so glaring a light, that he ordered some of the leaders to be seized. By means of the torture he wrung from them a confession of a treasonable combination with the Landgrave of Hesse, of which they had been falsely accused, and for this he condemned them to death. But when they reached the scaffold, the request of an old man to be beheaded with them, and the entreaties of the women and maidens, so wrought upon Hermann, that he spared their lives. The nobility and clergy, however, managed to maintain Catholicism. — In *Münster*, the doctrine of Luther was early preached by *Bernh. Rottmann*. The council had to open St. Lambert church to him, and the friends of the new cause soon became ascendant. The council and priests left the city. The new bishop, *Francis of Waldeck*, cut off all communication with the city, but during Christmas, 1532, 900 armed citizens of Münster fell upon *Telgt*, by night, where the diet was then convened, to take the oath of allegiance. The bishop, who had just departed, escaped the assailants, but the most noted leaders among the nobility and priests were captured and taken to Münster. The bishop was then compelled to grant the city unconditional religious liberty. Neighboring cities had already begun to follow this example, when a catastrophe occurred, which resulted in the full restoration of Catholicism.

6. *The Münster Faction.*—(Cf. *Jochmus*, l. c. *J. C. Wallmann*, John v. Leyden. Quedlb. 1844.—*K. Hase*, neue Propheten. Lpz. 1851.—*C. A. Cornelius*, Berichte d. Augenzeugen üb. d. Münster. Wiedertäuferreich. Münst. 1853). — *Rottmann* had for some time embraced the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper; his next step was to reject infant baptism. In a disputation with some theologians of Hessen, he was defeated. Nevertheless, he managed to remain in the city, and to strengthen his party by gathering in Anabaptist elements from other places. On the festival of the Three Kings, 1534, the prophet *John Mathys*, a baker

of Harlem, and his ardent apostle, *John Bockelson*, a tailor of Leyden, came to Münster. The populace, especially women, crowded to their preaching. *Rottmann*, and a few other preachers, at once joined them. Their adherents soon multiplied to such an extent, that they thought they might bid defiance to the council. During an insurrection, the council was so weak and forbearing, that it made a treaty which secured to them legal recognition. Anabaptist fanatics then poured into Münster from all directions. After a few weeks they had the preponderance in the council. Mathys, the prophet, announced it as the will of God, that all unbelievers should be driven from the city. This was done, Feb. 27, 1534. Seven deacons divided the effects they left behind, among the believers. In May, the bishop laid siege to the city. By this means the disorder was at least confined to Münster. After having destroyed all the images, organs, and books, (only saving the Bible,) the fanatics introduced a community of goods. *Mathys*, who imagined himself called to slay the besieging foe, fell during a sally by their sword. *Bockelson* took the prophet's place. In accordance with his revelations the council was deposed, and a theocratic government of twelve elders, who let themselves be inspired by the prophet, was established. That he might marry the beautiful widow of Mathys, Bockelson introduced polygamy. The still surviving moral sense of the citizens in vain resisted this enormity. Those who were dissatisfied rallied around *Mollenhök*, a blacksmith, were defeated, and all condemned to death. Bockelson, proclaimed king of the whole earth by one of his co-prophets, set up a splendid court, and introduced the most heinous abominations. He claimed authority to inaugurate the Millennium, sent out twenty-eight apostles to spread his kingdom, and appointed twelve dukes, to govern the earth as his vicegerents. Meanwhile the besieging army failed in an attempt to storm the city (Aug., 1534); had not help arrived from Hessen, Treves, Cleve, Mayence, and Cologne, they would have been compelled to raise the siege. All they could do was to starve out the city, and this plan was succeeding well. But on St. John's eve, 1535, a deserter led the soldiers to scale the walls. After a stubborn struggle, the Anabaptists were overpowered. Rottmann plunged into the thickest part of the fight, and perished. King John, with his governor, *Knipperdolling*, and chancellor, *Krechting*, were captured, pinched to death with red-hot tongs, and then hung up at the tower of St. Lambert's church in iron cages. Catholicism, in an absolutely exclusive form, was restored.

7. *Extension of the Smalcaldic League* (1536). — In the summer of 1534, the emperor determined to chastise those German princes who had surrendered Würtemberg, from the possessions of his house. But he was hindered from executing this purpose by fear of the bold pirate *Chaireddin* (Barbarossa), who had established himself in Tunis, and constantly threatened the coasts of his Italian and Spanish States. In the summer of 1535, the corsair was defeated, but a war which then

broke out with France (1536) engaged all the emperor's powers. The danger was increased by a formal league which Francis I. concluded with Soliman for a united attack upon the *emperor*. Instead, therefore, of chastising the Protestant princes, Charles had to use all means to secure their friendship, and especially as Francis offered them great inducements to engage them on his side. Accordingly, from the summer of 1535, *Ferdinand* made advances towards the Protestants. In November, the elector visited him in Vienna, conferred upon him the electoral dignity, and guaranteed the extension of the Nuremberg Peace to all the States that had since then gone over to Protestantism. From Vienna the elector went to a convention at Smalcald, where the Smalcaldic League was extended to ten years, whilst the overtures of the French ambassadors were declined, and the hostile position towards Austria was abandoned. On the basis of the Vienna compact, Würtemberg, Pomerania, Anhalt, and several cities, were admitted to the League; but subscription to the Augsburg Confession was the indispensable condition. Bucer has the credit of having induced the cities to do this.

8. *The Wittenberg Concord* (1536). (Cf. *Rudelbach*, Ref. Lutherth. u. Union, p. 363, etc.)—The study of Luther's works upon the Lord's Supper, and the colloquy at Marburg, had led *Bucer* to a deeper appreciation of the views of Luther upon that subject. This fact exerted an important influence upon the *Confessio tetrapolitana* (§ 12, 7), in preparing which he took a prominent part. But Bucer desired to effect a union, and conferred with Luther on the subject (1530) at Coburg. As he confessed in his own name, and that of his colleagues, that Christ was present in the *bread* and to *the mouth* in the sacrament, and admitted, at least on his own part, that the *ungodly also* really partook of the body of Christ, Luther declared himself satisfied, and willing to concede the nice distinctions by which Bucer sought to reconcile a spiritual participation with the real presence, and a symbolical with a sacramental significance of the elements. The cities actually assented to this accommodation, and even Œcolampadius was not wholly averse to it. But *Zwingli* utterly rejected it. *Bucer*, therefore, exerted himself the more to persuade the Churches of Upper Germany to adhere to it. In December, 1535, he and Melanchthon had a *colloquy at Cassel*. They there agreed upon a fuller conference at *Eisenach*, which, however, was held at *Wittenberg*, on account of Luther's bad health. *Bucer* and *Capito*, with eight of the most distinguished theologians of Upper Germany, were present. And as they assented, in advance, to the real presence of the body of Christ in the bread, and its *oral* reception, as well as to the formula *in, with, and under*, the only question discussed related to the participation of *unbelievers*. The theologians from Upper Germany at length conceded this in regard to *unworthy* communicants, but not to *ungodly* persons, and Luther declared himself satisfied. Accordingly, on May 25, the so-called *Wit-*

tenberg Concord was signed by all, and further confirmed by their common celebration of the Lord's Supper.—In consequence of this union, the most influential theologians of Switzerland met in *Basel*, and appointed three of their number (*Henry Bullinger* of Zurich, *Oswald Myconius* and *Simon Grynæus* of Basel) to prepare a confession of faith distinctly setting forth Zwingli's doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper. This originated the *Confessio Helvetica prior*, which *Leo Juda* translated into German.

§ 14. EVENTS AND NEGOTIATIONS DURING 1537–39.

Pope *Clement VII.* endeavored, by various excuses, to evade the emperor's increasingly urgent demand for a council. At length, in 1533, he promised to convoke a council at *Mantua*, within a year, but insisted, in advance, that the Protestants should pledge unconditional submission to its decrees; a pledge which, of course, they would not make. His successor, PAUL III. (1534–49), actually summoned a council at *Mantua*, in 1537. Luther prepared the *Smalcald Articles* for presentation, but the Protestants finally forbade the transmission of them, as they resolved to renew their demand for a *free* council in a *German* city. Hence the summoned council never convened. On the contrary, the Catholic States concluded, at *Nuremberg*, the so-called *Holy League* (1533), for the strict maintenance of the recess of Augsburg; but political exigencies compelled the emperor to make new concessions to the Protestants in the *Frankfort Suspension* (1539). During the same year, the Duchy of Saxony and the Electorate of Brandenburg embraced the Reformation. At the commencement of 1540, almost the whole of Northern Germany was Protestant. Duke Henry of Brunswick, alone, remained in the tottering citadel of the old faith.

1. *The Smalcald Articles* (1537). (Cf. *M. Meurer*, d. Tay zu Schmalk. u. d. schm. Artt. Lpz. 1837.— *Chr. Ziemssen*, d. welthist. Bedeut. d. Schmalk. Convents im J. 1537; in d. hist. theol. Ztschr. 1840, III.— *Chr. H. Sixt*, Petr. Paul. Vergerius, päpstl. Nuntius, kath. Bischof. u. Vorkämpfer d. Evang. Braunschw. 1855).—*Paul III.* sent (1535) his legate, *Vergerius* (cf. § 19, 13), mainly to secure definite agreement as to the place for holding the council. He visited Wittenberg, where Luther, in company with Bugenhagen, called upon him. Luther did not expect much from a council, and therefore was indifferent as to the place of holding it; the elector was of the same mind. Hence, in the fall of 1536, a general council was, in due form, convoked to meet in *Mantua*, May 23, 1537. The call was written with care and modera-

tion, but expressions made by the Pope, in other places, showed clearly what Protestants had to expect. The matter was discussed at a diet in Smalcald, Feb. 1537. At the request of the elector, Luther had previously drawn up articles, which would be immovably adhered to at the council. These articles, written in German, and known as the *Smalcald Articles*, Luther brought with him to Smalcald. In accordance with the circumstances, their character is predominantly polemic. They boldly break through the limits of cautious forbearance towards the papal hierarchy, within which all the official declarations of the evangelical party had thus far been kept. The first part, concerning the Majesty of God, briefly set forth four undisputed articles concerning the Trinity and the person of Christ; — the second part treats of the office and work of Christ, or our redemption, and definitely lays down points of difference between the two parties, from which there would be no retraction;—the third part states those points which were open for discussion by the Council.—In the second part, Luther unconditionally rejected the primacy of the pope, as unsupported by the Word of God, and incompatible with the character of a truly evangelical Church. When the theologians subscribed the paper, Melanchthon added to his name this statement: "Concerning the pope, I hold that, if he would grant a free Gospel, he might be allowed, for the sake of peace and unity among Christians now, or who may hereafter be, subject to him, to exercise a jure humano superiority over the bishops." At the request of the meeting, Melanchthon further prepared a historical paper: "Concerning the Power and Authority of the Pope," and "Concerning the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops," which was likewise subscribed by the theologians, and added to the Articles of Smalcald. — They then debated the question of attending the council, and on what conditions to do so. They finally agreed to decline attending it, but once more to ask the emperor to convene a truly free Christian council, in a German city. The elector boldly proposed that Dr. M. Luther and his co-bishops should call a council (at Augsburg, if they pleased) in opposition to that of the pope; but, as this measure was directly at variance with the entire policy of the Protestants thus far, it was rejected.

2. *The Nuremberg League* (1538). — Near the close of the Convention of Smalcald (1537), the imperial orator (vice-chancellor), Dr. Held, appeared. The Protestant princes had good reason to suppose that they stood on the best of terms with the emperor. They were, therefore, no little astonished when the orator declared to them, avowedly in the emperor's name, that the court was fully justified in prosecuting the pending suits, nay, even bound to do so; but he seemed to know nothing of the Peace of Kadan and the Treaty of Vienna. They immediately reassumed their posture of opposition. But *Held* visited all the Catholic courts, and sought—avowedly by the emperor's authority—to effect a confederation of Catholics, for the complete sup-

pression of the Protestants, on the basis of ban edicts of the imperial chamber. *Ferdinand*, who well knew that Held had gone beyond his instructions, or even against them, was very indignant, for the emperor was placed in a very critical position. But matters had been carried so far that it was impossible to recede without greatly offending the Catholic princes. Hence a confederacy, called the *Holy League*, was formed at *Nuremberg*, July 10, 1538, by *George* of Saxony, *Albert* of Brandenburg, *Henry* and *Erick* of Brunswick, King *Ferdinand*, and the Archbishop of Salzburg; its object was to sustain the imperial chamber in its official acts, and in the immediate execution of the ban edicts. On the other side, the Smalcald States prepared to meet violence with violence. A general sanguinary war seemed inevitable.

3. *The Frankfort Suspension* (1539).—At this juncture, however, the emperor needed the vigorous support of the empire against the threatening advances of *Soliman*. It was highly important for him, therefore, to assuage the anger of the Protestants. *Held* was recalled, and *John v. Veeze*, former Archbishop of Leyden, took his place. The Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate offered to act as mediators. They went, with the new orator, to Frankfort on the M., and opened negotiations with the Protestants then there. These demanded an unconditional, permanent, indisputable peace, which should, under no circumstances, be disturbed, and that the chamber should be constituted of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics. Though the orator was disposed to concession, he could not yield this point. But the danger from the Turks daily increased, and compelled him to renew the negotiations, which had been suspended. He adopted another course, proposing that, at the diet to be held during the following summer, a committee of learned theologians, and discerning, peaceable laymen, should meet, and endeavor to effect a final arrangement in regard to doctrines and usages. He also agreed to a suspension of all proceedings against Protestant States for eighteen months. Thus the Protestants gained a prospect of securing, finally, what they had in vain sought after since the diets of Nuremberg (1523, 1524). They consented, therefore, to this compromise (the *Frankfort Suspension*). It was a triumph of the Smalcald League over that of Nuremberg (which was really not represented at Frankfort). Confidence in Protestantism grew mightily, and an important extension of its territory was the consequence.

4. *The Reformation in Albertinian Saxony* (1539). (Cf. *H. G. Hasse*, Abr. d. meissnisch-albertinisch-sächs. K. G. Bd. II. Lpz. 1847.)—Duke *George of Saxony* (1500–39) had endeavored, with extreme severity, to suppress the Reformation, for which no country, probably, showed stronger sympathy than his own. Only one of his four sons was still living, and he was imbecile. Nevertheless he had him married, but he died a few months after his wedding. The old duke was in great

perplexity, his only heir being his brother *Henry*, whose small territory (with its capital, *Freiburg*) had long before embraced the Reformation, and become a refuge for all whom George persecuted and banished for conscience' sake. He could not endure the thought that all the painful toils of his life should be frustrated in a single night. On the day of his last son's death, therefore, he submitted a plan of succession to his States, by which his brother *Henry* should not be allowed to succeed him, unless he would bind himself to stand by and immovably maintain the League of Nuremberg. If he refused to do this, the duchy should pass over to the emperor or the king. *Henry*, of course, rejected this proposal, and *George* died before other measures could be devised. The country received its new prince with great rejoicings; and, whilst he was receiving homage in Leipsic, *Luther* once more visited the city (the first time for twenty years), and preached with the greatest acceptance. The reformation of the entire duchy was now rapidly carried forward. Ferdinand desired, indeed, to carry George's will into effect, but the Smalcald League declared that they would defend the new duke against all opposition, and Ferdinand prudently abstained from further measures.

5. *The Reformation in Mark Brandenburg, and some adjacent Districts* (1539). (Cf. *A. Müller*, Gesch. d. Ref. in d. M. Br. Berl. 1839.—*C. W. Spieker*, K. u. Ref. Gesch. d. M. Br. Berl. 1839. Bd. I. — *H. v. Müller*, Gesch. d. ev. K. Verf. in d. M. Br. Weim. 1846.—*Jul. Wiggers*, K. G. Mecklenb. Parch. 1840.) — The Elector *Joachim* I. (*ob.* 1535), on his death-bed, bound both his sons to maintain the old faith. *Henry*, the younger, who inherited the new Mark, had for some time embraced evangelical views. He joined the Smalcald League, and reformed his territory. But the older, Elector *Joachim* II. (1535–71), adhered for several years to the old faith and usages, but nowhere prevented the preaching of the pure Gospel, which was quietly gaining influence over his own mind. Finally, at the beginning of 1539, his mind was fully convinced, probably under the influence of the negotiations at Frankfort. At the same time his States became desirous to introduce evangelical doctrines. Berlin requested permission to have the *communio sub utraque*, and a large number of the nobility earnestly begged *Matthias of Janow*, the Bishop of Brandenburg, "to embrace and steadfastly confess the pure doctrines of God." On Nov. 1, 1539, *Joachim* assembled all the preachers of his country in the church of St. Nicholas in Spandau; the Bishop of Brandenburg celebrated the first evangelical mass, and the entire court, together with many knights, received the communion in both kinds. The country followed the example of the princes. Joachim prepared a liturgy which retained more of the old ceremonies than those of other countries, but set forth justification by faith as a central doctrine, and adopted the *communio sub utraque* as the basis of Christian worship. *Ferdinand* was displeased at the elector's course, but seemed contented with the assurance that he had not joined

the Smalcald League. The Duchess *Elizabeth of Calenberg-Brunswick* (sister of the Elector of Brandenburg) followed the example of her brother. After the death of her husband, *Erich*, who held other views, she used her authority as regent to reform the duchy. On the other hand, *Albert of Brandenburg*, cardinal-archbishop, endeavored in every way to prevent the defection of his territory, but in order to secure compliance with his constant demands for money, he had to grant the cities the free preaching of the Gospel. He opposed the innovations more earnestly in *Halle*, but the citizens only insisted more determinedly upon being allowed the same privileges with other cities. *Justus Jonas*, of Wittenberg, introduced the reformation into the city under his very eyes; the only vengeance he could take was to leave Halle, and remove his court to Mayence. About the same time the *Mecklenburg* countries obtained an evangelical constitution, in establishing which, *Magnus*, one of the princes, and also Bishop of Schwerin, was particularly active. *Anna of Stolberg*, abbess of *Quedlinburg*, did not venture publicly to avow her evangelical views during the lifetime of George of Saxony; but now she introduced the reform into her convent and the city without opposition.

§ 15. THE PERIOD OF UNION EFFORTS. (1540–46).

The Frankfort Suspension revived the idea of a *free* union on the basis of a common faith and worship, which had been dropped since the Nuremberg diet of 1524, and awakened hopes of its speedy realization. And as the embarrassment of the emperor continued, a series of *religious conferences* with reference to this object was really held. But although the desired result seemed, several times, to be almost achieved, the negotiations as often failed in the end, because the emperor would not recognize them unless a papal legate had taken part in them. And just at the time when the imposing power of the Protestant States justified the most brilliant hopes, the Protestant princes themselves laid the root of their extreme subsequent humiliation —the Landgrave Philip, by his *bigamy*, and the elector by his quarrel with the court of ducal Saxony.

1. *The Landgrave's Bigamy* (1540). (Cf. *H. Heppe*, urkundl. Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Doppelehe, etc.; in d. Hist. Theol. Ztschr. 1853. III.) — Landgrave *Philip of Hessen* had married Christina, a daughter of the deceased Duke George of Saxony. Bodily disorders and offensive habits had alienated him from her; and gross sensuality, which had gained a mastery over him, had led him to frequent acts of infidelity. For this his conscience so troubled him, that he thought himself unworthy to commune, ardently as he desired to do so, and he was harassed with

doubts of his salvation. Regard for his wife, however, deterred him from seeking a divorce. Assuming, therefore, the toleration of polygamy in the Old Testament, as nowhere abolished in the New Testament, it occurred to him that, *with his wife's consent*, he might formally contract a second marriage with *Margaret v. d. Saale*, a court lady of his sister. In Nov., 1539, he sent *Bucer*, one of his spiritual advisers, to Wittenberg, to obtain the advice of Luther and Melanchthon. According to Bucer's account, the only question discussed was the alternative of Philip's continuance in adultery, and so incurring temporal and eternal ruin, or his being allowed, with his wife's consent, to have another wife, and thus live within the due restraints of lawful marriage. Luther and Melanchthon both strove, in their reply, to dissuade Philip from his proposed course, as well for his own, as for the Gospel's sake, on which his conduct would bring great scandal; but, in conclusion, half conceded that bigamy would be more advisable, as doing less violence to the conscience, than to live in adultery. But, to avoid causing public offence, they required that he should be secretly married, and that their answer should not be taken as a theological opinion, but only as private counsel. Thereupon, Philip took a second wife in May, 1540. But the matter was soon rumored abroad. The Albertine Saxon court became greatly enraged, the elector furious, the theologians fearfully perplexed. About this time Melanchthon started for the religious conference at Hagenau, but anxiety about the case, and the conviction that he had done wrong with the rest, prostrated him with disease when he reached Weimar. He was on the brink of death when Luther hastened to him, and rescued him by the omnipotence of Christian prayer. At Eisenach the Hessian and Saxon theologians discussed the propriety of publicly justifying the step taken by Philip. *Luther* opposed it with all his might. But *Bucer* went so far as to publish an apology under the assumed name of *Ulrich Neobulus*, for doing which Luther called him a villain and a *nebulo*. Even the landgrave endeavored to suppress Bucer's tract. This affair, besides bringing reproach upon the Gospel, proved sorely detrimental to the Reformation, as it resulted in a temporary alienation of Philip from his confederates, and led him, as a security against the capital penalty to which his bigamy exposed him, to attach himself more closely to the emperor's interests. This did the cause of Protestantism more harm, probably, than if he had wholly abandoned it.

2. *The Religious Conference at Worms* (1540). The Pope did all in his power to frustrate the union measures of the Frankfort Suspension. To remove all obstacles out of the emperor's way, he endeavored to restore peace with France, and secured an armistice with the Turks. But his negotiations with France proved abortive, so that Charles could not risk an open rupture with the Protestants. The emperor, therefore, summoned the States to meet at *Spires* for consultation with reference to the prospective compact at Frankfort (June,

1540). A contagious disease, however, led him to transfer the meeting to *Hagenau*. There, in spite of the stubborn opposition of the Catholic majority, it was resolved that *a religious conference* should be convoked *at Worms*, in ten weeks from that date, for the purpose of effecting a Christian settlement of their differences, on the basis of the Holy Scriptures. *Ferdinand* himself designated to the *Catholic* States what theologians to select, and showed by his choice how anxious he was that the measure should succeed. In Nov., 1540, the delegates met at Worms, the imperial orator *Granvella* presiding. On the Protestant side were: *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Brenz*, and *Calvin* (from Strassburg); on the other side: *Eck*, the Spaniard *Malvenda*, etc. But Charles insisted upon having the papal nuncio *Morrone* allowed to take part, and thus, contrary to his intention, frustrated the entire measure. For *Morrone* first placed a number of obstacles in the way, and when at length the conference fairly began, Jan., 1541, and aroused threatening fears for the papacy, he did not rest until *Granvella* dissolved the conference, in the emperor's name, before they had finished discussing the first article, concerning original sin. But the emperor did not relinquish the scheme; he convoked a diet at Regensburg, where the interrupted negotiations should be resumed.

3. *The Conference at Regensburg* (1541). (Cf. *A. Jansen*, de *Julio* Pflugio ejusque sociis. Berl. 1858.)—The *diet of Regensburg* was opened April 5, 1541. The imperial address insisted earnestly upon the adoption of a common Christian platform, and, in spite of the resistance of the Catholic States, he would not relinquish the right of appointing collocutors. He appointed *Eck*, *John Gropper*, canon of Cologne, and *Julius v. Pflugk*, cathedral dean of Meissen, on the Catholic side (excepting Eck, the most conciliatory to be found); and on the Protestant side, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, and *John Pistorius*, a pastor from Nidda in Hessen. *Granvella* and Count Palatine *Frederick* were to preside; the nuncio *Contarini* was to represent the court of Rome. From parties so well chosen there was reason to hope for the desired issue. A party of men versed in the Scriptures had sprung up in Italy, who, starting from the principle of justification by faith, hoped, on this basis, to regenerate the Church, without disturbing the papal primacy, or the hierarchical system. Contarini was one of the leaders of this party. He agreed with the emperor, that the doctrine of justification by faith, the cup for the laity, and the marriage of priests, should be yielded to Germany, and that the Protestants, on their part, should acknowledge the primacy of the Pope. *Bucer* had already drawn up a plan of agreement, which, after being circulated among those interested, was adopted as a basis of negotiations. The doctrine of man's original state, and of original sin, passed without difficulty, in an essentially Protestant form. In regard to justification, a justitia imputativa, in the evangelical sense, was admitted; but Contarini insisted upon affirming, also, a justitia inhærens (i. e. a virtue wrought in man

by his acceptance of Christ's merits, so that he was thus not only pronounced righteous, but was really made righteous). But as he solemnly acknowledged the former to be the marrow of the entire system of faith, and the latter only a consequence of the former, and based wholly upon the grace of God, to the exclusion of all personal merit, the Protestants yielded. Upon the article concerning the Church, however, such diversities of opinion were expressed, that it was postponed for subsequent consideration. Then the sacrament of the altar was taken up. The Communio sub utraque was readily conceded. But on the margin of Bucer's concord, the word transubstantio was written by some unknown hand. On this rock the whole measure was dashed into pieces. *Contarini*, who had received admonitions from Rome, would yield nothing more, and the Protestants were equally firm. The colloquy closed. Nevertheless, the emperor desired that the articles, so far agreed upon, should be made a common basis for both parties, and that, in reference to other points, they should exercise mutual toleration; but he could not prevail upon the Catholic majority to assent to this. Wherefore the recess of the diet confirmed the Peace of Nuremberg, extended it to all then connected with the Smalcald League, and bound the Protestants alone by the articles agreed upon (*Regensburg Interim*).

4. *The Regensburg Declaration* (1541).—The Protestants, naturally enough, were not pleased with the recess. To pacify them, the emperor granted them a special declaration, which, whilst not obligatory upon the imperial States, still bound him their supreme head. The declaration conceded that the assessors of the imperial chamber should no longer be sworn to execute the Augsburg Recess, and that the adherents of the Augsburg Confession should be allowed a representation in the chamber, and not be excluded. It was further granted that religious institutions and monasteries should adhere to the Reformation, and should teach, in addition to the articles agreed upon, the additions of the Protestant members of the Conference. The decision of the recess, that no one should deprive the clergy of their rents, was likewise extended to Protestant clergy. — But on the very day when the emperor signed this declaration, he had a separate meeting with the Catholic majority, at which the *Nuremberg League* was renewed, and the pope admitted as a member of it. In this way he hoped to secure aid from both parties, and to delay a warlike conflict between them, until a more favorable season for resuming his scheme of reconciliation. Moreover, he concluded separate treaties with the Landgrave *Philip*, and the Elector *Joachim* II. Both obligated themselves to adhere firmly to the emperor in all *political* divisions. The elector also promised not to join the Smalcald League, and in return the constitution of his Church was confirmed. The landgrave obligated himself to oppose, not only every alliance of the Smalcald League with foreign powers (England and France), but also with the Duke of Cleves, with

whom the emperor was then in dispute about a hereditary claim to Guelderland. The landgrave on his part obtained an amnesty for all he had done, and a promise that he should be left undisturbed in religious matters. The emperor had, also, special negotiations with the Elector of Saxony, but they failed on account of the claims of Charles to Guelderland, for Cleves was the elector's brother-in-law.

5. *The See of Naumburg and the Wurzen Quarrel* (1541–42). (Cf. *Lepsius*, Bericht üb. d. Wahl u. Einführ. Nik. v. Amsd. Norah. 1835.) — Lutheran doctrines had gained the ascendancy in the See of *Naumburg-Zeitz*, from 1520, notwithstanding the constant opposition of the papal chapter. On the death of the bishop (1541), the chapter hastened to elect the learned and gentle provost, *Julius v. Pflugk*, to the vacancy. But the elector thought it his duty to furnish a Lutheran country with a Lutheran bishop; and having been displeased by the deceitful conduct of the chapter, which first concealed the death of the bishop for a long time, then secretly held an election, without regard to the rights of the prince, and finally paid no attention to his protest, he persistently refused to confirm their choice. He still hoped that Pflugk, who asked six months' time for considering the matter, would decline the election. But this expectation was disappointed. Indeed Pflugk, supported by the emperor, maintained his claims. Then the elector, not without some violent means, placed *Nicl. v. Amsdorf*, superintendent of Magdeburg, in the See. *Luther* ordained him on Jan. 20, 1542, "without chrism, and also without butter, lard, fat, grease, incense, or coals." The temporal jurisdiction of the See devolved upon an electoral officer. *Amsdorf* was satisfied with the scanty salary of 600 guilders; the remaining revenues were applied to pious uses. After the battle of Mühlberg, 1547, Amsdorf was driven off, and Pflugk restored. Pflugk died in 1564. The chapter then became Lutheran, but Amsdorf was not restored; the administration was transferred to a Saxon prince.— The violent course of the elector in *this* case, caused great displeasure at the Albertine court. But a much more threatening difficulty occurred in the same year. On the occasion of collecting the Turkish tax (1542), the elector sought to exercise his supremacy over the district of *Wurzen*, in the See of Meissen. But when the bishop refused to submit to his demands, he ordered his soldiers forthwith to occupy the district. The Albertine court, however, also claimed sovereignty over Wurzen. Duke Henry died in 1541. *Maurice*, his son and successor, at once placed an army in the field; the elector, also, prepared for war. It was with difficulty that Luther and the landgrave succeeded in amicably adjusting the quarrel. But the mutual estrangement and rivalry of the two courts from that time burned like a hidden fire, and after a few years broke out in a devastating conflagration.

6. *The Reformation in Brunswick and the Palatinate* (1542–43). (Cf. *G. H. Lenz*, braunschw. K. Ref. Wolfb. 1828. — *G W. H. Brock*, Gesch. d. ev. luth. K. d. Pfalsgrafsch. Neuburg. Nördl. 1847. — *F.*

Blaul, d. Reformationsw. in d. Pfalz. Speier. 1846.) — Duke *Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel* entered complaint against the city of *Goslar*, before the imperial chamber, because it had torn down two monasteries, from which the duke might easily have assailed the city. In spite of all the concessions of the emperor and king to the Protestants, the court proscribed the city (at the end of 1540), and *Henry* resolved to execute the ban. But the Smalcald League espoused the cause of the city, and substituting offensive for defensive measures, the landgrave and the Elector of Saxony invaded Henry's territory and subdued it (1542). *Brunswick* now obtained the long-desired preaching of the Gospel, and *Bugenhagen* introduced into it an evangelical organization and agenda. Thus the whole of northern Germany became a trophy of the Gospel, whilst in the south and west of Germany it also spread. In Oct., 1542, *Regensburg* adopted the Reformation. Bavaria forbade its subjects having any intercourse with the heretical city, but did not venture an open assault upon it; King Ferdinand would not have tolerated in a rival such an attempt to extend its power. In the upper Palatinate, evangelical preachers had long been tolerated by the territorial diet. Next in turn came the *Neuburg-Palatinate*. Its young prince, *Ottheinrich*, called *Osiander* from Nuremberg, who introduced the Reformation. The prince joined the Smalcald League (1543). In 1543, the Elector *Lewis*, of the Palatinate, died. His brother, Frederic II., though not averse to the Reformation, did not formally introduce it into the Electoral Palatinate until 1546. In Austria, also, considering the circumstances of the times, the new religious movement made daily progress. *Ferdinand* was neither able nor disposed to hinder its progress with the determined and bloody measures with which he had previously opposed it.

7. *The Reformation in the Electoral Principality of Cologne* (1542-44). (Cf. *L. Ennen* (Catholic), Gesch. d. Ref. in d. Erzdiöc, Köln Köln 1849.—*M. Decker's* (Cath.), Herm. v. Wied. Köln, 1840.) — *Hermann v. Weid* (§ 13, 5), Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, had studied Luther's version of the Bible, and become fully convinced that the Augsburg Confession harmonized with its doctrines. After much hesitation he resolved to introduce the Reformation into his territory, supposing that the recess of the Regensburg diet, which recommended a Christian reformation of their several institutions to the prelates, obligated him to such a course. At the next diet, held in Bonn, March, 1542, he reported what he had done, and received the most cordial approval of his States. The elector hoped to realize in his domain the plan of union, which it was expected the Regensburg diet would secure for the whole country, but which was there frustrated. To accomplish this he summoned *Bucer* to his aid; *Gropper* was to cöoperate, but his contracted popish views soon led him to withdraw. Melanchthon took his place. Already in July, 1543, the elector was enabled to lay before his States a Reformed constitution, to which they fully assented. But

meantime an opposition party was formed. The cathedral chapter and university resisted from regard for the papacy; the Council of Cologne objected because it feared lest by the change its authority would be curtailed. The movement, however, steadily progressed, and it was hoped that the opposition would be gradually weakened, or at least prove harmless. In other respects the Cologne Reformation took a peculiar course; the chapter was not secularized, but continued an ecclesiastical principality, only in an evangelical form. The Bishop of Münster at once prepared to follow this example; and had the work in Cologne proved permanent, a number of other chapters would doubtless have adopted the same measures. (Cf. § 16, 2).

8. *Embarrassments of the Emperor* (1543–44).—Soon after the Regensburg diet (1541), which had granted but inconsiderable aid against the Turks, *Soliman* had taken Hungary without opposition. He converted the principal church at Ofen into a mosque, and appointed a pasha with three tails over the whole country, which he proclaimed a Turkish province. Early in 1852, a *diet met in Spires*. Though there was much wrangling about religious matters, large aids were voted against the Turks, for which the Protestants obtained an armistice of five years after the termination of the war. The campaign against the Turks, however, commanded by *Joachim* II., accomplished nothing. Meanwhile new disputes arose with France, and *Soliman* prepared for another campaign. In this strait Charles summoned a *diet at Nuremberg* (Jan., 1543). The Protestants demanded that the Regensburg declaration should be included in the recess of the diet, and the dissolution of the existing imperial chamber. Ferdinand consented, but *William of Bavaria* declared that he would rather see the world perish, or the crescent rule over all Germany. The recess postponed the Brunswick affair until the emperor should be present, and guaranteed anew to the Protestants a five years' armistice; but these demanded an indisputable, permanent peace, and rejected the recess. A grant of aid against the Turks was out of the question. With the summer of 1543, apprehended dangers broke in upon the emperor from all sides; France seized upon the Netherlands, Soliman conquered Gran, the Danes barred the Sund against the emperor's subjects, a Turkish-French fleet held mastery over the Mediterranean, and had already taken Nizza, and the Protestants also assumed a threatening posture. Christian III. of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, sought admission to the Smalcald League (which, of course, could not be allowed, unless the landgrave, by his separate compact with Charles, would withdraw from it). The Duke of Cleves, also, broke the stipulated armistice. This provoked the emperor most of all. He hastened forth, and subdued Cleve and Geldern; the Smalcald League had to allow it, on the landgrave's account (1543). Both countries were restored to Catholicism. The position of the emperor then somewhat improved. Cleve was disposed of; England and Denmark made peace with him. But his most

dangerous foes, *Soliman* and *Francis* I., were still in arms. He still needed the most vigorous support of the empire, *i. e.* of the Protestants.

9. *The Diet of Spires* (1544). — *The diet of Spires* was opened by the emperor in Feb., 1544. He knew well that he could obtain help against the French or Turks only by making important religious concessions. And he yielded to this necessity. The recess allowed the Protestants to use the ecclesiastical property for the improvement of their churches and schools; earlier unfavorable recesses were annulled; Lutherans likewise were admitted as advisory members of the imperial chamber. The territory of Brunswick was ceded to the emperor for temporary sequestration, only its religion was to remain in statu quo. The adjustment of religious dissensions was referred to a "general, *free*, Christian" council; and if it could not succeed, matters should be fully and finally settled by a national convention, to be held the following fall, independently of the pope or a council. The emperor promised to bring a plan of reformation with him then, and allowed the other States to do the same. After such concessions the Protestants entered with spirit upon the consideration of the emperor's political propositions. First of all, he desired aid against the French. It was granted, and the same year yet he marched, with an army composed chiefly of Protestants, into France, and forced upon the king the *Peace of Crespy* (Sept., 1544). This would have been the time to prepare for the war against the Turks, according to the agreement at Spires. The Protestants burned with a desire to give the emperor proof of their zeal and devotion. Having confidence in the success of the national convention promised at Spires, the Elector of Saxony directed his theologians to draw up a plan of reformation, to be laid before the convention. This document, known as the *Wittenberg Reformation*, is remarkable for having proposed a new measure; it guaranteed the prelates their spiritual and temporal prerogatives, their dignities, domains, and jurisdictions, as well as the right of ordination, visitation, and excommunication; though, of course, on the condition that all this should be understood in an evangelical sense.

10. *Quarrels of the Emperor with the Evangelical States* (1545–46). The recess of Spires, with its promise of a national convention, finally induced the pope to order the long-called-for *Council at Trent*. He trusted that its decisions would sever the emperor from the Protestants —but the very appointment of it, already, produced this result. After the Protestants had conquered the *Peace of Crespy* for the emperor, and thus cleared the way for his general policy, he desired to carry out his earlier scheme of a complete reformation of the whole Church, the execution of which had been checked by the premature death of Hadrian VI. But, to effect this, he could not exempt the Protestants from subjection to the council. At the *diet of Worms* (May, 1545), however, they decidedly refused consent. Charles assured them that

he had no thought of using violence against them in matters of religion, but insisted on his demand, and began to make secret preparations. The Cologne affair (n. 7) also estranged him from them. The agitations which the reformation of the archbishopric excited in the Netherlands, were of the most threatening character for the system of government which obtained there. Hence the emperor took part with the opposition, and admitted a complaint of the chapter against the elector. An energetic intercession of the Smalcald League aggravated his antipathies. The growing power of the league filled him with apprehensions. *Henry* of Brunswick had just made an attempt to recover his domain, but was defeated by the united forces of Hessen and the two Saxonies, and taken prisoner. Simultaneously *Frederick* II. commenced the reformation of the Palatinate, and negotiated for admission to the Smalcald League. Thus four of the six electors had already defected, and the fifth, *Sebastian of Heusenstamm*, who, after the death of Cardinal Albert (1545), had been made Elector of Mayence, through the influence of Hessen and the Palatinate, had promised to do the same. Charles became alarmed. He concluded an armistice with the Turks (Oct., 1545), and negotiated with the pope, who pledged all his possessions and his triple crown for the overthrow of the heretics. On Dec. 13, 1545, he opened the *Council of Trent*, and did not conceal that its purpose was to suppress the Protestants. Charles once more endeavored to induce the Protestants to take part, and once more he instituted a *colloquy at Regensburg* (Jan., 1546). The zealous papists, *Malvenda*, *Cochlæus*, and *Billik*, and a little later, *Jul. v. Pflugk*, were opposed by *Bucer*, *Brenz*, and *Major*. The former would not yield a hair-breadth, and demanded a promise that no one should be told what transpired. Hence the colloquy failed. The horrible fratricide perpetrated during that time upon a young Spaniard, *John Diaz*, in Neuburg (whose brother Alphonso preferred his death to his joining the heretics), went unpunished, and furnished Protestants an instance of the way in which good Catholics thought heretics should be treated.

11. *Luther's Last Days* (1546). (Cf. *K. E. Förstemann*, Denkm. d. Dr. M. L. errichtet. Nordh. 1846, and the Jubelschrr. v. *Pasig*, Lpz. 1846; *Köthe*, Jen. 1846; *John*, Magd. 1846). — Whilst the storm was gathering which should soon burst upon the heads of the evangelical party, the mercy of God hastened the man, who had laid the immovable basis of a renovation of the Church, away from the struggles and trials of his completed labors. *Luther died at Eisleben, Feb.* 18, 1546, *at the age of* 63 *years*. His last years were burdened with manifold tribulations. The thoroughly political character forced upon the Reformation after the diet of Augsburg, was repugnant to him, but he could not alter it. Many things occurred in Wittenberg, also, of which he disapproved, and which caused him much anxiety and sorrow. Weary of his arduous labors, suffering violent bodily pains, and with increasing debility, he often longed to die in peace, and his prayer was

answered. Early in 1546, the counts of Mansfeld called him to Eisleben, to settle the disputes then existing between them. Thus engaged, he spent the last three weeks of his life in the place of his birth, and without any particular previous illness, fell peacefully and happily asleep in the Lord, during the night of Feb. 18. His corpse was taken to Wittenberg, and there deposited in the chapel of the castle.

§ 16. THE SMALCALD WAR AND THE INTERIM. (1546–51.)

All attempts at reconciliation in religious matters had failed. The pope, on the contrary, had ultimately consented to order a general council in some German city. The emperor turned towards it with his conciliatory schemes, and hoped that, as his hands were again free, since the conclusion of peace with France, he might carry out his idea of a reformation, *i. e.*, thoroughly correct all hierarchical abuses, allow priests to marry, grant the cup to the laity, and yield the doctrine of justification by faith. But on this subject he quarrelled with the Protestants, and war broke out before the Smalcald confederates were aware of it. Still their strength far exceeded the emperor's; but, through useless scruples, delays, and indecision, they allowed victory to escape them, when they had several certain opportunities of securing it. The power of the league was completely annihilated; that of the emperor reached its highest point. The whole of southern Germany was compelled to submit to the odious Augsburg Interim; and even in northern Germany, despised Magdeburg alone maintained pure Protestantism, in spite of the emperor and empire.

1. *Preparations for the Smalcald War* (1546). (Cf. *Hortleder*, Handl. u. Auschr. v. d. Ursachen d. deutsch. Krieg. Frkf. 1617. 2 Bde. f. *J. G. Jahn*, Gesch. d. schm. Kr. Lpz. 1837.—*F. A. v. Langenn*, Moritz, Herz. u. Kurf. v. Sachsen. Lpz. 1841, 2 Bde.)—After the emperor had concluded a league with the pope against the Protestants, he tried to find confederates in Germany also. To the *Duke of Bavaria* he held out the prospect of the electoral dignity, to which he had long aspired. This succeeded, but to guard against unfortunate issues, the duke promised only secret pecuniary aid. Charles next attempted to gain allies from among the Protestants themselves, whose mutual discords gave him hope of success. Margrave *Hans of Kustrin* and Duke *Eric of Brunswick-Calenberg*, the former a son-in-law, the latter an uncle of the expelled and captured Prince of Wolfenbüttel, offered their services in the contest against the robbers of that invaded country. But Charles was more concerned to gain the young Duke *Maurice of Saxony*. The

continued rivalry and variance between him and his uncle, the elector, gave ground to hope that he also might be won over. The attempt succeeded. For the electoral dignity of Saxony, and the greater part of the lands belonging to electoral Saxony, Maurice turned traitor. The emperor could, indeed, no more exempt him than the other two princes from a formal subjection to the council, but he promised them forbearance in the application of the decree of the council, and that in any case, the doctrine of justification, the cups for the laity, and the marriage of priests, should be guaranteed to their countries. Having thus secured Maurice, the emperor prosecuted his preparations quite openly, and made no secret of his intention to chastise some princes who had shown contempt for his imperial dignity, and violently seized possessions not belonging to them, under the cloak of religion. The Smalcald confederates could no longer deceive themselves. They also made preparations for war. With this open rupture ended the *diet of Regensburg* (June, 1546).

2. *The Campaign along the Danube* (1546).—The northern cities were most zealous in their preparations. Uniting with Würtemberg, they sent a respectable army into the field, under the command of the vigilant *Schärtlin*, before the emperor had matured his preparations. Had the Protestant council of war in Ulm permitted, Schärtlin would have marched forthwith to Regensburg, where the emperor was surrounded by an excited Protestant population, and without protection. But the council thought nothing should be done to irritate *William of Bavaria*, who was playing a neutral part. Then Schärtlin wished to take Tyrol, and pay a visit to the Council of Trent. He had already started, when the council commanded him to return, in the foolish hope that King *Ferdinand* would remain neutral. Thus Charles gained time to collect his forces. Under date of June 20, 1546, he issued from Regensburg a ban edict against the Landgrave *Philip* and the Elector *John Frederick*, as vassals who had violated their duty and oath. Both published proclamations in defence of their course, entered the field with considerable forces, and joined *Schärtlin* at Donawert. There papal despatches to the Catholic cantons of Switzerland fell into their hands, in which the pope informed them that he had made a league with the emperor for the extermination of heretics, and promised plenary indulgence to all who would aid the crusade against them with prayers or money. Even after all the delays, the issue of the war would hardly have been doubtful, had the Protestants carried out their plans with unity, decision, and vigor. But in this they failed. The winter was approaching without their coming to a battle. Meanwhile, however, *Maurice*, (to whom the emperor had transferred the Saxon electorate, by a formal decree of Oct. 27, 1546), on pretence of friendly concern, took possession of the domain of the dishonored elector, and received the oath of allegiance. Tidings of these events constrained the landgrave and ex-elector to return to their countries, and *Schärtlin*, in want

of money and munitions, was unable even to establish permanent winter quarters in Franconia, for the protection of northern Germany. The whole country, therefore, was exposed to the emperor. One city after another capitulated, on more or less severe terms. Würtemberg and the Palatinate had also to yield. In regard to religious matters, the emperor wisely granted to all the same privileges he had promised before the campaign to his allied princes. At the beginning of 1547, he was master of the whole of southern Germany. He then disposed, also, of the *Cologne affair* (§ 15, 7). In April, 1546, the pope had pronounced the ban against its archbishop, and authorized Charles to execute it. But the emperor prudently delayed, lest the elector should attach himself to the enemy. Now, however, Charles published the ban. His commissaries called a meeting of the States at Cologne, and made the coadjutor archbishop and elector, in spite of the opposition of the States. *Hermann* was ready to purchase the religious freedom of the country by a voluntary resignation; but this was rejected, and having no power to resist, he resigned unconditionally. Thus the Rhine country was hopelessly lost to Protestantism.

3. *The Campaign of the Elbe* (1547).—*John Frederick* entered Thuringia about the middle of Dec., 1546. He was received warmly and with rejoicings, and in a short time conquered not only his own domain, but the greater part of the Albertine district. The cities of lower Germany formed a league with him. The Bohemians, also, refused Ferdinand's demand that they should fight against their brethren in the faith, and on their own responsibility confederated with the ex-elector. *John Frederick* once more assumed a highly important position, the danger of which the emperor fully appreciated. Hastily gathering a considerable army, Charles joined Ferdinand and Maurice in Eger, and by rapid marches moved towards the Elbe. At *Mühlberg*, he overtook his enemy. There was hardly a battle. *John Frederick's* troops were overpowered by the imperial army, of whose approach he had no knowledge, and he was taken prisoner (April 24, 1547). Sentence of death was pronounced upon him, as a rebel and heretic. But the council of war thought it more prudent to force from him by treaty the surrender of his fortress, than to waste time in uncertain attempts at conquest. In matters of religion the pious prince would not yield, but he resigned his electoral dignity, and consented to the surrender of his fortress, the transfer of the greater portion of his domain to Maurice, and imprisonment for life. The Landgrave *Philip*, meanwhile, had been able to do nothing, for want of munitions, money, and troops. The tidings of John Frederick's misfortune filled him with dismay. Unable to offer any resistance, he surrendered unconditionally to the emperor. His son-in-law *Maurice*, and the Elector *Joachim* II., offered to act as mediators. In a document, which was immediately accepted in the case, the emperor vowed that "solche Ergebung weder zu Leibesstrafe noch zu *ewigem* (al. *einigem*) Gefängniss gereichen solle," for

the landgrave. *Ranke's* careful investigations have shown that the first version is undoubtedly the correct one. But in the further transactions in the matter, this compact, with its document, was so far lost sight of, that both the mediators must have considered it set aside, and even feared they would offend the emperor by asking for its formal annulment. An imprisonment was not named in any of the subsequent transactions, nor in the final capitulation; indeed the latter, in most of its conditions, assumed the personal freedom of the landgrave. In conformity with it, the *landgrave*, of course, surrendered himself at discretion, but the emperor promised an amnesty in advance. The landgrave was required to prostrate himself before him, to demolish all his fortresses but one, to give up all his arms, never to tolerate an enemy of the emperor in his territory, to enter into no leagues, to liberate Duke Henry of Brunswick, and restore him to his domain. The ceremony of prostration took place on July 19, at the residence in Halle. Both the electors, with the landgrave, then went unsuspiciously to sup, by invitation, with the Duke of *Alba*. After supper, the duke declared that the landgrave was his prisoner. The electors remonstrated in vain with the duke, and the next day with the imperial councillors, who coolly produced the earlier document. The emperor was also entreated without avail.

4. *The Council of Trent* (1545–47).—The *Council of Trent* was opened in Dec., 1545. At the very beginning, the pope, against the express will of the emperor, introduced resolutions which precluded the participation of the Protestants. The Scriptures and tradition were first discussed. The same authority was ascribed to the Apocrypha as to the other books of the Bible, and the *Vulgate* was acknowledged as the authentic version and only basis of all theological transactions, discussions, and sermons. *Tradition* was declared fully coördinate with the sacred Scriptures, only care was taken for once to settle and fix the limits of its contents. The total extermination of *original sin* by baptism was affirmed, the remaining concupiscence being pronounced no sin; after baptism there were none but actual sins. The scholastic view of *justification* was, substantially, reasserted, although it was purged of its worst excrescences, and conformed as much as possible to scriptural modes of expression. Justification was made to consist in the actual conversion of a sinner into a righteous person—not only in the forgiveness of sin, but the sanctification and renewal of the inner man. It is effected not by an imputation of Christ's merits, but by an infusion of habitual righteousness, which enables man to secure eternal life by his own good works. It is not an *actus Dei forensis*, but an *actus physicus*, is effected not at once, and through faith alone, but gradually, under the training of the Church, through those means which it offers, and by man's free coöperation. The emperor, who saw his own conciliatory schemes set aside by these decisions, was greatly displeased, and peremptorily demanded that their promulgation should

be postponed. The pope listened for a time, but as the interference of the victorious emperor in the affairs of the council assumed a more threatening character, he directed his legates forthwith to publish the suspended decisions (Jan., 1547), and a few weeks later, on pretence of a dangerous pestilence, transferred the council to Bologna (March, 1547), where, however, it did no additional business.

5. *The Augsburg Interim* (1548). (Cf. *J. E. Biek*, das dreifache Int. Lpz. 1721. *J. A. Schmid*, hist. interimistica. Helmst. 1750.)—Early in Sept., 1547, the emperor opened a *diet at Augsburg*. The humbled Protestants promised, almost unresistingly, to submit to the council, if it were restored to Trent, and its proceedings begun afresh. Charles energetically urged the pope to concede these unavoidable demands. The refusal of the pope compelled him once more to attempt effecting a religious union without the pope or council, and to institute an interim which should be the law for both parties until the action of a proper council could be obtained. King Ferdinand proposed Bishop *Julius v. Pflugk*, the suffragan Bishop *Michael Helding* of Mayence, the Elector *Joachim* II., and his court-preacher *John Agricola* of Eisleben, as a committee to prepare the interim. Charles consented. Agricola's boasts of his influence in the committee were as vain as his magniloquent promises that large concessions would be granted were proven to be falsehoods. Joachim had enjoined it upon him to adhere to four points (justification, the cup for the laity, the marriage of the clergy, and the setting aside of the opus operatum), but Agricola could not even, unqualifiedly, secure them. The second and third were granted, but in regard to the doctrine of *justification*, the Bishop of Naumburg could not go directly in the face of the decrees of Trent, whilst the Protestants on their part could make no concessions on this point. They agreed, therefore, to reject the inanis fiducia of faith without works, as well as the false confidence of resting in works without true faith, and to acknowledge both an inherent and imputed righteousness; — and if, on the one hand, they declared that God justifies men not on account of works, but of his mercy, and without any merit of man, they affirmed on the other that there might be works which *transcended* the divine commands, and that *such* were meritorious. Upon the *mass* they agreed more readily. Pflugk, indeed, clung to the idea of a sacrifice, but not in the sense of an atonement, but of a memorial or thank-offering; not as a repetition of the death of Christ, but as an appropriation of its fruits. In the doctrine of the Church, the power of the pope was essentially limited; he was acknowledged only as the supreme bishop, in the sense of a primus inter pares, in whom the unity of the Church was visibly represented. On the other hand, the right of interpreting the Scriptures, and to ordain doctrines and usages according to it, was claimed exclusively for the Church. The *seven sacraments* were confirmed, including chrism and extreme unction, and special stress was laid upon transubstantiation. The duty of fast-

ing and of praying to the Virgin and saints for their intercessions, all the ceremonies of Catholic worship, the pomp of processions, the festivals of saints, of Mary, and especially Corpus Christi, remained in full force. — This compromise received the emperor's entire approval, and even several Protestant princes believed that any wrong thus done to pure doctrine was richly compensated by the prospect of having some of their views legally introduced into Catholic countries. The Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate at once assented to the measure. *Maurice* found it more difficult to do so; he could not shut his eyes to the impossibility of getting the consent of his States. Finally he half consented, and the emperor took it as a full approval. *Hans*, of Küstrin, and *Wolfgang*, of Zweibrücken, decidedly opposed the plan, but Charles took no further notice of them than to say to them that in a short time a few thousand Spaniards would be sent into their districts. Then it came to the turn of the Catholic princes. *William of Bavaria* called up, apart from this, on account of supposed neglect on the part of the emperor, had consulted the pope, and decidedly rejected the Interim. The other Catholic States followed his example. The emperor did not think himself powerful enough to compel their approval, and the recess of the diet made the Interim binding only on the Protestant States. The Landgrave *Philip*, whose power was completely broken, assented, but nothing could induce the brave-hearted *John Frederick* to do it. Even the pope persistently declined acknowledging the Interim, until in Aug., 1549, he authorized his bishops to tolerate the concessions it made for the Protestants.

6. *The Introduction of the Interim* (1548).—Everywhere the Interim had to be introduced by violence. This was first done in the cities of northern Germany. People and preachers steadfastly resisted it, but the magistrates let themselves be overawed by the threats and demonstrations of the emperor, and thus it was admitted by one city after another—by *Nuremberg*, *Augsburg*, and *Ulm*. *Constance* made a show of resistance, but it was outlawed, lost all its privileges, and instead of the Interim, popery was restored, and evangelical preaching prohibited on pain of death. Intimidated by this example, the other cities submitted to what was unavoidable. The Palatinate yielded at once. Würtemberg soon followed its example. All the ministers who refused to accept the Interim were banished and persecuted. About 400 faithful preachers of the Gospel, with their wives and children, wandered without food or shelter through southern Germany. *Frecht*, of Ulm, was loaded with chains, and dragged after the imperial camp. *John Brenz*, of Swabian-Hall, one of the most decided opponents of the Interim, more than once, in his wanderings, miraculously escaped being captured. In *northern Germany*, the opposition was more persistent. The example of John Frederick encouraged others to imitate him. The opposition was concentrated in the cities of lower Germany, especially in *Magdeburg*, which had been under the imperial ban since the Smal-

cald war. The fugitive opponents of the Interim gathered there from all parts; there alone, (in "God's chancery,") the press was still free to combat the Interim. A flood of tracts, satires, and caricatures issued thence, spread over all Germany, and fanned the inextinguishable hatred. The Landgrave Philip advised his son to accept the Interim, but his people would not consent. Even the Elector of Brandenburg could not carry it out in his domain, still less the Elector *Maurice*.

7. *The Leipsic or Small Interim* (1548). (Cf. *H. Rossel*, Melanchth. u. d. Int., in his theol. works. Berl. 1847).—The Elector *Maurice* was surrounded by peculiar difficulties. Pressed by his States, whom he had promised to protect in maintaining pure doctrines, and no less pressed by the emperor, who expected him at once to adopt the Interim, he resolved to prepare a compromise of these adverse demands, with which both parties might be satisfied. To effect this he needed the consent and aid of the Wittenberg theologians, above all of *Melanchthon*. Melanchthon had for several years been greatly restrained in his theological views by Luther, and by the strictly Lutheran court of John Frederick; but since Luther's death, and the change of dynasty, he felt more at liberty, but was also less decided. He was compliant beyond all expectations. His timid spirit feared that unconditional opposition would utterly destroy Protestantism, whilst obedience and concession would at least save the essentials of the Gospel as seed-corn for better times. In a letter to *Carlowitz*, he spoke in very moderate terms of a sketch of the Interim, approved of the restoration of old usages, and revelled in the remembrance of the powerful impressions which they had made on him in his youth. In his pliancy he so far forgot himself as to complain to this man, the most bitter enemy of Luther and of the noble John Frederick, of Luther's obstinacy and controversial spirit, and to utter odious insinuations against the former government. In an official opinion which he was requested to give, he said that it was necessary to adapt one'self to the sad times, and to approve and obey the will of the emperor, as far as it could be done in harmony with the essentials of evangelical faith. At Meissen, Torgau, Monkscell, and Jüterbock, the States had shown a more unmanageable and firm spirit than the theologians, and the subject of their conventions was extensively discussed. At length, at the diet of Leipsic, Dec. 22, 1548, the Interim prepared by the Wittenberg theologians (*Melanchthon, G. Major, P. Eber, Bugenhagen*, and *Cruciger*), according to Melanchthon's modified views, was adopted as the law of religious worship and usages for the countries of Saxony, and the theologians were directed to prepare a liturgy corresponding with the new Interim, which was accordingly published in July, 1549. *Julius v. Pflugk* was very well satisfied with this *Leipsic Interim*, and offered to recommend it to the emperor; *Agricola* triumphed, the preachers of the Margravite naively wrote to the Wittenbergers, asking whether the incredible news was true, the letters of *Calvin* and *Brenz* lacerated Melanchthon's

heart, zealous Lutherans everywhere were enraged, and denounced the measure, and the Protestants generally hated the Leipsic more than the Augsburg Interim. Its introduction was aided by imprisonment and exile, but hostility to it daily increased. The Leipsic Interim restored Catholic customs and ceremonies, almost without exception, as adiaphora, took no notice of less essential doctrinal differences, and set forth fundamental articles in such terms, that they might accord either with pure evangelical tenets or with the interemistic Augsburg Interim. The evangelical doctrine of justification was, indeed, not essentially altered, but it was not expressed in decided and unequivocal terms, and still less were Catholic errors distinctly and unambiguously rejected. Good works were declared to be useful and necessary, though not as meritorious of salvation. It was not said whether good works could be done *beyond* the requirements of the divine law. Concerning the Church and the hierarchy, the definitions of the Augsburg Interim were retained; all the clergy should be subject and obedient to the pope, as the supreme bishop, and to other bishops who discharged their office according to the will of God, to edification and not injuriously. The seven sacraments were recognized, but not in the Romish sense of them. In the mass, the Latin language was restored. Saints' images were allowed, but not to be worshipped, and also the festivals of Mary and Corpus Christi, but without processions, etc.

8. *Resumption of the Council of Trent* (1551).—In Sept., 1549, Paul III. dissolved the council at Bologna, the nullity of which had long been apparent. His successor, *Julius* III. (1550–55), who had been elevated by the imperial party, resolved at once to reopen the council at Trent, in accordance with the emperor's desire. The Protestant States declared themselves ready to take part in it, but demanded the reconsideration of its previous proceedings, as well as a seat and vote for their delegates. These demands the emperor was willing to grant, but the pope and prelates demurred. The council was opened on May 1, 1551, with the discussion of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Meanwhile, the Protestants equipped themselves for it by drawing up new confessions of faith which should be made the basis of their transactions with the Council. *Melanchthon*, whose courage began to revive, prepared the *Confessio Saxonica* (or, as he could properly call it, the Repetitio Conf. Augustanæ), in which we discover no further trace of the vacillation and duplicity of the Leipsic Interim. On the contrary, the true doctrine is set forth positively and polemically, with firmness and confidence, though in moderate and conciliatory terms. *Brenz*, also, who had still to remain in concealment, drew up the *Würtemberg Confession*, by direction of his ruler, Duke *Christopher*. Both confessions were subscribed, likewise, by other States. The first Protestants arrived in Trent in Nov., 1551. They were the temporal delegates of Würtemberg and Strassburg. In Jan., 1552, the delegates of electoral Saxony. On Jan. 24, they presented their demands to the Council,

but despite the support of the imperial commissary, they were unable to carry them through. In March, the theologians of Würtemberg and Strassburg arrived, with *Brenz* at their head. Melanchthon, and two Leipsic preachers, were on the way. Suddenly, *Maurice* put an end to the inextricable perplexities of the council.

§ 17. THE ELECTOR MAURICE AND THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG. (1550–55).

In 1550, the affairs of the Reformation were in a worse condition than at any previous time. Bound by the fetters of the Interim, it seemed like a culprit on whom sentence of death was about to be passed. But in this extremity there arose a man who burst the fetters, and restored strength and honor to the cause. He was the Elector *Maurice*. By betraying the Protestant cause, he had brought it to the verge of ruin; by treachery towards the emperor, he rescued it. The *treaty of Passau* guaranteed full religious liberty to the Protestant States, and equal rights with the Catholics, until a new council could be convened. The *Religious Peace of Augsburg* finally removed this restriction also, and terminated the history of the German Reformation.

1. *The State of Affairs in* 1550. — It was a dark and perilous period for Germany. The emperor had reached the summit of his power, the end of all his desires and efforts. He now openly avowed his cherished plan of securing to his son, *Don Philip of Spain*, the succession in his imperial dignity. In the affairs of the empire he publicly assumed autocratic power, regardless of the rights of the States. In violation of treaties and capitulations, he retained the Spanish troops, who daily became more exacting, insolent, and oppressive. Although all the conditions were long fulfilled, on which the landgrave was promised freedom, Charles obstinately refused to liberate him. Protestant Germany was groaning under bondage to the Interim. The most that could be expected of the Council was the confirmation of the hated Interim; and even this was uncertain. But *one* bulwark of evangelical liberty still stood in the emperor's way, the enthusiasm of the brave, outlawed city of Magdeburg. How long it might hold out, no one knew. Until the fall of 1550, all attempts to storm it had failed. Then *Maurice* undertook to execute the ban, by the emperor's direction, and at the cost of the empire.

2. *The Elector Maurice* (1551). — Maurice had wholly alienated the hearts of his subjects. Many of his States were directing their attention to his brother Augustus, whilst others thought of a restoration of the old electoral house. Throughout Protestant Germany he was re-

garded with aversion. Had the smothered hatred exploded, he might easily have lost Germany, in spite of imperial aid. On the other hand, Maurice was still too much of a German and Protestant prince to give his unconditional approval to the emperor's dynastic and compromise measures, whilst, at the same time, he was personally aggrieved by the continued imprisonment of his father-in-law. Under these circumstances he resolved to make amends, by treachery against the emperor, for the wrong he had done by treachery against his evangelical confederates. Skilful in dissimulation, he vigorously prosecuted the siege of Magdeburg, but at the same time made a secret compact with the Margrave *Hans* of Küstrin, *Albert* of Franconian-Brandenburg, and the sons of the landgrave, for the restoration of the liberty of religion and of the States. He also opened negotiations with *Henry* II. of France, who gladly promised pecuniary aid. At length, Magdeburg capitulated, and Maurice entered the city on Nov. 4, 1551. The arrearages still due served as a pretext for not discharging the troops of the empire, and strengthened by the possession of Magdeburg, and by the subsidies which his confederates furnished, he threw off the mask, and issued public proclamations, in which he set forth a long list of accusations and complaints against the emperor, and declared that he would no longer submit to be trampled upon by priests and Spaniards. All the interests of the emperor were once more at stake. In vain he looked to the Catholic princes for help. Without men or money, he was shut up in Innspruck, which could not endure a siege, and every way of escape to his hereditary domains seemed closed against him; for, independently of his exposure to the confederated German princes, the Turks were watching him by sea, and the French by land. Maurice was on his way to Innspruck, in order, as he irreverently said, "to catch the fox in his hole." But the refractoriness of his troops demanding their pay, detained him, and Charles gained time to flee from Innspruck. During a cold rainy night, suffering with severe illness, he fled over the mountains covered with snow, and found refuge in *Villach*. Three days later, Maurice entered Innspruck;—the council had long been scattered.

3. *The Treaty of Passau* (1552). — Before the flight of the emperor from Innspruck, Maurice had met King Ferdinand at *Linz*. He there demanded, not only the liberation of the landgrave, but also the abrogation of the Interim, a German national assembly for the purpose of effecting religious union, and, in case this could not be brought about, permanent and unconditional peace. Ferdinand was not averse to these demands, but the emperor, in spite of his embarrassment, indignantly rejected them. The negotiations at Linz, therefore, failed; but their early resumption at *Passau* was agreed upon. Meanwhile, the flight of Charles from Innspruck, and the entrance of Maurice into the city, occurred. At the appointed time, delegates from most of the States arrived in Passau. The Protestants had once more a decided majority,

and the Catholic States, by no means favorable to the dynastic schemes of the emperor, were more yielding than ever. Maurice resumed his Linz demands, and the States in the main assented to them. Ferdinand, also, agreed to them; but not the emperor. Ferdinand went personally to Villach, and used all his eloquence to persuade Charles; but in regard to the chief point, the demand of a permanent, unconditional peace, even if the States should succeed in establishing religious concord, the emperor would not yield. Ferdinand had to return to Passau without having accomplished his purpose, and the perseverance of Charles triumphed. The majority bowed to his firmness, and a treaty was concluded, which secured to the Protestants complete amnesty, universal peace, and equal rights, until a national assembly or general council could be held, to effect a religious union. Provision for such a council or assembly was to be made by the next diet. In the meantime the emperor had made great preparations for war. Frankford was the place of rendezvous. Maurice hastened to the city, and besieged it, but a sally of the besieged inflicted a heavy loss upon him, and a speedy conquest of the city was out of the question. At this juncture the Passau delegates arrived in his camp with the projected treaty. Had he refused to sign it, he would doubtless have been put under the ban, and his relative restored to the electoral dignity. He therefore signed it. Ferdinand had great difficulty in obtaining the emperor's signature, who now thought himself able to maintain the conflict. The captive princes were thus, at length, set at liberty, and preachers who had been banished by the Interim returned to their homes.

4. *The Death of Maurice* (1553).—Domestic and foreign disturbances occurred the following years. Of chief moment was the death of the Elector Maurice, whilst involved in a contest with his early friend and confederate, the Margrave *Albert of Brandenburg*, the son of the Margrave Casimir. Although a Protestant, Albert had stood with Maurice, in the Smalcald war, on the emperor's side; with Maurice he also took part in opposition to the emperor. Whilst Maurice attacked Charles personally, Albert laid the spiritual principalities and Sees under tribute, and compelled them to make the most disadvantageous treaties. After the treaty of Passau, which he did not sign, he continued the war against the spiritual princes on his own responsibility. Thus he fell out with Maurice. But Charles enlisted his services, and not only granted him full amnesty for all his pillages and infractions of the peace of the country, but even promised the recognition of all the treaties which had been forced from the bishops. In return, Albert assisted the emperor against the French, and then, on his own responsibility, prosecuted his invasions of German territories. Ere long he and Maurice were involved in an open war. In the battle of *Sievershausen*, July 11, 1553, *Maurice* gained a brilliant victory, but also received a fatal wound, of which he died after two days. Albert fled to France. His misfortune subdued his warlike spirit; the religious

impressions of his youth revived; and the composition of the beautiful hymn: "Was mein Gott will, das geschch allzeit," exhibits the great change which now took place in him. He died in 1557. The year 1554 was wholly occupied with the gradual settlement of the internal distractions of the empire. There was a predominant desire for final and permanent peace. In the dissensions of the last year, Protestants and Catholics were leagued together on both sides. In this way Maurice and Henry of Brunswick were closely united, and the latter now voluntarily tolerated Protestantism in his territory.

5. *The Religious Peace of Augsburg* (1555). (Cf. *Lehmann*, Acta publ. de pace rel. d. i. Reichverhandll. u. Protokk. d. Rel. Fr. Frkf. 1707–9, fol. — *G. Litzel*, Gesch. d. Rel. Fr. Frkf. 1755, 4to. — *Chr. W. Spieker*, Gesch. d. A. Rel. Fr. Schleiz, 1854.)—It happened, fortunately for Protestantism, that the next diet, which by the treaty of Passau should have been held within a half year, did not convene for two and a half years; for the intervening political distractions and embarrassments so far mellowed the temper of Charles, that he consented to what he had no power to alter. The diet of Augsburg was opened in Feb., 1555. The emperor could not shut his eyes against the fact that the aim and results of all his past endeavors were about to perish; but his pride and his conscience would not allow him personally to approve and sanction what was unavoidable. He therefore disclaimed all participation in the transactions — his brother might see to it, how to reconcile his course with his conscience, and settle the matter with his States. After a long and violent struggle, the Protestants carried the point of having the subject of a religious peace first taken up. Then followed a controversy about the official designation of both parties. The Protestants had to allow their opponents to be styled—adherents of the ancient Catholic religion: themselves—*adherents of the Augsburg confession*. The decree of perpetual, unconditional religious peace, then passed the electoral college without difficulty; but in the council of the princes it met with violent opposition. There the papal legate *Morrone* (§ 15, 2), unexpectedly made fanatical use of his influence, and *Otto v. Truchsess*, Bishop of Augsburg, solemnly declared that he could consent to no part of the plan proposed, and affirmed that he would rather forfeit property and life than take part in such negotiations. This firmness made a great impression upon the Catholic States; but the Protestants, also, united more closely, and refused to yield. Ferdinand inclined to their side. Nevertheless, the severest conflict was yet to be passed through, and it might even result in the hostile dissolution of the diet. Then the condition of affairs suddenly changed. *Julius* III. died. *Morrone* and *Truchsess*, both cardinals, hastened to Rome, to take part in the election of a new pope. Thus the power of the fanatical papal opposition was broken in the diet. The plan of a peace was now carried; but new disputes arose concerning the details of the peace. The Protestant States demanded that all should enjoy

its advantages who, in the future, might embrace their confession. In the electoral college Cologne opposed this, but Treves turned the scale in favor of the demand. In the council of the princes the demand aroused a new storm. Finally, they united upon the simple, general statement, that "no one should be assailed for adhering to the Augsburg confession." But the contest about this question merely formed the transition to another of infinitely greater importance, as to what should be done, if, in future, spiritual princes themselves should join that confession. This was the proper life-question of German Catholicism; to decide that, as the Protestants desired, would have dealt a death-blow to it. This the spiritual States full well understood, and struggled pro aris et focis. They urged the claims of the reservatum ecclesiasticum, by which every defecting prelate lost not only his ecclesiastical dignity and prerogatives, but also, unavoidably, his temporal power and dominion. In this instance, the Protestants did not carry their point, not even in the electoral college. *Daniel Brendel* had just been appointed successor of the recently deceased *Heusenstamm*, as Archbishop of *Mayence*, which, thus far, had always voted for the Protestants, and Brendel had now to act with reference to the pope's confirmation of his appointment. Both parties were obstinate. Two opposite drafts were submitted to Ferdinand, who hesitated to decide. Meanwhile, the States proceeded to the consideration of the peace of the country. This brought up the affairs of the imperial chamber. The Protestants obtained an enactment, requiring associate members to be sworn to maintain the Religious Peace, and to be selected equally from both parties. At length, on Aug. 30, Ferdinand reported his decision. It was to be expected that he would support the opinion of the Catholic States in regard to ecclesiastical reservations; but contrary to all expectation, he went still further, and refused to confirm a perpetual unconditional peace. But, in regard to the latter point, he was evidently not in earnest. On Sept. 6, he declared himself ready to yield, provided the Protestants would do the same in regard to ecclesiastical reservations. His affirmation that he would never give that up, was so decided and solemn, that the Protestants abandoned all hope of changing his mind. But they determined to sell their concession as dearly as possible, by requiring legislative assurance that evangelical subjects of Catholic States should be forever protected in the free enjoyment of their religion. But the Catholic prelates were unwilling to surrender the advantages of the territorial system which the Protestants themselves had introduced (§ 6, 7). The subject led to the most violent debates, and the excitement hourly increased. Ferdinand settled the dispute by a medium measure. It was decided that in matters of religion the States should have territorial power, but that subjects of a different faith, if refused the free enjoyment of their religion, should be allowed to leave the territory without impediment, or loss of honor, property, or liberty. On *Sept.* 25, 1555, the recess was

published. The hope of effecting a reconciliation in religious matters at some future time was by no means abandoned, but the Religious Peace was not made contingent thereon. The maintenance of the peace was devolved upon the Corpus Catholicorum et Evangelicorum. The *Reformed* were not admitted to the Peace. In Germany, the political strength and extent of the Protestant and Catholic Churches were almost equal. Over against the three spiritual electors of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves, stood the three Protestant electors of Saxony, the Palatinate, and Brandenburg; and the power of the Protestant cities of the empire, as well as of most of the smaller princes, nearly balanced that of Austria and Bavaria.

6. *Second Attempt to introduce the Reformation into the Electorate of Cologne* (1582). — Ecclesiastical reservation was a mighty obstacle to the progress of Protestantism; in fact it prevented its further territorial spread. The only attempt made to extend it, failed. In 1582, *Gebhard Truchsess*, of Waldenberg, the Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, joined the Protestant Church, married the Countess *Agnes of Mansfield*, proclaimed unqualified religious liberty, and intended to convert his spiritual into a temporal electorate. His plan was highly approved by the people and the nobility, but the cathedral chapter opposed it with all its might. The pope fulminated a ban against him, and the Emperor, *Rudolph* II., declared him deposed. The Protestant princes ultimately deserted him, and the newly elected Archbishop, Duke *Ernest of Bavaria*, overcame him by force of arms (1584). The issue of Gebhard's attempt deterred several other spiritual princes who had contemplated a similar movement. (Cf. § 31, 2.)

§ 18. THE REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

Cf. *G. Weber*, gesch. Darst. d. Calvinism, im Verhältniss zum Staate in Genf. u. Frankr. Heidelb. 1836.

The Reformation penetrated *French Switzerland* somewhat later than German Switzerland, and assumed a peculiar form. It is primarily associated with the names of *Farel* and *Viret*, the forerunners of *Calvin*, who completed its organization. Calvin's powerful mind gained, for the system he adopted, a victory over Zwinglianism in Switzerland, in his lifetime already, and from Switzerland it spread triumphantly through the Reformed Churches of other countries.

1. *Calvin's Forerunners.* (Cf. *M. Kirchhofer*, Farel's Leben. Zür. 1831, 2 Bde.—*Ch. Schmidt*, Études sur Farel. Strassb. 1836.—*Chenevière*, Farel, Froment, Viret. Strassb. 1836.—*Jaquemot*, Viret, réformateur de Lausanne. Strassb. 1836. — [*Schmidt*, Farel u. Viret, in the Leben, etc., d. Väter, etc., d. Ref. K. Elberf. 1860].)—*William Farel*,

a pupil and friend of the liberal exegete and critic Faber Stapulensis, (vol. i. § 120, 4), was born at Gap, Dauphiné, in 1482. When the Sorbonne, in 1521, condemned Luther's doctrines and writings, Farel, who was known as a zealous adherent of Luther, had to leave Paris. He withdrew to Meaux, where Bishop *Briçonnet* kindly received him, and where he, and his friend *Le Clerc*, founded a Reformed congregation. But, in 1523, the authorities took measures against the movement. Farel fled to Basel, where he labored as a champion of reform (§ 10, 3). Next he went to Montbeliard. His reckless zeal often endangered his life. At length he had to flee. He first gained a firm footing in *Neufchatel*, where he succeeded in getting the Reformation introduced in Nov., 1530. In 1532, he left Neufchatel to labor in Geneva. But the civil authorities of the city could not protect him against the power of the bishop and clergy. He had to leave the city, and *Anthony Froment* and *Robert Olivetanus* carried on the work. Violent agitations followed, the bishop withdrew, and fulminated the ban against the rebellious metropolis. Farel then returned to Geneva (1534), accompanied by *Peter Viret*, the subsequent reformer of Lausanne. Viret was born at Orbe, in 1511, and during his studies at Paris had imbibed the principles of the Reformation. On this account he too had to shun Paris. He went to Orbe, and toiled zealously there for the spread of evangelical knowledge. There Farel learned to know him. The arrival of both these reformers, glowing with zeal, caused a struggle for life in Geneva, in which the Reformation triumphed. After a public disputation in 1535, the magistracy declared itself in favor of the new cause, to which Farel imparted doctrinal firmness by preparing a confession of faith. In 1536, *Calvin* passed through Geneva. Farel adjured him in the name of God to remain. Indeed Farel needed a co-laborer of Calvin's spirit and power, for severe struggles still awaited them.

2. *Calvin prior to his Labors in Geneva.* (Cf. *Theod. de Bèze*, hist. de la vie et mort de J. Calvin. Gen. 1564, 4to.)—(In opposition a libel by *Bolsec*, hist. de la vie de Calv. Par. 1577). *P. Henry* Leb. Calv. Hamb., 1836–45, 4 Bde. [transl. by *Stebbing*, N. York, 1854].—*J. J. Herzog*, J. Calv. eine biogr. Skizze. Bas. 1843.—*J. M. Audin* (Catholic), Gesch. d. Leb. d. Lehre u. Schriften Calvin's, aus d. Franz. v. *Egger*, Augsb., 1843.)—*John Calvin*, a son of the episcopal procureur Gerard Caulvin, was born, 1509, in Noyon, Picardy. Intended for the priesthood, he held a benefice already in his twelfth year. Intercourse with his relative, *Rob. Olivetan*, awakened doubts in his mind as to the truth of the Catholic system. This, together with a special preference for politics, led him to relinquish his benefice, and engage in the study of law, which he prosecuted at Orleans and Bourges with zealous assiduity. In Bourges, however, a German, *Melchior Wolmar*, professor of Greek, exerted so powerful an influence upon him, especially through the study of the Scriptures, that he resolved thenceforth to devote himself exclusively to theology. To this end he went to Paris, 1532. There

he zealously embraced the principles of the Reformation. A remarkable occurrence soon caused his hasty departure from the city. The recently appointed rector of the Sorbonne, *Nicholas Cop*, had, according to custom, to deliver a discourse on All-Saint's day, 1533. Calvin wrote it for him, and gave utterance to views which had never before been preached there. Cop read it all, and escaped imprisonment by timely flight. Calvin also found it advisable to leave Paris. The bloody persecutions of Protestants under Francis I. led Calvin, at length, to resolve to leave France. In 1535, he went to Basel, where he became intimate with Capito and Grynæus. During the same year he issued the first edition of his Institutio Relig. Christianæ. It was designed as a vindication of the Protestants in France, whom Francis I. was persecuting, under the pretence of quelling Anabaptist and insurrectionary movements: hence it was dedicated to the king in an earnest and candid preface. Not long afterwards he left Basel, and went to the court of the Duchess *Renata* of Ferrara, a sister-in-law of the French king, and a warm friend of the Reformation, to solicit her interference on behalf of his oppressed brethren. But having failed in this attempt, he set out on his return. In Geneva, Farel and Viret detained him (1536), and succeeded in having him appointed preacher and teacher of theology. On Oct. 1, 1536, the three reformers, in a public disputation at Lausanne, vindicated the principles of the Reformation. *Viret* remained in Lausanne, and completed the work of the Reformation there.

3. *Calvin's First Period of Labor in Geneva* (1536–38).—In Geneva, as elsewhere, there sprung up a movement simultaneously with the Reformation, and in opposition to it, which aimed at tearing down existing institutions, and emancipating itself from all law and order. The doctrines of these Geneva *Spirituels* and *Libertins* were thoroughly pantheistic; they made God and man identical, sin a mere conceit, marriage a hateful infringement on personal liberty, the Scriptures nothing, and the so-called spirit everything. In his conflict with this dangerous party, which found much favor with the aristocratic youth of Geneva, Calvin displayed the full power of his consistent and determined mind, and he sought to subdue it by an inexorably severe Church discipline. He instituted an ecclesiastical consistory, which had the power of inflicting heavy civil penalties, as well as of excommunication. This not only roused the Libertine party to violent opposition, but excited the jealousy of the magistrates. Both conspired for the overthrow of the consistory, which placed the city under ban and interdict. The magistrates banished the preachers (April, 1538). Farel went to Neufchatel, and remained there until his death (1565). Calvin went to *Strassburg*, where Bucer, Capito, and Hedio procured him a post as professor and preacher. During his three years' residence there, he often officiated as the delegate of Strassburg, and was thus brought into intimate relations with the German reformers, especially with Melanchthon,

(Frankford, Hagenau, Worms, and Regensburg (Cf. § 14, 15). But he still kept up close correspondence with Geneva, and his friends there did all in their power to turn the minds of the council and citizens in his favor. In this they found it easier to succeed, as the Libertine party had carried its disorders to the furthest extreme since the overthrow of the theocratic consistory. By a decree of the council, Oct. 20, 1540, Calvin was most honorably recalled. After protracted consideration he returned in Sept., 1541, and now prosecuted his work, with increased vigor and energy, to its legitimate completion.

4. *Calvin's Second Residence in Geneva* (1534-64). — Immediately after his return, *Calvin* restored the consistory, and through it exercised almost unlimited authority. It was a thoroughly organized inquisitorial tribunal, which kept strict watch over the moral and religious conduct of the citizens, called them to account for every suspicious expression, banished the incorrigible, and put dangerous persons to death. The Ciceronian translator of the Bible, *Sebastian Castellio*, promoted by Calvin to the rectorship of the Genevan school, fell out with the severe moral discipline and the rigidly maintained orthodoxy of the Calvinistic rule, charged the clergy with arrogance and pride, and controverted, in Pelagian style, the doctrine of predestination. Calvin assailed him with such violence, that Castellio thought it prudent to get out of the way of further proceedings, by fleeing to Basel. A Genevan physician, *Jerome Bolsec* (previously a Carmelite monk in Paris), was put in prison for speaking rather freely of Calvin's doctrine of predestination, and then banished (1551). Subsequently he avenged himself by writing a biography of Calvin, which teemed with bitter invectives. *Michael Servede* (§ 28, 2), a Spaniard, fared still worse, for denying the doctrine of the Trinity. Bucer, Melanchthon, and Beza, approved of his execution. Calvin died, May 25, 1564, and committed the prosecution of his work to his milder friend, *Theodore Beza* (died 1605), the learned critic, translator, and expounder of the New Testament.

5. *Calvin's Works.*—Of the numerous works of Calvin, the *Institutio christ. relig.* is the most important; it corresponds with Melanchthon's *loci*, but is more complete in its formal scientific construction (1535). It exhibits Calvin's religious depth of thought, the speculative power and copiousness of his mind, the bold consistency of his thoughts in pursuing a theory to its last results, combined with a clear and beautiful style, and surprising massiveness of conception. Next to the Institutes, his *expositions* of nearly all the books of the Bible are most distinguished. In these, also, he proves himself to be a man of brilliant acuteness, religious geniality, profound Christian sentiment, and considerable exegetical talent; but, at the same time, he betrays a hypercritical disposition, and a defiant adherence to doctrinal prejudices. Moreover, we do not find in his exegetical works the genial warmth and childlike devotion to the text, which so eminently distinguished

Luther, whilst they are formally more scientific and pregnant. On the *pulpit*, Calvin was the same strict and consistent logician, as in his theological and polemic writings. He had not a particle of Luther's popular eloquence. The best edition of his works is that of Amsterdam, in 9 folio volumes.

6. *Calvin's Doctrinal System.* — *Calvin* thought Zwingli far inferior to Luther, and did not hesitate to pronounce the doctrine of the former concerning the Lord's Supper, profane. He never stood in any close personal relation with Luther (who highly esteemed him), but was intimate with Melanchthon, and exerted some influence over him. Far as he surpassed Zwingli in religious depth and fervor, and decidedly as his views approximated those of Luther, he stood, in the fundamental *principle* of his system, on the same basis with Zwingli, and not with Luther. Fundamentally, he sustains the same relation as Zwingli to the principles of the Reformation. His expositions of the Scriptures are incomparably more profound than Zwingli's, and often more thorough, acute, and scientific than Luther's; but he could not enter into the inmost sense of the text with the childlike freedom from prejudice and simplicity of Luther, and exhibit its meaning with the same acuteness and ease. He was as decidedly hostile to ecclesiastical tradition as Zwingli. On the doctrine of the person of Christ, he, like Zwingli, inclined to Nestorianism, and therefore could not apprehend the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the fullness of Luther's faith. He taught, as Berengar had done previously, that the believer was, through faith, fed only spiritually, but in a real way, by the body and blood of Christ in the supper (through a virtue issuing from the glorified body of Christ, seated at the right hand of God), but that unbelievers receive mere bread and wine. In regard to justification, he agreed formally with Luther, but differed fundamentally in maintaining a rigid legality, almost like that of the Old Testament. The inexorable consistency with which he carried out his views of predestination, made them exceed Augustine's doctrine in inflexible rigidity and severity.

7. *Triumph of Calvinism over Zwinglianism.*—After Zwingli's death, *Henry Bullinger* stood at the head of the clergy of Zurich. Calvin opened a theological correspondence with him, and they soon came to a mutual understanding with regard to their views. In the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549), prepared by Calvin, German Switzerland embraced Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper; and by the *Consensus Genevensis* (1554), his doctrine of predestination secured a victory. By means of extensive correspondence, and his numerous works, his influence reached far beyond the limits of Switzerland. Geneva became the refuge of all religious fugitives; and the university which Calvin founded there, furnished almost all foreign Reformed congregations with pastors trained in the strictly Calvinistic spirit. The *Second Helvetic Confession* (Conf. Helv. posterior), prepared in Zurich by *Bullinger*, at the

request of *Frederic* III. of the Palatinate, by far the most important of all the Reformed confessions,* was published in 1566, was acknowledged by all the Reformed countries (last of all by Basel), and is decidedly Calvinistic.

§ 19. THE REFORMATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A religious movement so powerful as the Reformation, could not be confined to the countries in which it originated (Germany and Switzerland). Its mighty waves soon rolled beyond the parent countries, and spread to the utmost boundaries of Europe. And the conscious or unconscious sense of the need of ecclesiastical improvement was so deep and general, that the movement was everywhere welcomed. Opposition was, indeed, also made to it on all sides, but it is indubitably certain, that it would have triumphed, even to the remotest corners of Europe, if the contest had been conducted on that field alone, where all such contests should be settled, and with those weapons which alone should be employed. But the champions of the Catholic Church checked the steady progress of the Reformation by means of armies, stakes, and scaffolds, and thus succeeded in wholly suppressing the cause in some countries, and in having it restricted in others to the limits of a merely tolerated sect. In general, the German Lutheran confession was received with more favor in the North; the Swiss Reformed in the South; the former prevailed in Scandinavian, the latter in Roman countries; whilst both were received, side by side, by Slavonians and Magyars. That Lutheranism, which first struck root in Roman countries also, was subsequently supplanted by the Reformed faith, was owing to various external causes. The first of these was the powerful ascendency and wide-spread influence acquired by Geneva through Calvin's illustrious labors, by its active intercourse with other countries, through countless fugitives, travellers, and students, and partly, also, by affinity of language and nationality, geographical proximity (at least in the case of France and Italy), etc. But these external reasons furnish only a partial explanation of the fact, indeed they indicate, already, the existence of internal causes.

* This is one among several misstatements concerning the Reformed Church, into which the author's strong Lutheran prejudices have betrayed him. The *Heidelberg Catechism* (§ 24, 1), published three years before (1563), has the preëminence even over the Helvetic Confession. — Tr.

And these lie, as it seems, in the fact that their national peculiarities were more strongly attracted by the Genevan than the Wittenberg plan and method of effecting a Reformation. Two things especially led to this: the tendency of the Romanic national character to extremes, which found fuller satisfaction in the more thorough and radical measures of the Genevan Reformation, than in the more moderate and compromising course of the Wittenbergers; a preference for a democratic republican form of government, which the former favored.

Beyond the German confederated States, the LUTHERAN Reformation first took root (1525) in *Prussia*, the seat of the Teutonic knights (§ 7, 3), then in Scandinavian domains. It acquired complete and exclusive predominance in *Sweden* (1527), *Denmark* and *Norway* (1537). It penetrated the countries along the Baltic within the first twenty years. In *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, all opposition was overcome as early as 1539. In *Courland*, it was not fully organized until some twenty years later. The REFORMED Church was exclusively established in *England* (1562), *Scotland* (1560), and in the *Netherlands* (1579). Mere *toleration* was secured for the Reformed Church in France (1598), for the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in *Poland* (1573), in *Bohemia* and *Moravia* (1609), in *Hungary* (1606), and in *Transylvania* (1557). In *Spain* and *Italy* alone could the Catholic Church completely master the Reformed movement. A few attempts to enlist the *Greek* Church in favor of the cause, proved fruitless.

1. *The Reformation in Sweden.* (Cf. *J. A. Schinmeyer*, Lebensbeschr. d. drei schwed. Reformatoren. Lüb. 1783.—*P. E. Thyselius*, Einführ. d. Ref. in Schw.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1846. II.) — *Sweden* had freed itself of the Danish yoke, which, for fifty years, had been imposed upon it by the Colmar union (1397). But the higher clergy was constantly conspiring with Denmark. *Gustavus Trolle* had an open rupture with the regent, *Sten Sture*, and was deposed. Leo X. placed Sweden under ban and interdict, and *Christiern* II. of Denmark subdued the country (1520), and during the coronation ceremonies, commanded 600 of the first men of Sweden, whom the archbishop had pointed out as enemies of the Danes, to be executed by the *massacre of Stockholm.* But Christiern had scarcely reached home, when *Gustavus Vasa* returned from Lübeck, whither he had fled, drove out the Danes, and was chosen king (1521). During his exile, already, he had become inclined to the Reformation; he now adopted it as a confederate against the predominance of the resisting clergy. Two brothers, *Olaus* and *Lawrence Peterson*, who had studied in Wittenberg, had labored

for the spread of evangelical doctrines in their native country since 1519, in connection with *Lawrence Anderson*, episcopal vicar at Strengnäs. Gustavus Vasa appointed Anderson his chancellor; Olaus was chosen preacher at Stockholm; his brother, professor of theology at Upsala. But during the king's absence two Anabaptists, *Melchior Ring* and *Knipperdolling* (§ 13, 6), arrived in Stockholm, gained adherents, and began to tear down images, altars, and organs. Even the impetuous Olaus allowed himself to be shaken by them. Fortunately the king soon returned, and by energetic measures speedily put an end to the disorders. In 1524, he instituted a *disputation at Upsala*, in which *Olaus Petri* and *Peter Galle* opposed each other. Galle used decretals and councils as his weapons; Olaus used only the Bible. The king declared Olaus victorious. Meanwhile Anderson translated the New Testament, and Olaus, aided by his learned brother, undertook the translation of the Old Testament. But notwithstanding all this, the Reformation made but slow progress, for the people clung tenaciously to the ancient faith. Moreover, the overbearing bishops caused the king much trouble. Wherefore, at the *diet of Westerås* (1527), he earnestly submitted to the States the alternative of his abdication, or the Reformation. The clergy violently opposed the latter, and Gustavus went away from the assembly in tears, firmly resolved to lay down his sceptre. Then the love of the people for their king burst the fetters by which the clergy held them bound. They did not rest until Gustavus, after much opposition, resumed his abandoned crown. The States had now to yield to his wishes. The Reformation was introduced into the whole country without resistance or force, and the *diet of Œrebro* (1529, 1537), and *Westerås* (1544), completed the work. Episcopacy was transferred to the new organization, and in worship many Catholic ceremonies were still retained (exorcism, the elevation of the host, prayers for the dead, sacerdotal robes), from connivance at the prejudices of the people. Gustavus died in 1560. Under his son *Eric*, a Catholic reaction sprung up, and his brother, *John* III., secretly confessed Catholicism to the Jesuit *Possevin;* he was prompted to this by his Polish wife, and the prospect of obtaining the crown of Poland. John's son *Sigismund*, King of Poland, publicly professed the Catholic faith. But his uncle, *Charles* of Sudermania, a zealous Protestant, having been appointed regent after John's death, immediately assembled the States at *Upsala*, 1593, where the Latin missal imposed upon the country was prohibited, and the Augsburg Confession was reinstated. But as Sigismund continued to favor Catholicism, the States declared (1604) that he had forfeited his throne; and his uncle, *Charles* IX., was made king. From Sweden the Reformation had long before spread into *Finland*.

2. *The Reformation in Denmark.* (Cf. *E. Pontoppidan*, kurzgef. Ref. Gesch. d. dän. K. Koph. 1734.—*F. Münter*, K. G. v. D. Bd. III.—*C. H. Clauss*, Christian III. Ein biogr. Beitrag zur Gesch. d. 16.

Jahrh. Dessau, 1859.)—Although *Christian* II., nephew of the Elector of Saxony, and brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V., had leagued with the Catholic hierarchy for the suppression of the national party in Sweden, he took sides in Denmark with the friends of the Reformation, against the predominant clergy. At his request, *Martin Reinhard* was sent to him from Wittenberg (1520). Reinhard's preaching met with great favor, and was supported by the Carmelite provost, *Paul Eliä.* But the clergy compelled the former to flee, and Eliä, fearing a violent outbreak, withdrew. Christian now (1521) endeavored to secure the services of *Luther*, or at least of *Carlstadt.* The latter went, but as the affairs of Christian grew worse, he had soon to leave again. At length the clergy and nobility renounced allegiance to the king, and transferred the crown to his uncle, Duke *Frederick* I. of Schleswig and Holstein. Christian fled to Saxony, was there led fully by Luther to embrace the Reformation, even converted his wife, the emperor's sister, and had the first Danish translation of the New Testament printed at Leipsic, and circulated in Denmark. But in order to secure the emperor's aid, he abjured the evangelical faith at Augsburg (1530). In 1531, he conquered Norway, and on receiving the oath of allegiance, he had to pledge himself to protect the Catholic Church. In 1532, however, he had to surrender himself to Frederick I., and spent his last years (*ob.* 1536) in prison, where he enjoyed leisure to repent of his apostacy, and to confirm his views of truth by studying the Danish Bible. But *Frederick* I., also, was from the first favorable to the Reformation. His hands were tied, however, by the terms of his election. His son *Christian* carried forward the work all the more vigorously in the duchies, and by this course encouraged his father. In 1526, he publicly confessed the evangelical faith, and called *John Tausen*, the Danish reformer, a pupil of Luther, who had labored for the Gospel amid much persecution since 1524, as preacher to Copenhagen. He laid the basis of a general reformation for the country, at the *diet of Odense* (1527), by limiting episcopal jurisdiction, proclaiming universal religious liberty, allowing priests to marry, and monks to forsake their cloisters. At the same diet, *Tausen* submitted to the States a separate confession (*Confessio Hafnica*). From that time the cause spread rapidly, and the considerate monarch directed his attention to check, by timely measures, violent disorders which broke out in different places. He died in 1533. The States refused to acknowledge his son, Christian III. But when *George Wullenweber*, burgomaster of Lübeck, sought to avail himself of the prevailing anarchy, and bring Denmark under the dominion of the proud commercial city, the States of Jutland hastily recognized *Christian* III. He expelled the Lübeck foes, and by 1536 subdued the whole country. Then he resolved to put an end to the machinations of the clergy. In August, 1536, he ordered all the bishops to be seized in one day, and at the *diet of Copenhagen* they were formally deposed. Their property was cast into the royal trea-

sury; all the monasteries were secularized; a part was bestowed upon the nobility, and a part converted into hospitals and schools. *John Bugenhagen* was called over to complete the organization of the Church. He crowned the royal couple, drew up a liturgy, which the DIET OF ODENSE adopted, taught at the university of the capital until 1542, and then returned to Wittenberg. Lutheran superintendents were substituted for the bishops, though this latter title was afterwards restored. The Augsburg Confession became the standard of doctrine. Simultaneously the Reformation was introduced into NORWAY, which took the oath of allegiance to the king in 1536. *Olaus Engelbrechtsen*, Archbishop of Drontheim, fled to the Netherlands with the treasures of the Church. ICELAND resisted the movement for some time, but yielded in 1551, when the power of the insurrectionary priests was broken.

3. *The Reformation in Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.* (Cf. *Brachmann*, d. Ref. in Livl., — in the "Mittheill. aus d. livl. Gesch." V. I. Riga, 1849. — *Th. Kallmeyer*, d. Begründ. d. ev. luth. K. in Kurl. [do. VI. 1, 2.] Riga, 1851.) — Livonia was under the dominion of the Teutonic Knights of Prussia, but had its own Grand-Master, who then was *Walter v. Plettenberg*, who, in 1521, dissolved his connection with the Grand-Master *Albert*, and was recognized as an independent prince of the German empire. Soon after this, *Andrew Knöpken*, a school-teacher, driven from Pomerania as a Lutheran heretic, arrived in *Riga* (1521). He was appointed archdeacon, and in a moderate way preached evangelical doctrines. Ere long, *Sylv. Tegetmeir*, of Rostock, became his assistant, and preached so violently against image-worship, that the excited populace forced open the churches, and destroyed the images. Nevertheless, he was protected by the council and General. *John Lohmüller*, city clerk in Riga, coöperated with them, with untiring zeal, for the establishment and spread of the Reformation in the city and country. As early as 1522, he opened a correspondence with Luther. *Melchior Hoffmann*, a furrier from Swabia, whose Lutheranism, however, had already degenerated into Anabaptist fanaticism, labored in Dorpat. The monastery of *Œsel* passed over to the evangelical Church without opposition, and at the same time a Lutheran congregation was formed in *Reval*. In 1523, *Plettenberg* sent his chancellor to Luther, who took that occasion to address an earnest letter of instruction and admonition to the Christians of Livonia. In spite of constant collisions and conflicts with the archbishop, but supported by the Grand-Master, Riga maintained its evangelical confession, and joined the Smalcald League in 1538. When *William of Brandenburg*, the brother of the Duke of Prussia, became archbishop (1539), he favored the evangelical cause, and all opposition to it ceased, so that in a short time all Livonia and Esthonia embraced the Augsburg Confession. But political difficulties (caused especially by the Russians), compelled the last Grand-Master, *Gotthard Kettler*, to cede Livonia to Sigismund Augustus of Poland, though with a formal guarantee of the evangelical faith (1561).

Kettler received *Courland* and *Semgallia* as a hereditary duchy, under Polish supremacy, and devoted his untiring care to the evangelical organization of his country, in which he was energetically aided by *Stephen Bülau*, the first superintendent of Courland.

4. *The Reformation in England.* (Cf. *A. W. Böhme*, Acht Bücher v. d. Ref. d. K. in Engl. Altona, 1734. — *C. Fr. Stäudlin*, K. G. v. Grossbrit. Göttg. 1849. Bd. I.—*G. Weber*, Gesch. d. akath. Kirchen u. Secten. v. Grossbrit. Lpz. 1845, etc. 2 Bde. — *J. v. Gumpach*, Gesch. d. Trennung d. engl. K. v. Rom. Darmst. 1845.—[For English lit. on this subject see: *Herzog's* Theol. and Eccl. Encycl., Philad. 1860, art. *England*, etc. Also: *Short's* Hist. of the Ch. of England, etc. Philad. 1843. — *Massingberd*, the Engl. Ref.; *Southey's* Book of the Church; and *D'Aubigne's* Ref. vol. V.—Tr.].)—*Henry* VIII. (1509–47), King of England, after his literary feud with Luther (§ 5), preferred prosecuting his vocation as "defender of the faith," by means of the gallows and the sword. But his adulterous love for *Anna Boleyn* impelled him to renounce the pope (1532), who refused to annul his marriage with *Catharine* of Aragon, his brother's widow, for fear of offending her nephew, the emperor. Nevertheless, Henry wished to continue a good Catholic in doctrine, and so raved both against Lutherans and Papists. Luther's works were diligently read in England, and two noble Englishmen, *John Frith* and *William Tyndale*, furnished their native country with a translation of the New Testament, published as early as 1526, at Antwerp. [Two Gospels were published at Hamburg in 1524. Tr.] *Frith* was rewarded by being burnt at the stake, 1533, and *Tyndale* by being beheaded in the Netherlands, 1535. The Catholic bishop, Fisher, also suffered martyrdom, and the former chancellor, Sir *Thomas More* (Vol. I., § 120, 4). *Thomas Cranmer* was chosen to carry out the king's plan of reform, and to this end he was elevated to the archbishopric of Canterbury; but at heart Cranmer was a zealous friend of the Swiss Reformation, and secretly did all he could to introduce it. Under the youthful *Edward* VI. (1547–53), he could act with less restraint. At his solicitation, many foreign theologians were called to England, among whom were *Martin Bucer* (*ob.* 1551), *Paul Fagius* of Strassburg, *Peter Martyr Vermillio*, *Bernard Ochino*, *John a Lasco*, (see below, 8, 13), and others, who, as professors and preachers, proclaimed pure doctrine, mostly according to the Reformed system. In unison with the noble Bishop *Ridley*, Cranmer prepared (1549) a liturgy for the English Church, and in 1552 drew up 42 articles of faith. The former was a medium between the Catholic and Protestant form of worship, the latter a medium between Lutheranism and Calvinism. After Edward's early death, the fanatical Catholic *Mary*, Catharine's daughter, obtained the crown (1553–58). *Ridley* and *Cranmer* were burnt (1556), and the devout Mary raved with unsparing cruelty against all who confessed the Gospel. Two hundred and seventy-seven persons, bishops, preachers, and laymen, women, children, and aged persons,

perished in the flames, and measures were already adopted to establish a permanent inquisition, when Mary was called away from her bloody work. She was followed by *Elizabeth* (1558–1603), the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Educated by Cranmer in the Protestant faith, she triumphantly established the Reformation in England. On the basis of the previous labors of Cranmer and Ridley, the *Convocation of London* (1562), adopted *XXXIX Articles* as a confession of faith, and a liturgical directory for the Anglican Church. Both were combined, for more general use, in the *Book of Common Prayer*. The XXXIX Articles, which were incorporated into the English statutes by an act of Parliament (13 Eliz. c. II., April, 1571), adopted Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper, but not his dogma of predestination [see *Herzog's* Encycl., art. Anglican Church]. In the organization and worship of the Church, many catholicizing elements were retained (the episcopacy, apostolical succession, a copious ceremonial). In opposition to this, the *Puritans* or *Presbyterians* introduced a presbyterial constitution, modelled after that of Geneva, with a strict discipline, and a rigid, one-sided predominance of the formal principle, touching the sole authority of the Scriptures (extermination of the Apocrypha), a zealous adherence to Calvinism, an extremely bald form of worship, which scrupulously excluded the leaven of popery (clerical vestments, altars, candles, crucifixes, the sign of the cross, forms of prayer, sponsors in baptism, confirmation, kneeling at the sacrament, bowing the head at the name of Jesus, bells, organs, and all festivals, retaining only the Sabbath). To restore ecclesiastical unity, the queen directed the passage of the *Act of Uniformity* (1563), and punished all *non-conformists* with fines, imprisonment, and banishment. This increased the evil. A party of non-conformists, called *Independents* (also *Congregationalists*, and *Brownists*, after their founder *Robert Browne*), carried their opposition to all ecclesiastical courts so far that they rejected synods and presbyteries, and made their preachers amenable to the arbitrary vote of single congregations, though they established a *Congregational Board* at London, as a central point of union, which was a synod formed of delegates sent by the respective congregations. Persecuted by the government, they fled to Holland, but returned under Cromwell, and subsequently emigrated to North America.—Elizabeth introduced the Anglican Church into *Ireland*, also, and gave it all the church property there. But in spite of constant oppression, the mass of the Irish adhered to the Catholic Church. (Cf. § 33, 3; 34, 3.)

5. *The Reformation in Scotland.* (Cf. *Stäudlin* and *G. Weber*, l. c. *K. G. v. Rudloff*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Schottl. Berl. 1847. 2 Bde.—*K. H. Sack*, d. K. v. Schottland. Heidelb. 1844. 2 Bde.—*J. Köstlin*, d. Schott. K. seit d. Ref. Hamb., 1852. — *A. H. Niemeyer*, J. Knox and the two Marys. Lpz., 1824.—[*M'Crie's* Life of John Knox. Edinb., 1814.—*F. Tytler*, Hist. of Scotl., vols. VI. VII.—Tr.].)—In Scotland, the Gospel was early preached by *Patrick Hamilton*, who had studied in Wittenberg,

and perished at the stake (1528) at the age of 24 years. His martyrdom was followed by many others. But amid all the political disorders, the Reformation took deeper root in the hearts of the people and nobility, in spite of the hostility of the Stuarts and the bishops. *John Knox* (*ob.* 1572), however, was the proper reformer in Scotland. Educated at Geneva, he impressed the most severe and rigid Calvinism upon the constitution and doctrines of the Scotch Church. Having, as a galley slave, acquired an iron inflexibility of character, he set at defiance both the anger and tears of the young queen, *Mary Stuart*, and with glowing zeal, and by a revolutionary storm, urged the Reformation to a triumphant issue. (*Confessio Scotica*, 1560.) The unfortunate queen lost everything, and was compelled at last to throw herself into the arms of her deadly foe Elizabeth, and to succumb to an execution on the scaffold (1587). Her son *James* VI., still a child, was crowned, and the reformers exercised the regency. After Elizabeth's death, he assumed the united crowns of England and Scotland.

6. *The Reformation in the Netherlands.* (Cf. *H. Leo*, Zwölf Bb. niederl. Gesch. Halle, 1835. 2 Bde.—*J. L. Motley*, Hist. of the Dutch Republ. [*Herzog*, Encycl., art. Holland].)—*Charles* V. held the Netherlands as an inheritance from his grandmother, Maria of Burgundy. So much had happened in the period preceding the Reformation (see Vol. I., § 119, 6) to prepare the way for it, that it was now received with very great favor by the people, who had independent and active minds. Luther's writings were early circulated, and the first martyrs of the Lutheran faith (§ 8, 1) perished at Antwerp (1523). Connections with France and Switzerland, however, subsequently led to the predominance of the Reformed Confession. Here the emperor commanded the edict of Worms to be executed in all its severity, and thousands perished by the sword and at the stake as martyrs to the evangelical faith. Under Charles's son and successor, *Philip* II. of Spain, the Inquisition perpetrated still more terrible cruelties, with the purpose of suppressing the spirit of both political and religious liberty (from 1555). The *Belgic Confession* (1562), maintained Calvinistic tenets. The *Compromise* (1566), a confederacy of nobles for the overthrow of the Spanish rule, and which adopted the name of *Guyses* (gueux-beggars), which the Spaniards applied to them in ridicule, daily grew stronger, and the maddened populace tore down churches, images, and altars. The *Duke of Alba* was sent with an army to put down the insurrection, which *Margaret of Parma* was unable to control, notwithstanding the bloody measures she was compelled to adopt (1567). By unexampled cruelties he temporarily succeeded. But the seven northern provinces combined in the *Utrecht Union* (1579), and *William of Orange*, and, after his murder (1584), his son *Maurice*, conquered the civil and religious liberty of the northern Netherlands, after a tedious and sanguinary struggle. The southern Belgic provinces were held by Alexander of Parma, under Spanish rule, and in the Catholic faith.

7. *The Reformation in France.* (Cf. *Th. Beza,* Hist. ecclst. des égl. reformées du royaume de France. Anv. 1580. — *A. L. Heermann,* Frankr. Rel. u. Bürgerkriege im 16 Jahrh. Lpz., 1828.—*Leop. Ranke,* franz. Gesch. in 16. u. 17. Jahrh. Stuttg., 1852. Bd. I. — *W. G. Soldan,* Gesch. d. Protestsm. in Frank. bis zum Tode Karl's IX. Lpz., 1855. 2 Bde.—*G. v. Polenz,* Gesch. d. franz. Calvinism, Bd. I. Gotha, 1857. — *F. W. Barthold,* Deutschl. u. d. Hugenotten. Brem., 1847. — *G. Weber,* l. c. (§ 18).—*L. Wachler,* die par. Bluthochz. Lpz., 1828. — *W. G. Soldan,* Frankr. u. d. Barthol. Nacht, in Raumer's hist. Taschb., 1854.—*E. Stähelin,* d. Uebertritt König Heinrich's IV. Basel, 1856.) — The first occasion of the Reformation in France proceeded from Wittenberg. In 1521, the Sorbonne directed Luther's writings to be burned in Paris. But Geneva soon acquired preponderant and exclusive influence. *Francis* I. (1515–47), favored the Reformation in Germany, but persecuted the Protestants (*Huguenots*) of his own country. *Henry* II. (*ob.* 1559), and *Francis* II. (*ob.* 1560), did likewise. Many thousands of heroic confessors were put to death by the sword and by fire. And yet the Reformed Church, especially in southern France, spread rapidly, and at the *first General Synod in Paris* (1559), adopted the *Confessio Gallicana.* Even a powerful branch of the royal family, the *Bourbons* (*Anthony of Navarre,* and his spirited wife *Jeanne d'Albret,* Anthony's brother *Louis Bourbon,* and Prince *Louis of Condé*), and persons of eminence (Admiral *Coligny,* and several parliamentary councillors, etc.), embraced Protestantism, whilst their political rivals, the *Guises,* of the ducal house of Lorraine (*Francis Guise,* and his brother *Charles,* Cardinal of Lorraine), sought support in the hostility of the Catholics. This gave additional strength to the peculiar tendency of the Reformed Church, to combine political with religious aims (according to the theocratic example of the Old Testament), in their reformatory measures, and decidedly impressed it with the character of a political party. Under the regency (from 1560) of *Catharine de Medici* (the mother of Charles IX., *ob.* 1574), the prospects of the Huguenots brightened. The noble Chancellor *Michael de l'Hospital,* a Catholic, but a foe of all sanguinary proceedings, instituted a *religious conference in the abbey of Poissy,* near Paris (1561), where, among others, *Theodore Beza* and the Jesuit General Lainez, confronted each other. The *edict of St. Germain* (1562) secured toleration and the free enjoyment of religious worship to the Protestants of the border cities. This encouraged large numbers of secret friends of Protestantism openly to avow their faith, and the rage of the Catholics was inflamed anew. At *Cahors,* a Huguenot meeting-house was surrounded by the people and fired; all assembled perished; those who escaped the fire were murdered. At *Vassi,* in Provence, the Huguenots were gathered for worship in a barn, *Francis of Guise* perpetrated a more fearful carnage, swearing that he would cut the accursed edict into pieces with his sword. The religious and civil war then broke out in consuming flames.

Twice a peace of short duration was concluded (at *Amboise*, 1563, and at *Longjumeau*, 1568). A third *Peace of St. Germain* (1570) secured to the Huguenots full liberty of conscience and religion; only Paris and the residence of the court were excepted. As a pledge of peace, four important fortresses were given to them (La Rochelle, Montaubon, Cognac, and La Charité), and *Henry of Navarre*, Anthony's son, was betrothed to the sister of Charles IX. At their marriage (Aug. 18, 1572), the Huguenot chieftains assembled in Paris. Henry's mother, *Jeanne d'Albret*, died soon after her arrival; her death having probably been caused by poisoned gloves presented to her, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate *Coligny*. Late in *Bartholomew's night* (Aug. 24, 1572), the castle-bell suddenly tolled. It was the signal for the butchery of all the Huguenots. The bloody tragedy lasted incessantly for four days. Coligny fell, praying, under the blows of his murderers; no Huguenot was spared — neither children, women, nor the aged. Henry and Condé were offered the mass or death; they chose the latter. Meanwhile, couriers were dispatched with the murderous decree through the provinces, and the slaughter was renewed. The number of the slaughtered is variously given at 20,000—100,000. Pope *Gregory* XIII. commanded all the bells in Rome to be rung, a Te Deum to be sung, and a medal to be struck with the inscription *Ugonottorum Strages*, in honor of the glorious victory of the Church. (The result of *Soldan's* investigations is, that the horrible decree of death was enacted, not after long consultation, but suddenly, in consequence of political complications. The queen-mother having disagreed with her son, determined to maintain her position by Coligny's assassination. This failed. The king swore that he would severely avenge the iniquity upon the unknown authors of it. Then Catharine used all means to avert the threatening destruction. She succeeded in convincing the king that Coligny was at the head of a Huguenot conspiracy. Beside himself with rage, the king swore that not only the leaders, who alone were implicated, but all the Huguenots of France should die, so that no one might remain to reproach him for the deed. But it is certain, notwithstanding, that the thought of such a Satanic deed was previously broached, though it may have been but transiently. At the Spanish and Roman courts, the French government reported the tragedy as an acte prémedité; at the German court as an acte non prémedité; but in a letter previously sent to the emperor from Rome, it was said: Que à cette heure (the marriage festival) que tous les oyseaux estoient en la cage, ou les pouvoit prendre tous ensemble, et qu'il y en avoit, qui le desiroient.)—But the horrible deed failed of its purpose. If even 100,000 were murdered, ten times that number remained, and found strong rallying points in their fortresses. Hence civil war broke out afresh. The *Peace of Beaulieu* (1576), which once more guaranteed to the Huguenots their rights, was of brief duration. The Guises formed a *Holy League*, which was directed as much against

the pusillanimous king, *Henry* III. (1574–89), as against the Protestants, so that to escape their hands, he fled to the camp of the Huguenots, where he was murdered by the Dominican *Clement*. *Henry* (IV.) of Navarre then ascended the throne (1589–1610), and to secure it the better, abjured his faith (1593), but by the *Edict of Nantes* (1598), guaranteed full religious liberty to his earlier fellow-believers, in all the cities where Reformed worship had been previously practised, and unconditional equality with the Catholics in all civil rights and privileges, and powerfully protected them therein. His reward for this was the dagger of *Ravaillac*, a Feuillant, and a disciple of the Jesuits. (Cf. § 33, 2.)

8. *The Reformation in Poland.* (Cf. *C. G. v. Friese*, Ref. Gesch. v. Pol. u. Lith. Brsl. 1786. 3 Bde.—*V. Krasinski*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Polen. Lpz., 1841.—*J. Lucaszewicz*, Gesch. d. ref. K. in Lith. Lpz., 1848, 2 Bde.)—The way was prepared for the Reformation in Poland by fugitive Bohemian brethren, and Luther's works were eagerly read there soon after their appearance. *Sigismund* I. (1506–48) opposed it with all his might. It was most cordially welcomed in Prussian Poland. As early as 1525, the Catholic council was driven from *Dantzic*. Sigismund repaired thither, caused several citizens to be executed, and restored the ancient worship (1526). But he had hardly left the city until the Lutheran faith was again embraced. This example was followed by *Elbing* and *Thorn*. In Poland proper, also, the new movement spread with great power. In spite of prohibitions, many young Poles went to Wittenberg, and returned with glowing enthusiasm for Luther and his doctrine. Along with it, however, the Swiss Confession also reached Poland, and the persecutions with which Ferdinand of Austria threatened Bohemia and Moravia, led crowds of Bohemian brethren into the country. *Sigismund Augustus* (1548–72) was personally inclined to the Reformation. He demanded of the pope the permission of priests to marry, the communion sub utraque, the mass in the vernacular, and the abrogation of annates. The pope not only refused, but sent a legate into the country to subdue the heresy. The Protestant nobles now (1556) recalled their renowned countryman, *John a Lasco*, who, 16 years before, had left his office and country on account of his evangelical views. In the meantime he had aided in the reformation of East Friesland, and preached for several years in Emden; subsequently he went to England, at Cranmer's call, and after Edward VI.'s death, sought a refuge in Denmark, which, however, was refused him on account of his Zwinglian views; after that he preached to a congregation of French, English, and Holland fugitives, in Frankfort-on-the-Maine. After his return to Poland, he labored to effect a union of the Lutherans and Reformed, in connection with several friends translated the Bible, and died in 1560. At the *General Synod of Sendomir* (1570), a union of the three dissenting parties was finally effected (Consensus Sendomiriensis), which recognized the Lutheran

doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but in so indefinite a way that the article might also bear a Calvinistic sense. The opposition of the Lutherans was suppressed by earnest entreaties, but soon after broke forth only the more violently. At the *Synod of Thorn* (1595), *Paul Gerike*, a Lutheran preacher, stood up for the Lutheran view, but one of the nobles present put a sword at his breast, and the synod suspended him from his office as a disturber of the peace. Sigismund Augustus died in 1572. During the interregnum which occurred, the Protestant nobility formed a confederacy which effected a general religious Peace (*Pax dissidentium*, 1573), before the election of another king, by which Catholics and Protestants were pledged perpetually to maintain peace, and allow each other to enjoy equal civil rights. The new king, *Henry of Anjou* (subsequently Henry III. of France), endeavored to evade this Peace, but the marshal of the kingdom told him dryly: Si non jurabis, non regnabis. In the following year he secretly left Poland to ascend the French throne. *Stephen Bathori* (from 1576) took the oath of Peace unhesitatingly, and kept it also. But under his successor, *Sigismund* III. (a Swedish prince, from 1587), the Protestants complained of many violations of their rights, and the evils increased until the dissolution of the Polish kingdom (1772). (Cf. § 33, 5; 44, 4.)

9. *The Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia.* (Cf. *B. Raupach*, d. evang. Œstr. Hamb., 1832. 3 Bde., 4to.—*G. C. Waldau*, Gesch. d. Prot. in Œstr. Ansp., 1784. 2 Bde.—*A. Gindely*, l. c. (Vol. I. § 119, 5); *ib.* Gesch. d. Majestätsbriefes. Prag., 1858.)—The numerous Bohemian and Moravian Brethren had frequent interviews with Luther. In his Reformation they saw a want of discipline, whilst he was dissatisfied with their latitudinarianism in doctrine, and Novatian exaltation of external deportment. But in 1532, the Brethren presented an apology of their doctrines and usages to the Margrave George of Brandenburg, of which Luther fully approved. At the last interview in 1542, Luther offered their delegates his hand as a pledge of perpetual friendship. But genuine Lutheranism and Calvinism were both admitted into Bohemia. The refusal of the Bohemians to fight against their German brethren, in the Smalcald war, led *Ferdinand* to inflict a severe chastisement upon them. But Ferdinand became more considerate in his last years, and *Maximilian* II. (1564–76) did not disturb them. *Rudolf* II. (1576–1612), who was educated at the Spanish court, revived the oppressions. This roused the Bohemians, and compelled him to grant *Letters of Majesty* (1609), which ceded unconditional religious liberty, their own consistory, and an academy at Prague. Thus Bohemia became an evangelical country; in a hundred inhabitants, not more than one or two were Catholics. (Cf. § 33, 1.)

10. *The Reformation in Hungary.* (Cf. History of the Prot. Ch. in Hungary, with an introd. by *D'Aubigne*. Boston and N. York, 1854.)—From 1524, *Martin Cyriaci*, a Wittenberg pupil, labored in Hungary

for the spread of pure doctrine. King *Lewis* II. threatened its adherents with the severest penalties. But he fell in the battle of Mohacz, (1526). The new election produced two kings: *Ferdinand* of Austria, and the Vaivode *John Zapoyla*. Both immediately persecuted the Reformation, in order to gain the support of the clergy; the cause nevertheless acquired a powerful ascendancy. *Mathias Devay*, also a disciple of Luther, translated the Bible, and the synod of Erdöd (1545) adopted the Augsburg Confession. But the Swiss doctrines had also found their way into the country, and daily gained new adherents. The Reformed held a council at *Czenger* (1557), at which the *Confessio Hungarica*, embracing the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper and of predestination, was adopted. Under Maximilian II. the Reformation made unobstructed progress. But when Rudolph II. revived forcible measures, the Protestants arose under *Stephen Botskai*, and compelled him to conclude the *Peace of Vienna* (1606), which guaranteed them full religious liberty. Among the native Hungarians, the Reformed Confession prevailed, but the German settlers remained true to Lutheranism.

11. *The Reformation in Transylvania.* — Merchants from Hermanstadt brought Luther's writings to Transylvania as early as 1521. But there, also, *Lewis* II. of Hungary persecuted the Evangelicals; and, after his death, *John Zapoyla* did the same. Nevertheless, in 1529, Hermanstadt ventured to drive all the adherents of the pope from the city. In *Cronstadt*, the reform was introduced (1534) by *Jacob Honter*, who had studied in Basel. After Zapoyla had secured the permanent possession of Transylvania by a treaty with Ferdinand (1538), he showed more moderation towards the Protestants. After his death, the monk *Martinuzzi*, then made Bishop of Groswardein, exercised the regency during the minority of Zapoyla's son. He threatened the Protestants with bloody persecutions, whilst *Isabella*, Zapoyla's widow, favored them. On this account, Martinuzzi transferred the country to Ferdinand, but he was murdered in 1551. After some years, Isabella returned with her son, and a *diet at Clausenburg* (1557) constituted the country an independent principality, and proclaimed universal religious liberty. The Saxons adhered to Lutheranism, whilst the Szecler and Magyars preferred the Reformed Confession.

12. *The Reformation in Spain.* (Cf. *Th. M'Crie*, Hist. of the Ref. in Spain. *E. Böhmer*, Inquisit. u. Evang. in Sp., in Schneider's deutsch. Ztschr. 1852, No. 13, etc.) — The connection with Germany, brought about by the empire of *Charles* V., led to the early transplantation of Luther's doctrine to Spain. Very many theologians and statesmen who accompanied Charles to Germany, returned home with evangelical convictions — among these were *Alfonso de Virves*, court-chaplain to the emperor, and his private secretary, *Alfonso Valdez*, also a statesman. *Rodrigo de Valero*, a layman, attained to evangelical knowledge, by diligently studying the Scriptures, and led many

others into the way of salvation. The Inquisition seized his property, and condemned him to wear the sanbenito. *Juan Egidius* (Gil), Valero's friend, Bishop of Tortosa, formed societies for the study of the Bible. The Inquisition deposed him, and but for the protection of Charles, he would have perished at the stake. After his death, his remains were exhumed and burnt. The first martyr in Spain was *Francisco San Romano*, a merchant, who had become acquainted with Luther's doctrines in Antwerp. He was burnt at the stake in Valladolid, in 1544. *Franc. Enzina* translated the New Testament. He was imprisoned, and the book prohibited. About 1550, the reformatory movement acquired so general and comprehensive a character, that a Spanish historian of that period expresses the belief that all Spain would have fallen a prey to the heresy, if the Inquisition had delayed the application of the remedy but three months. But it now began vigorously to apply the remedy, especially after Philip II. (1555–98) assumed the government. Scarcely a year passed in which each of the twelve inquisitorial tribunals did not celebrate one or more great auto-da-fés, at which multitudes of heretics were burned. The remedy proved effectual. In twenty or thirty years the evangelical cause was suppressed.

13. *The Reformation in Italy.* (Cf. *Th. M'Crie*, Hist. of the Ref. in Italy. — *E. F. Leopold*, d. Ref. u. deren Verfall in Ital.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1843, II.)—Reformatory measures in Italy took a different course. A large part of the *Humanists* had given up all interest in Christianity for a self-sufficient sort of heathenism, and maintained the same position towards the Reformation as to the old Church; another portion desired a reformation in an Erasmian sense. Both remained in their old ecclesiastical relations. At the same time many learned men took a more decided stand, some of whom took matters into their own hands, and assailed the fundamental truths of Christianity. (Italy was, especially, the rendezvous of many *Anti-Trinitarians*, § 28), whilst others attached themselves to the German, but most to the Helvetic Reformation. Each party endeavored to reach the people by preaching and writings, and they often succeeded in founding separate congregations in Italian cities. But to save their lives the reformers had to flee from the country; and in 1542, a special Inquisition was instituted to suppress Protestantism in Italy, which, with reckless, fanatical fury, punished every appearance of Protestantism with imprisonment, the galleys, the scaffold, and the stake; nevertheless it did not accomplish its purpose until towards the close of the century. Almost all the writings of the German and Swiss Reformers were translated into Italian soon after their publication, and being anonymous, were widely circulated before the Inquisition seized upon them. *Antonio Brucioli* translated the Bible (1530, etc.) It was placed in the Index prohibitorum, although the translator remained in the Catholic Church. The Duchess *Renata de Ferrara*, a sister of Francis I. of France, distin-

guished herself as a promoter of the Reformation. Her court became the refuge and resort of French fugitives. Previously (§ 15, 3), it had been proposed to establish in Italy a propaganda of noble Catholic Christians, whose personal experience had convinced them that justification by faith was the central doctrine of all true faith and practice, and who hoped to reanimate the Catholic Church, without fighting against it. To this society such men as Cardinal *Reginald Polus* belonged; Bishop *Morone* of Modena; the Spaniard *Juan Valdez* (secretary of the Viceroy of Naples); *James Sadoletus* (author of a Commentary on the Romans); the legate *Contarini*, and others. The principles of this movement are most clearly and perfectly set forth in the small work *del beneficio di Giesu Christo*, whose author, *Aonius Palearius*, was prof. of class. liter. at Siena. In six years, 60,000 copies were printed at Venice alone. A large number of editions appeared elsewhere, partly in the original, partly in translations. But thirty years afterwards, no copy in the original could be found, and after one hundred years no translation; so thoroughly and consistently had the Inquisition done its work of extermination. In Rome, piles of it as high as houses were burnt. But in 1843, a copy of the original of 1543, was discovered and republished in London in 1853. Among the most distinguished reformers who wholly renounced popery were: (1.) *Bernardino Ochino*, from 1538 General of the Capuchins, and long renowned as a controversialist against the Lutheran and Zwinglian heresy; but in that very way led to a closer acquaintance with reformed writings. He united with the Reformed Church in 1542, fled to Geneva, and after that labored in Basel, Augsburg, Strassburg, and London. After the death of Edward VI. he had to flee from England, became preacher in Zurich, inclined to Socinianism, and even vindicated polygamy. On this account he was deposed, fled to Poland, and died (1564) in Moravia. (2.) *Peter Martyr Vermilio*, an Augustine monk and esteemed preacher. He was induced to leave the Catholic Church by studying the writings of Erasmus, Zwingli, and Bucer. He fled to Zurich, became Professor in Strassburg, and was also called to England by Cranmer, where he accepted a Professorship in Oxford. When Mary became queen, he returned to Strassburg, and died whilst professor in Zurich (1562). [Cf. *C. Schmidt*, P. M. Vermigli, etc. Elberfeld, 1857. —Tr.] (3.) *Peter Paul Vergerius*, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and papal legate in Germany (§ 14, 1), when he personally conferred with Luther. After that, his enemies accused him with being a secret adherent of Luther. To clear himself of this charge, he studied Luther's writings with the purpose of assailing them, and thus attained to the knowledge of evangelical truth, and had to flee. The awful end of *Francis Speira* in Padua (who denied his faith in the Gospel, and thereafter fell a prey to tormenting doubts, and fears that he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost), made a tremendous impression on him. He then openly joined the evangelical Church, labored for some time in the

district of Graubünden (but as a Lutheran, not as a Reformed), and died whilst professor in Tübingen (1565). (Cf. *C. H. Sixt.*, P. P. Verg. Eine reformationsgeschichtliche Monogr. Braunschw. 1855.)

14. Common opposition to the Roman papacy awakened a desire to form a connection with the *Eastern Church*. *Demetrius Mysos*, a deacon of Constantinople, spent some months with Melanchthon in 1559, and on his return took a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession with him; but no notice was taken of the matter. Twenty years later, the other theologians opened new negotiations with the patriarch *Jeremiah* II., through the Lutheran clergyman *Stephen Gerlach*, who visited Constantinople on an embassy of Maximilian II. Thereupon, the ministers of Tübingen sent the patriarch a Greek translation of the Augsburg Confession, prepared by *Martin Crusius*, and requested his opinion upon it. The patriarch candidly pointed out, in his reply, the errors of the book. The Tübingen clergy vindicated their creed, and in a second reply the patriarch reiterated his objections. A third letter was written, but the patriarch refused to give further explanations; and to a fourth he made no reply. (Cf. § 32, 2.)

B. INNER HISTORY OF THE CHURCHES OF THE REFORMATION.

§ 20. THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTER OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Cf. *Max Göbel*, d. rel. Eigenthümlichk. d. luth. u. ref. K. 1837.—*Rudelbach*, Ref., Luthersh., u. Union. Lpz., 1839.—*Wiggers*, kirchl. Statistik. I. 92, etc.—*K. Ströbel*, d. Unterschied d. luth. u. ref. K.; in the luth. Ztschr. 1842, III.—[*D'Aubigne*, Lutheranism and the Reform.; in the Bibl. Repository for Jan. 1845.—Tr.]

Western Christianity has reached its purest, richest, and most vigorous form in the Lutheran Church. In it the Germanic Christian spirit, which had striven after independence from the time of Boniface and Charlemagne, attained to Christian maturity, and emancipated itself from its Roman tutor, who had become a selfish tyrant. It appropriates without solicitude the rich treasures of true catholicity which the ancient Church had developed in the form of Græco-Romanic culture, enriched by the experiences and events of mediæval toils. It is the *Church occupying the true medium* between all sensualizing and spiritualizing forms of Religion, between a slavish objective and an

arbitrary subjective ecclesiasticism, as the former has more or less predominated in the Roman Catholic, and the other in the Helvetic Reformed Church. This, its proper mission, to represent and develop the true harmonizing medium between the ecclesiastical extremes of the West, the Lutheran Church has accomplished primarily, most vigorously, purely, and completely, with reference to *doctrine*. And it was right to do so. For the *doctrine* of the Gospel is the life-blood of the Church, the pulsations of which throb through her entire organism. But the Lutheran Church had a similar vocation in regard to all the other forms of ecclesiasticism. And this calling it endeavored from the start to fulfil. It must indeed be admitted that in its process of reformation and resuscitation, it may not have attained to that complete firmness and certainty, clearness and truth, of which it can boast in regard to doctrine. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied, that even its otherwise still imperfect or defective forms are animated by a powerful impulse to harmonize extremes. But this much is undeniable, and has been its most distinctive characteristic ever since its establishment at the Augsburg diet, in opposition to the Catholic and Reformed Churches: it is *the Church of the pure doctrine*, a doctrine which truly reconciles and unites extremes, equally guarded against heresy, and open to scientific developments. [Cf. § 21].

1. The Lutheran Church maintains a genuine conciliatory character between the Catholic and Reformed Churches, even in its fundamental view of Christianity. The essence of Christianity consists in the union of the divine and human (in the person of Christ as the prototype, also in the Bible, in the Church, in the sacrament, in the Christian life, etc.) The ultimate and inmost ground of diversity between the three Western Churches, lies in their different manner and method of contemplating and apprehending this union. The Catholic Church wishes to *see* it, the Lutheran to *believe* it, the Reformed to *understand* it. The tendency of the *Catholic* Church is to *confound* the divine with the human, and in such a way that the human loses its character as human, and the union with the divine is regarded as an *identification*. The *Reformed* Church, on the other hand, is disposed to *separate* the two, contemplating each by itself, and regarding the union as a *juxtaposition*, not objectively but subjectively, not really but ideally. The *Lutheran* Church, equally avoiding the idea of a confusion and a separation of the two elements, regards the union as a most vital, intimate, and efficient communion, penetration, and reciprocity, thus completely harmonizing the fundamental principles of the 3d and 4th General

Councils, most clearly developing them, and giving them their most comprehensive application. In the view of the *Catholic* Church, the human and earthly, which is often the imperfect bearer of the divine, in which the divine is too often manifested under narrowing limitations, are often taken in themselves for the divine. Thus in its conception of the Church, which leads to the doctrine of a merely external Church, which alone can give salvation; its idea of the human historical development of the Church, leading to the absolute authority of tradition, and the perversion of the true relation between the Scriptures and tradition; its view of the sacraments, hence its contemplation of them as opus operatum, and its doctrine of transubstantiation; its theory of the priesthood, leading to the hierarchy; its doctrine of sanctification, favoring semipelagianism, and righteousness by works, etc. The *Reformed* Church contemplated truth in a diametrically opposite way. It isolated the divine in Christianity from its earthly, visible bearer, sublimating and spiritualizing the former, despising the other, and regarding the operation of the divine upon the human as purely spiritual, and conditioned by personal faith. In the Scriptures it largely denies the human historical element, so that even the vowel points and punctuations were thought to be inspired. The divinely historical in the Church, on the other hand, was not recognized by it, but all tradition was rejected, and with it all historical development, normal or abnormal, was cut off. In its apprehension of Scriptures, the literal sense was disregarded in favor of the spiritual import, and in its conception of the Church, the significance of the visible was disparaged in favor of the invisible Church. In reference to the person of Christ, it allowed itself, in Nestorian style, to exclude the human nature of the exalted Redeemer from a full personal participation in all the attributes of his Godhead. In the sacraments, it separated the supersensuous grace from the material elements; and in the doctrine of predestination, it isolated the divine predetermination from human self-determination, etc. The *Lutheran* Church, on the contrary, shunned both these extremes, and combined the truths which underlay each, into a living, connected unity. In regard to the Bible, it neither holds to the letter without the spirit, nor to the spirit without the letter; in history, it recognizes the presence and operation of the Spirit of God within the sphere of the human development of the Church, and only rejects a *false* tradition, which does not proceed organically from the Scriptures, but is rather contradictory to it. In regard to the Church, it maintains the significance of the invisible as much as that of the visible Church. Touching the doctrine of the person of Christ, it affirms the complete humanity and complete divinity of both natures, in their living union, and most intimate reciprocal relation. In regard to the sacraments, it concedes the reality of the objective act of God, which offers heavenly grace through earthly elements, and that of man's subjective position, by which, according to his faith or unbelief, the sacrament ministers

to his salvation or condemnation. And in regard to the divine decrees, it solves the seeming contradiction between God's predestination and man's self-determination, by making the former conditional upon God's prescience (not reversely, as Calvin declares).

§ 21. DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Cf. *G. Walch*, Einleit. in d. Religionstreitigk. d. luth. K. Jena, 1733, 5 Bde. — *Thomasius*, d. Bekenntn. d. ev.-luth. K. in d. Consequ. s. Princips. Nüremb. 1848. — *Planck*, Gesch. d. protest. Theol. bis z. Concordienformel. Lpz., 1796, 3 Bde. — *H. Heppe*, Gesch. d. deutsch. Protestant. v. J. 1551–81. 4 Bde. 1852, etc.

Even during Luther's life, and still more after his death (1546), various, and, in part, very violent doctrinal controversies, broke out in the newly established Lutheran Church. The same necessity which impelled the ancient Church, in the 4th and 5th centuries, accurately to define and fix Catholic views of doctrine, prevailed in this case also; and what was said, in the history of that period, of the importance of ecclesiastical controversies in general, and the violence which often attended them, applies in part to the present instance. The Lutheran Church, moreover, was driven into these struggles by its peculiar character. As the Church which occupied the true middle ground, it had to define the limits which separated it from the frontiers of the two ecclesiastical extremes, strictly and sharply, distinctly and truly; and as the Church of pure doctrine, it was necessary for it to clear up, perfect, and definitely settle its own doctrinal system. But these struggles, notwithstanding their violence, did not lead to a schism in the congregations, because the Lutheran Church was so firmly and securely rooted, from the start, in ancient, genuine Catholicity.

1. *The Philippists.* — Soon after the adoption of the common confession at Augsburg, two tendencies, which gradually separated more widely, began to develop themselves in the Lutheran Church. The one party, headed by *Melanchthon* (Philippists), endeavored to widen the platform, on which Catholics on the one hand, and Reformed on the other, might stand, and thus effect an approximation to union and harmony. The other party, led by *Amsdorf*, *Flacius*, and *Wigand*, strove rather to define the pure Lutheran system with all possible strictness, so as to guard it against any admixture with Catholicising or Calvinistic elements. *Luther* attached himself to neither party, but

endeavored to keep both from plunging into their respective extremes, and, as far as possible, to maintain peace between both. In a new edition of the Augsburg Confession, of 1540, Melanchthon modified the statement concerning faith and works, to conciliate Catholics, and that touching the Lord's Supper to accommodate Calvinists. The unaltered confession declared: Docent, quod corpus et sanguis Domini *vere adsint et distribuantur* vescentibus in cœna Domini, et *improbant secus docentes*. For this he substituted: Quod *cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur* corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in cœna Domini. This statement was, indeed, not directly and exclusively Calvinistic, for then it should have used credentibus for vescentibus. Nevertheless, this arbitrary and Calvinising change embittered the stringent Lutherans, and even Luther admonished the author that the book was not his, but was the confession of the entire Church. When the Philippists, therefore, after Luther's death, made many other concessions to the Catholics, in the Leipsic Interim (1548), the Lutherans pronounced it open treachery to the Church. *Magdeburg* persistently rejected the Interim, and became the refuge of all zealous Lutherans; and in opposition to Philippist *Wittenberg*, the sons of the ex-elector, John Frederick, founded, by his direction, the university of *Jena*, as the stronghold of rigid Lutheranism. From the antagonisms of these two parties sprang, chiefly, the doctrinal controversies of the Reformation period.

2. *The Antinomian Controversy* (1537–40) was about the *authority of the law in Christianity*. *John Agricola* of Eisleben (from 1536 Prof. in Wittenberg, and from 1540 court-preacher in Berlin, aided in preparing the Augsburg Interim, 1548, *ob.* 1566), took offence, as early as 1527, at Melanchthon's urging the preacher, in the visitation circulars, to instruct the people diligently in the law. From 1537, he disputed with *Luther* himself about it. He did not contend against the use of the law outside of the Church for educational and civil purposes; but upon the correct principle that an authoritative system of morality could not help man, he erroneously maintained that the law no longer concerned Christians, and that only the Gospel should be preached, which would lead men to repentance through the power of divine love. Melanchthon and Luther, on the contrary, regarded conviction and repentance as the fruits of the law, but the saving purpose of amendment as the effect of the Gospel; and they required the law to be continuously preached, because, in the imperfection of man's present holiness, daily sorrow for sin was necessary. The deeper ground of difference in these views lay in Agricola's over-estimate of human nature, which he did not think so depraved but that, without being smitten by the terrors of the law and condemnation, it might be induced to hate sin and follow righteousness. In opposition to the Catholic "Pelagianism of the law," which concedes to man a natural ability to do good works, and coöperation in his justification, he set up a "Pelagianism of the Gospel," which ascribes to man a natural ability to accept proffered righteous-

ness for its own sake. After carrying on the controversy, orally and with the pen, for several years, Agricola discovered the error of his theory, and formally renounced it. (Berlin, 1540.)

3. The subject of the *Osiandrian Controversy* (1549–67) was *the nature of justification and its relation to sanctification.* In opposition to the Catholic doctrine of justification by works also, Luther regarded redemption as a *twofold* act of God, bestowed upon man only through faith. He distinguished between *justification* as a divine act wrought *for* man, and *sanctification* as a divine operation *in* man. The former consists in this, that Christ made atonement on the cross, once for all, for the sins of the whole world, and that God now imputes the merits of Christ's atoning death to every single believer, as his own (as it were forensically), and thus *declares* him righteous, but does not *make* him so. The believer becomes actually righteous, rather on the ground and as a consequence of his being declared so, through a growing sanctification, extending over his entire earthly life, but never attaining absolute perfection here, by virtue of the communication of the new life, provided and brought to light by Christ. *Andrew Osiander* (from 1522 preacher in Nuremberg, and in 1549 made professor at the newly founded university of Königsberg, by Duke *Albert of Prussia*, who had been converted to the evangelical faith by his preaching. He died in 1552), advocated, in Königsberg, a view varying from this, and approximating the Catholic doctrine. He confounded sanctification with justification, and regarded the latter not as a declaring righteous, but as a making righteous, not as a judicial but a sanitary act, effected by an infusion, *i. e.*, a constant inflowing of the righteousness of Christ. He considered the atoning death of Christ only as the negative condition of justification, the positive condition being Christ's incarnation, and justification the formation of Christ in the believer. Osiander objected to Luther's forensic view, because it seemed to him to exclude the subjective element in justification (which, however, is present in faith as the subjective condition of man's being declared righteous). The controversy was carried on by the Osiandrists and their Königsberg opponents (*Mörlin*, *Staphylas*, *Stancarus*, etc.) with equal vagueness and vehemence, and several theologians from a distance failed, by written opinions sent in (among them one from *Melanchthon*, and another from *Brenz*), to settle the dispute. After Osiander's death, his son-in-law, the court-preacher *John Funk*, also in favor with the duke, was at the head of the party, and filled all the offices with his adherents. He likewise rashly mixed in with political intrigues, and, in execution of a sentence of the supreme Polish commission, was beheaded for high treason in 1556. The other Osiandrists were deposed and banished. *Mörlin*, previously exiled, returned, and as Bishop of Samland, reorganized the Prussian Church, and *Martin Chemnitz* (previously rector in Königsberg, then superintendent in Brunswick), was called to prepare a standard of doctrine (Corpus doc-

trinæ Pruthenicum).—The preference given by Osiander to the divine nature in the work of redemption, led to another controversy about the declaration of Stancar (a man notorious for his petty disputes — hence the expression: Stänkereien), that man's redemption rests wholly upon the human nature of Christ. (Cf. *H. Wilken*, Osiander's Leben, etc. I. Strals., 1844. — *Häberle*, Osiander's Lehre; in the Studd. u. Kritt., 1844. — *Ritschl*, d. Rechtfertigungsl. d. A. Os. in the Jahrbb. für deutsche Theol. von Dorner u. Liebner. II. H. 4.)

4. *The Adiaphoristic Controversy* (1548–55), concerning the admissibility of Catholic forms in the constitution and worship of the Church, sprang from the introduction of the Catholicising *Leipsic Interim*. This regarded most Catholic forms as *adiaphora*, or neutral matters, which might be admitted as non-essential. On the other hand the Lutherans maintained that matters in themselves indifferent, ceased to be so under circumstances like the present. Of course the cause of this controversy was removed by the Augsburg Peace.

5. *The Majoristic Controversy* (1551–62) turned upon the necessity of good works. The Interim led strict Lutherans to regard the Philippists with boundless mistrust. When, therefore, in 1551, *George Major* of Wittenberg affirmed, in essential accordance with the Interim and Melanchthon's theology, that *good works were necessary* to salvation, and refused to retract, *Amsdorf* took the equally objectionable position that good works were *detrimental* to salvation. Notwithstanding the violence of this controversy, also, more reflecting persons saw that both parties erred by using vague and extreme expressions, and acknowledged, on the one hand, that *not* good works in themselves, but *only faith*, was necessary to salvation, whilst at the same time, good works were the indispensable fruit of genuine saving faith, and *necessary* to its maintenance; and, on the other hand, that good works were not in themselves *pernicious*, but only reliance upon them, instead of upon the merits of Christ alone. For the sake of peace, Major recalled his assertion. But the controversy was kept up for years.

6. *The Synergistic Controversy* (1555–67) was about the coöperation of the human will in conversion. *Luther*, in his controversy with *Erasmus*, in accordance with the first edition of Melanchthon's *Loci*, had totally denied the ability of human nature to embrace salvation by its own power, and taught the absolute and exclusive agency of divine grace in conversion. In later editions of the Loci and of the Augsburg Confession, however, Melanchthon taught a certain coöperation (synergism) of the remains of free-will in man, in conversion; and in the edition of 1548, he defined this as the ability of man to embrace *proffered* salvation of his own accord (facultas se applicandi ad gratiam). In the Leipsic Interim, also, he avoided the Lutheran shibboleth *solâ* (by faith "alone"), though he most decidedly denied all merit to man in conversion. Luther bore Melanchthon's change

of opinion with noble toleration, with a charity that hopeth all things and endureth all things, only he reproached him for smuggling his views into the confession of the Church. After the enactment of the Leipsic Interim, the suspicion and dissatisfaction of the rigid Lutherans daily increased, and it burst forth in a most violent controversy, when *John Pfeffinger*, superintendent in Leipsic, who had participated in the odious Interim, issued a book on free-will in vindication of Melanchthon's synergism (1555). The leaders of rigid Lutheranism, *Nicholas v. Amsdorf*, *Matthias Flacius* of *Illyria*, and *John Wigand*, colleagues at the university of Jena, felt that they dare no longer keep silence. At the request of the Duke of Weimar, they prepared a confutation, designed to be the standard of restored Lutheranism; and *Victorin Strigel*, a professor in Jena, who was appointed to assist them, had to atone for his sympathy with synergistic views, by a severe imprisonment. But the duke soon became more favorably disposed towards Strigel; and the rigid Lutherans, who persistently opposed the duke's injunctions, were expelled, and the university chairs were filled with Melanchthonians. A change in the government, however, restored the Lutheran party to power in the duchy of Saxony (1567), and in electoral Saxony, also, synergism gradually lost its supports (Melanchthon died in 1560). — In a colloquy with Strigel at Weimar (1560), *Flacius* allowed himself to assert, in the heat of controversy, that original sin was not something accidental, in man, but something *substantial*. His friends, even, urged him to retract this manifestly Manichæan statement, which sounded worse than he meant. But a man of Flacius' character could not easily be induced to do this. In 1562 he was banished, with the other Lutherans, and in 1567 he was *not* recalled with them. He now roamed restlessly about, driven from every place, and only a short time before his death (1575), recalled his hasty expression. — Thus, a man of strong character and astonishing erudition, was destroyed by unpropitious circumstances, for which he was partly innocent and partly to blame. (Cf. *E. Schmidt*, d. Flacius Erbsündenstreit; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1849, I. II. — *A. Twesten*, Matth. Fl. Illyr., Berl., 1844.—*W. Preger*, M. Fl. Ill. u. s. Zeit. Lpz. 1859. Bd. I.)

7. In the *Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy* (1552–74), the *doctrine of the Lord's Supper* was the subject of dispute. The union effected with the Zwinglian cities of southern Germany, by the Wittenberg Concord (1536), had since then been shaken in many ways, and the attacks of the Zurichers compelled Luther (1544) to draw up a final "Confession of the Holy Sacrament, against the fanatics." If this demonstrated an incurable rupture with the Zwinglians, it also showed that a union with the incomparably more profound doctrines of Calvin was possible. It was *Melanchthon's* most ardent desire to effect such a union. He became convinced, not indeed that the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood in the bread and wine was erroneous,

but that Calvin's doctrine of a spiritual participation of the body and blood of Christ (through faith) in the Supper, did violence to no essential religious point; therefore he sought to avoid what seemed to him an unessential difference in confession and doctrine. But the rigid Lutherans were by no means agreed to this; and tedious, violent controversies sprang up in various Lutheran countries (especially in lower Saxony, in the Palatinate, and in electoral Saxony), concerning it. The dispute was not confined, however, to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but was extended to its deepest basis. Luther, carrying out the principles of the third and fourth General Councils, had taught that the personal union of both natures in Christ rested upon a *communication of the attributes of the one to the other* (communicatio idiomatum), so that Christ, having resumed, since his ascension to heaven, the full exercise of his divine attributes, as God-man, is also *corporeally omnipresent* (ubiquitas corporis Christi), and he could not be shaken in his opinion by the assertion that a corporeal omnipresence was incomprehensible by the natural understanding. In this way he answered the main objection of Zwingli and Calvin to Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, that the body of Christ could not be simultaneously in heaven at the right hand of God, and in the bread and wine on earth. But the entire spirit, both of Calvin and Zwingli, led them to regard the doctrine of the ubiquity of the glorified body of Christ as wholly absurd, and, by an openly Nestorian rejection of the communicatio idiomatum, to teach that the glorification of the body of Christ was confined to its transfiguration, and that in heaven, as formerly upon earth, it could be *only in one* place. A necessary consequence of this view was the rejection of the corporeal presence in the Lord's Supper, and, even when high ground was taken, the admission that a communication of power from the exalted body of Christ was granted to believers through the sacrament. The struggle was begun by *Joachim Westphal*, a preacher in *Hamburg*, who openly assailed Calvin's doctrine, and was secretly abetted by many Lutheran theologians (1522). The controversy became most violent in *Bremen*, where the cathedral preacher *Hardenberg* publicly assailed the article in the Augsburg Confession concerning the Lord's Supper, and in *Heidelberg*, where Deacon *Klebitz* maintained Calvinistic theses concerning the Lord's Supper. In both cities the struggle ended with the expulsion of Lutheranism (§ 23, 1, 2). In *Wittenberg*, also, the Philippists G. Major, Paul Eber, Paul Crell, etc., aided by *Caspar Peucer*, the elector's physician, and Melanchthon's son-in-law, who had great influence, labored from 1559 to introduce Calvinism. Melanchthon himself did not live to see the distractions resulting from this movement, the Lord having mercifully released the deeply humbled, desponding man, who had long prayed to be delivered *a rabie theologorum*. He died April 19, 1560.—Whilst the Elector *Augustus* (1553–86) still considered his Wittenberg the chief bulwark of genuine Lutheranism, the Philippists carried forward their plans

with increasing boldness, and endeavored to have every post filled by persons of their own views, and to secure the field by anonymous Calvinistic books. At length, however, the elector was convinced of the dangers which threatened Lutheranism. The Philippists were all expelled, and their leaders imprisoned (Peucer for twelve years). The final complete victory of Lutheranism was celebrated by thanksgivings in all the churches, and by having a commemorative medal struck (1574). (Cf. the literature under § 11.)

8. Of far less importance were: (1.) The *Karg Controversy* (1563) about the imputation of the active obedience of Christ, which *George Karg* (Parsimonius) a minister of Anspach, controverted for a season; afterwards he retracted, having been convinced of his error by the Wittenberg theologians. (2.) The controversy with *John Æpinus*, minister in Hamburg, who, in a commentary on the 16th Psalm, adopted the Reformed view of Christ's descent into hell, that it belonged to his state of humiliation, and completed the passive obedience of Christ by his endurance of hell-punishment, whilst the current Lutheran regarded it as a triumphant proof of his victory over hell and death, and as belonging to his state of exaltation. A Wittenberg opinion (1550) on the subject left the point undecided, and the Form of Concord, also, rested with the assertion that Christ, in his entire person, descended into hell, to deliver man from death and from the power of the devil.

9. *The Form of Concord* (1577). (Cf. *J. N. Anton*, Gesch. d. Concordienf. Lpz., 1779, 2 Bde.—*J. C. G. Johannsen*, Jac. Andreä's concordist. Thätigk.; in d. hist. theol. Ztschr. 1853, III.—*H. Heppe*, l. c. Bd. III. IV. Gesch. d. luth. Concordienf. u. Concordie. Marb. 1857–58. —*K. F. Göschel*, d. C. F. nach ihrer Gesch. Lehre, u. Bdtg. Lpz., 1858. —*F. H. R. Frank*, d. Theol. d. C. F. Erlg. 1858.)—*Jacob Andreä*, the learned chancellor of Tübingen, had been laboring indefatigably for some time, to restore peace among the theologians of the Lutheran Church. In connection with Martin Chemnitz, a prudent and moderate admirer of Melanchthon, and after consultation with many other theologians, Andreä prepared a *form of union* (1574), which was thoroughly revised at a theological convention in the Würtemberg monastery of *Maulbronn*. This *Maulbronn Form* was submitted to the judgment of a number of theologians, after which a second convention of theologians was held at *Torgau* (1576), which took into consideration the opinions received, and prepared the *Torgau Book*. Upon this production, also, the evangelical princes solicited numerous opinions; and then, by their direction, *Jacob Andreä*, *Chemnitz*, *Selnecker*, *Chytræus*, *And. Musculus*, etc., met in the monastery of *Bergen*, near Magdeburg, to prepare a final plan. Thus the *Bergic Book*, or FORM OF CONCORD, originated. Besides setting forth views upon previously controverted doctrines (especially that concerning the person of Christ, as the basis of the

doctrine of the Lord's Supper), the decision regarding the synergistic question, rendered it necessary to refer to the SUBJECT OF PREDESTINATION, in the Form of Concord, although there had not been any actual dispute about it in the Lutheran Church. *Luther* at first spoke in favor of a particular election, but gradually receded from the doctrine. *Melanchthon* had done the same, only with the important difference, that whilst Luther denied to the last all human coöperation in conversion, Melanchthon felt constrained to admit a certain measure of coöperation, and even Calvin's reproof could not dissuade him from it. The Form of Concord most decidedly rejected synergism, and affirmed that since the Fall man had not a spark (ne scintilla quidem) of spiritual power remaining, to embrace, of his own accord, proffered grace. It assumed, therefore, in opposition to Melanchthon, the same ground which had forced Calvin, by rigid logical consequences, to adopt the theory of absolute predestination, and it could not avoid explaining its relation to that theory. It escapes Calvinistic conclusions by admitting that, although man has no power in himself to reach after or coöperate with divine grace, he can resist and reject it. In accordance with this it can affirm the explicit doctrine of the Scriptures, which teaches that it is the will of God that *all* men be saved, and regard salvation as an absolute work of grace, but man's damnation as the consequence of his own guilt. It considers man's salvation, only, as an object of divine *predestination*, whilst his damnation is an object of divine *prescience*.— The *character* of this new Confession was not only popular in the Church, but it answered its purpose and aim, as a scientific theological production; and its wisdom, moderation, and cautiousness, as well as its precision, clearness, and depth, are really great and admirable. The signatures of 9000 Church teachers testified that it answered its purpose. Denmark, Sweden, Holstein, Pomerania, Hessen, Anhalt, and eight cities (Magdeburg, Nuremberg, Strassburg, etc.), without showing hostility to it, refused their subscriptions; but it was subsequently recognized in many of those countries (Sweden, Holstein, Pomerania, etc.) The Elector *Augustus* of Saxony caused a collection of all the Lutheran Confessions to be printed with the *Book of Concord*, and, signed by 51 princes and 35 cities, to be promulgated on *June* 25, 1580, the anniversary of the Augsburg Confession.

10. *The Articles of Visitation of Electoral Saxony* (1592). — The *Calvinistic efforts* of the Philippists were once more revived under the successor of Augustus, *Christian* I. (from 1586), who was gained for this object through his relationship with the princely house of the Palatinate. His chancellor, *Nicholas Crell*, filled all the ecclesiastical offices with persons holding his own views, abolished exorcism at baptism, and had begun to publish an edition of the Bible with Calvinistic notes, when Christian died (1591). Altenburg, the regent during Duke *Frederick William's* minority, immediately restored rigid Lutheranism; and having ordered a Church visitation, inserted in the *Articles of*

Visitation a new anti-Calvinistic rule of faith, which all the ecclesiastical and civil officials of Saxony had thenceforth to swear to maintain (1592). In these articles the doctrinal diversities concerning the Lord's Supper, the person of Christ, baptism, and election, were set forth in brief, lucid, and exact theses and anti-theses. (In regard to *baptism*, the anti-Calvinistic doctrine is affirmed, that regeneration is effected through baptism, and that therefore all who are baptized are regenerated.) *Crell*, who had violently supplanted the nobility during his regency, was beheaded for high treason after ten years' imprisonment. —*Ægidius Hunnius* had taken the most active part in preparing the Articles of Visitation. From 1576–92, he had been professor in Marburg, and opposed with all his might the attempt to make Hessen Calvinistic, and had shown himself a most zealous advocate of rigid Lutheranism, by his defence of ubiquitarianism ("Bekenntniss von der Person Christi, 1577;" "Libelli IV. de persona Christi ejusque ad dexteram Dei sedentis divina majestate, 1585"). From Marburg he was called to Wittenberg. (*Ob.* 1603.)

11. *The Huber Controversy* (1595). — *Samuel Huber*, a Reformed preacher in the canton of Berne, became involved in a controversy with *Wolfg. Musculus* about election, by transcending the Lutheran doctrine, and affirming that all men are predestinated unto salvation, though, through their own fault, all will not be saved. Banished from Berne, he joined the Lutheran Church, and was appointed a preacher in Würtemberg. There he accused Prof. *Gerlach* of Crypto-Calvinism, because he taught that only believers were predestinated to salvation. The controversy was stopped by his being called to Wittenberg. But he thought he discovered similar Crypto-Calvinism in his colleagues there (*Polyc. Leyser* and *Ægidius Hunnius*), and opposed it. All the disputations and conferences upon the subject failed to change his views; and as parties arose among the students, he was dismissed from Wittenberg. He continued the controversy with increasing virulence, and wandered about in Germany many years, endeavoring to propagate his views, but without success. (*Ob.* 1624.)

§ 22. CONSTITUTION, CULTUS, LIFE, AND LITERATURE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

In regard to its *constitution*, the Lutheran Church aimed to maintain its character as a mediator between extremes, although, amidst the external and internal agitations which disturbed it, it was least successful in securing the same degree of stability and completeness, which shone forth so brilliantly in its doctrinal system. In regard to Church *cultus*, it was more fortunate. The Reformation finally annulled the hierarchical ban, which had for centuries excluded congregational singing and the vernacular

tongue from public worship; and during the period of the Reformation, already (but only in the Lutheran Church), German Church hymnology flourished amazingly, and furnished the most brilliant example of the fullness, strength, and fervor of the lofty strain and freshness of the religious life of that age. Church hymns are the Confession of the Lutheran laity, and have done more than preaching to spread and inculcate evangelical truth. A hymn had scarcely gushed from the heart of a poet until it spread everywhere among the people, penetrated families and churches, was sung before every door, in workshops, marketplaces, streets and fields, and with a *single* stroke won whole cities to the evangelical faith. "No subsequent period was, or ever will be, able to produce anything equally genuine, effectual, popular, original, or plastic for the people." The *religious life of the people* in the Lutheran Church combined deep, earnest penitence, and a joyful assured confidence of justification by faith, with the cheerful integrity and cordiality of the German citizen. Pastoral fidelity, earnest preaching, and the zealous instruction of youth, even without rigidly practised discipline, begat in the people a hearty fear of God, sincere attachment to the Church, strict family discipline, and true submission to civil authority. *Theological learning* flourished especially at the universities of Wittenberg, Tübingen, Strassburg, Marburg, and Jena. But there were also many who cultivated it, among those engaged in more practical spheres.

1. *The Constitution of the Church.* (Cf. *L. Richter*, Gesch. d. ev. K.-verf. in Deutschl. Lpz. 1851.) — Between hierarchy and Cæsareopapy, between the absorption of the State by the Church, and of the Church by the State, the Lutheran Church occupied a medium which was in the main correct, although somewhat vacillating in theory and practice. It decidedly protested both against every admixture and suppression of the two spheres. In the exigency of the Church, the princes and magistrates assumed unavoidable episcopal power, managed the affairs of the Church, and appointed *consistories* composed of laymen and clergy, to execute their orders and plans, and take special charge of the clergy. Church discipline, and matrimonial questions. This gradually led to the permanent institution of the episcopal system (the chief civil ruler holding the position of summus episcopus. Cf. § 46, 3). The canon law, after a careful modification of what was most indispensable, became the basis of *ecclesiastical jurisprudence.* The restoration of the biblical idea of a universal priesthood of all believers, would not endure the opinion of an essential distinction between the

clergy and laity. The clergy were the regularly called servants (ministri, ministerium) of the Church, of the Word, of the altar, enjoying equal rights in spiritual things. Lay-baptism was allowed in extreme cases. *Hierarchical grades* among the clergy were considered antagonistic to the spirit of Christianity, although offices of authority (such as superintendants, provosts, but only jure humano), were thought allowable and advantageous. The *property of the Church* was frequently seized and secularized by the arbitrary avarice of princes and nobles, though the greater part of it, especially in Germany, either remained in the Church, or was used in founding schools, universities, and charitable institutions. The *monasteries* met with the richly merited reward of their degeneracy. Unhappily, their reconstruction upon evangelical principles was not thought of amidst the pressure and agitation of the times.

2. *Public Worship and Art.* (Cf. *Th. Kliefoth*, d. urspr. Gottesdienstordnungen in d. luth. K. Rost. 1847.—*Ibid.* Liturg. Abhandle. Schwer. 1854. Bd. 1–3.—*H. Alt*, d. chr. Cultus. 2 A. Berl. 1851.—*K. Barthel*, d. Verh. d. Protstsm. zur Kunst; in d. hist. th. Ztschr. 1840. III.)—Catholic worship appeals only to the imagination and feelings; the worship of the Reformed Church satisfies merely the understanding; but Lutheran worship, combining both these elements, appeals to the heart. The first sensualizes everything, the second spiritualizes everything, whilst in the last all is harmonized in a well-balanced, vital manner. The unity of the Church is not made to consist in identifying forms of worship, but in oneness of faith; hence the forms of worship are nowhere imposed by law. Altars ornamented with candles and crucifixes, as well as images, were retained in the churches, not for adoration, but to excite and elevate devotion. Its *Liturgy* was based upon the Romish missal, only unevangelical elements being excluded. The preaching of the word was the centre of public worship. Luther's manner of preaching, the noble, vigorous popularity of which was never equalled afterwards, still less surpassed, was the exemplar and type for other Lutheran preachers, among whom *Ant. Corvin*, *Just. Jonas*, *Ge. Spalatin*, *J. Bugenhagen*, *Jerome Weller*, *J. Brenz*, *Veit Dietrich*, *J. Mathesius*, and *M. Chemnitz*, were most noteworthy. The essential requisition of all public worship was the personal participation of the congregation, and, as indispensable to this, the exclusive use of the native language. *Festivals* were limited to the leading facts in the history of redemption, and only such saints' days were retained as were authorized by the Gospel (Apostles' days, the Annunciation, Michaelmas, John the Baptist's day, etc.) Luther held *art* in high esteem, especially music. *Lucas Cranach*, *Hans Holbein*, and *Albert Dürer*, employed their art (painting) in the service of the Gospel, and ornamented Lutheran churches with elegant and significant paintings.

3. *Hymnology.* (Cf. *E. E. Koch*, Gesch. d. K. L. u. K. Ges. 2. A. Stuttg. 1853. 4 Bde.—*F. A. Cunz*, Gesch. d. K. L. Lpz. 1855. 2 Bde.

— *Ph. Wackernagel*, d. deutsche K.-L. von Luther bis Hermann u. Blaurer. Stuttg. 1841. — *J. Mützell*, Geistl. Lieder d. ev. K. d. 16. Jahrh. Berl. 1855. 3 Bde.) — The general character of Lutheran hymnology in the 16th century is its true churchliness and popular style. It is doctrinal, devotional, and bears the impress of objectiveness. The poet does not give vent to his own frame of mind, his individual feelings, but the Church itself, through his lips, confesses, believes, comforts, praises, and adores. At the same time it is truly popular; truthful, natural, cordial, bold and fearless in expression, moving with rapid steps; no pausing, no retrospect, no minute delineations or extended descriptions, no didactic demonstrations. In its outward form it followed the old German epos, and popular narrative poetry, and aimed above all at being not only read but sung, and sung by the congregation. The psalmody of the Reformation exhibits, of course, all these characteristics in their fullest original vigor. *Luther* ranks first. His 37 hymns are in part free translations of Latin hymns ("Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ," "Der du bist drei in Einigkeit," "Der Tag der ist so freudenreich," "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," "Herr Gott, dich loben wir," "Mitten wir im Leben sind," "Komm Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist," etc.); partly revisions of original German hymns: ("Christ lag in Todesbanden," "Nun bitten wir den heilgen Geist," "Gott der Vater wohn uns bei," "Gott sei gelobet"); partly versions of Psalms: ("Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein," Ps. 12, "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott," Ps. 46, "Es woll uns Gott gnädig sein," Ps. 67, "Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit," Ps. 124, "Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir," Ps. 130, etc.), or single passages of Scripture: ("Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot," "Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah," Is. 6, "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," Luke 2, "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam," etc.), and wholly original hymns, both as to form and contents ("Nun freut euch liebe Christen gemein," "Jesus Christus unser Heiland der den Tod," "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort," etc.) Prominent next to Luther, were: *Paul Speratus*, reformer in Prussia (*ob.* 1554), author of the incomparable "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her;" — *Nicholas Decius*, a monk who became an evangelical preacher in Stettin, about 1524. ("Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr," "O Lamm Gottes unschuldig"); — *Paul Eber*, professor and superintendent in Wittenberg, *ob.* 1569 (the Michaelmas hymn "Herr Gott, dich loben Alle wir," "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein," "Herr Jesu Christ, wahr'r Meusch und Gott," "In Christi Wunden schlaf ich ein," etc.); — *Lazarus Spengler*, clerk of the council in Nuremberg, *ob.* 1534 ("Durch Adams' Fall ist ganz verderbt"); — *Hans Sachs*, a shoemaker in Nuremberg, *ob.* 1576 ("Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz," etc.); — *J. Graumann* (Poliander), Eck's amanuensis, afterwards an evangelical preacher in Königsberg, *ob.* 1541 ("Nun lob meine Seele den Herrn"); — *J. Schneesing* (Chiomusus), minister in Gothachsen, *ob.* 1567 ("Allein zu dir, Herr

Jesu Christ"); *Adam Neussner*, a lawyer in Frankfurt, *ob.* 1574 ("Auf dich hab ich gehoffet"); — *John Mathesius*, rector and deacon in Joachimsthal (who also preached some sermons on Luther's life), *ob.* 1565 (the morning-hymn, "Aus meines Herzen's Grunde," also the sweet evangelical cradle-hymn, "Nun schlaf mein liebes Kindelein"); — *Nicholas Herrmann*, the friend of Mathesius, and cantor in Joachimsthal, *ob.* 1561 ("Die helle Sonn leucht jetzt herfür," "Hinunter ist der Sonnenschein," "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist," etc.); — *Erasmus Alberus*, superintendent at Brandenburg, *ob.* 1553 ("Nun freut euch, Gotteskinder all").—To these must be added *Michael Weisse*, a German minister in Bohemia, the translator and author of the hymns of the Bohemian Hussites (Cf. § 42), *ob.* 1540 ("Christ ist erstanden von der Marter alle," "Gottes Sohn ist kommen," "Christus der uns selig macht"), above all, that precious funeral hymn, "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben," to which Luther added a verse.

In the next succeeding period, however (1560–1618), many self-constituted poets volunteered worthless religious rhymes. Even those divinely gifted for the work were altogether too prolific, but still they contributed a large number of genuine Church hymns, true to the character of higher objectiveness, childlike simplicity, and true fitness for general use. We may, of course, observe a transition to the subjective style of the following period, didactic matter is occasionally introduced, and some hymns refer to special personal circumstances; but the idea of an objective faith still predominates. Among the sacred poets of this period, the most noted are: *Barth. Ringwalt*, a preacher in Mark Brandenburg, *ob.* 1597 ("Es est gewisslich an der Zeit," etc.); *Nich. Selnecker*, during his last years superintendent in Leipsic (*ob.* 1592). As a pupil of Melanchthon he was at first suspected of Crypto-Calvinism, but after his participation in drawing up the Form of Concord he became an object of bitter hatred and continued persecutions to the Crypto-Calvinists. (He composed: "Ach bleib bei uns Herr Jesu Christ"). *Ludwig Helmbold*, superintendent in Mühlhausen, *ob.* 1598 ("Von Gott will ich nicht lassen");—*Martin Schalling*, preacher in Regensburg and Nuremberg, *ob.* 1608 ("Herzlich lieb hab ich dich"); — *Caspar Bienemann* (Melissander) superintendent in Altenburg, *ob.* 1591 ("Herr, wie du wilt so schicks mit mir"); — *Martin Moller*, preacher in Görlitz, *ob.* 1606 ("Nimm von uns, Herr, du treuer Gott"); —*Martin Böhme* (Behemb) preacher in Lausitz, *ob.* 1621 ("Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht"); —*Valerius Herberger*, preacher in Fraustadt, Poland, *ob.* 1627 ("Valet will ich dir geben," written during a plague in 1613); — *Philip Nicolai*, preacher in Hamburg (*ob.* 1608), whose soaring poetry, pervaded by a spirit of profound love, affiliates it with the Canticles ("Wie schön leucht uns der Morgensten," "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme"). (Cf. § 159, 3.)

4. *Psalmody.* (Cf. *A. J. Rambach*, Luther's Verd. um den K.-ges. Hamb. 1813.—*P. Mortimer*, d. Choralges. zur Zeit d. Ref. Berl. 1820,

4to.—*L. Kraussold*, d. altprot. Choral. Fürth, 1851.—*E. E. Koch*, l. c. *J. E. Häuser*, Gesch. d. chr. K.-ges. Lpz. 1834. — *C. v. Winterfeld*, d. ev. K.-ges. Lpz. 1843, 2 Bde.) — Congregational singing, as incorporated by the Reformation in the worship of the Church, was substantially a revival of the Ambrosian psalmody, in a purified and richer form. It was distinguished, at the start, from the Gregorian style, by being national and congregational, and not performed by a choir of priests (although the name *Choralgesang* was retained, and even became the technical designation of the new style of singing), — further by substituting for solo monotonous singing, in uniform loud notes of equal value, a copious rhythm with lively modulations, — and, finally, by the introduction of several parts instead of the original solo unison. On the other hand, this choral music restored the ancient cantus firmus, by abolishing the secular keys, the counterpointing and other artificial ornaments with which music had been garnished during the middle ages. The cantus firmus (or air) was sung by the congregation, and the singers in the choir (not the organ, which was used during the Reformation period only to support and accompany the choir) accompanied the congregation in the several parts. The air, however, was set in *tenor*, which was the leading part of the music. The tunes for the new hymns were obtained in part by modifying the old tunes of Latin hymns and sequences, partly by employing national religious airs of the middle ages, especially such as were preserved among the Bohemian brethren, but mainly by appropriating without reserve the rich treasure of song-tunes in popular use—many hymns being themselves parodies of secular songs. The few original tunes of this period were composed mostly by the authors of the hymns, or at least by lay musicians, and were the utterance of the same inspiration which produced the hymns; hence they are rarely equalled by subsequent more artistic compositions, in unction, spirit, and power. This is especially true of Luther's melodies. The people were taught these tunes by travelling musicians, singing processions of school-boys, and city cornetters. Those who arranged the music differed from *vocalists* or the authors of the tunes, and, as the proper composers, wrote out the several parts for public use, according to the laws of harmony. Especially distinguished among these were the two intimate friends of Luther, *George Rhaw* (cantor in Leipsic, afterwards a printer in Wittenberg) and *Hans Walther* (conductor of the elector's band). Next to these we must name: *Lewis Senfl*, *Martin Agricola*, *Sixt. Dieterich*, *John Kugelmann*, *Nich. Hermann*, *Hans Leo Hassler*, and near the close of the century, the four Hamburg organists, *Jacob* and *Jerome Prätorius* (father and son), *David Scheidemann*, and *Joachim Decker*, who, in 1604, issued a volume with 88 new and admirably harmonized melodies. The close of the 16th century was the most flourishing period of evangelical psalmody. The great composer, *John Eccart* (during his last years conductor of a band in Berlin, *ob.* 1611), was most active in important

improvements in it. In order to give more prominence to the tune, it was transferred from the tenor to the treble. The other parts were added as simple chords to the tune, and the organ (which had undergone the most important mechanical improvements), with its pure, rich, copious harmony, was more generally used to support and accompany the congregational singing. The distinction between singers and composers, also, gradually disappeared, the more artistic parts of the singing were more intimately conformed to that of the congregation, and the inventive talent, which produced an abundance of original tunes, with suitable chords, increased from year to year. Next to *Eccart*, the most noted masters of this new school are: *Joachim v. Burgk*, the teacher and friend of Eccart, cantor in Mühlhausen (*ob.* 1596); *Martin Zeuner; Melch. Vulpius*, cantor in Weimar (*ob.* 1616); *Michael Prätorius*, conductor of the elector's band (*ob.* 1621); *John Stobäus*, a pupil of Eccart, leader of a band in Königsberg, who chiefly sang tunes to the hymns of the Königsberg poets Thilo, Weissel, and Dach; and, finally, those who led in the tunes of their own hymns, *Nich. Selnecker* and *Philip Nicolai*. (Cf. § 39, 4.)

5. *Theology*. (Cf. *G. W. Meyer*, Gesch. d. Schrifterkl. Bd. II. Göttg. 1803, and *Fr. Ständlin*, Gesch. d. theol. Wisch. Göttg. 1810, 2 Bde.—*W. Gass*, Gesch. d. prot. Dogm. Bd. I. Berl. 1854.)—As the Reformation proceeded from the Word of God, and was based on it alone, that Word claimed the chief and diligent study of its theology. *John Förster* (*ob.* 1556) and *John Avenarius* (*ob.* 1576), both of Wittenberg, published Hebrew lexicons, the result of original investigations (not borrowed from the Rabbins), and *Matthew Flacius*, in his Clavis Scripturæ sacræ, furnished a most valuable aid, for that period, in the study of the Bible. The first part contains an explanation of Scripture terms and phrases in alphabetical order; the second an excellent outline of hermeneutics. There were numerous exegetical works; among these *Luther's* are unsurpassed, and, in their kind, unsurpassable. Next to him the most prominent Lutheran exegetes of that period are, for the New Testament, *Melanchthon*, *Victor Strigel* (Hypomn. in omnes Ll. N. T.), *Flacius* (Glossa compendiaria in N. T.), *Joachim Camerarius* (Notationes in N. T.), *Martin Chemnitz* (Harmonia IV. Evangg., subsequently continued by *Polyc. Leyser*, and completed by *John Gerhard*); for the Old Testament, *John Brenz*, whose excellent commentary still possesses great merit. Of less value are the numerous and comprehensive commentaries on the O. and N. T., by *David Chyträus* in Rostock. At the head of the list of Lutheran *theologians* stands *Melanchthon* (Loci communes, 1521). (Cf. *Schwarz*, Mel.'s loci nach ihrer weitern Eutw., in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1857, II.) *Martin Chemnitz*, in his Locis theol., furnished an excellent commentary upon it, which is still regarded as one of the principal works on theology in the Lutheran Church; and his Examen Concilii Tridentini (1562) is not only a learned, profound, and thorough refutation of Catholic doctrines, but is equally discreet,

kind, and moderate. *Vict. Strigel* and *Nich. Selnecker*, also, wrote valuable text-books of theology. *Controversy* was actively maintained, and was often conducted with great violence. In *Church history*, the *Magdebury centuries* were produced by the colossal spirit of *Matth. Flacius*. He had previously demonstrated, by his Catalogus testium veritas, that the Church of Christ never lacked intelligent, pious, and heroic defenders of the faith, to preserve unbroken the chain of historical connection between the primitive Apostolic Church, and the evangelical Church of the 16th century. (Cf. § 38, 4.)

6. *National Literature of Germany.*—The Reformation occurred in a period of the deepest decline of poetry and general literature in Germany. But it awakened new creative energies in the secular and religious life of the nation. Luther's pioneer example opened the way for the introduction of "a new all-conquering prose, as a form of utterance for a new world-consciousness," which impelled Germans to think and teach in German. Especially did the contact of spirits caused by reformatory movements call satire into being, in a blooming, vigorous, and popular form and degree unknown to German literature before, and not equalled since. Countless fugitive productions, of the most diversified imagery and style, in verse and prose, in Latin and German, written by Catholics and Protestants (those of the latter being vastly more rich, vigorous, and witty), assailed or vindicated the Reformation, with satire, ridicule, and contempt. (Cf. *O. Schade*, Satyren u. Pasquille aus d. Reformationszeit. Bd. I. II. Hannover, 1856, etc.) Most prominent among these well-nigh countless, and for the most part anonymous satirical writers of the 16th century, are the Catholic *Thos. Murner* (§ 5, 2), the Reformed *Nich. Manuel* (§ 10, 4), and the Lutheran JOHN FISCHART, who far excels the other two, and is unquestionably the greatest satirist Germany ever produced. Like Seb. Brant and Murner, he was a native of Strassburg, for some time was advocate at the imperial chamber, and died in 1589. His satiric vein first opened with Church matters: "Der Nachtrabe und die Nebelkrähe" (against one J. Rabe, who turned Catholic); "Der Barfüsser Secten-und Kuttenstreit," and "Von St. Dominici und St. Francisci artlichem Leben" (a satire upon the Franciscans and Dominicans); "Bienenkorb des h. römischen Immenschwarms" (the best known of his productions); "Das vierhörnige Jesuitenhütlein" (in verse, the most biting, witty, and striking satire, ever written against the Jesuits). He next took hold of secular subjects: "Aller Praktik Grossmutter;" "Gargantua oder affentheuerliche, naupengeheuerliche Geschichsklitterung;" "Flöhhatz, Weibertratz," etc. His Bee-hive may be regarded as an offset to Murner's Lutheran fools, in spirit, wit, and cheerful, merry ridicule, with a consciousness of triumph, but far surpasses that rough production, dealing such passionate blows as to endanger itself. (Cf. *Volmar*, in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. I. Bd. 51.) — Among the secular poets of this century, *Hans Sachs* (*ob.* 1576), a Nuremberg cobbler, holds the

first place. He was a genuine type of a Lutheran citizen, and although as a minstrel scarcely of more repute than his associates in poetic jovial tales, legends, and stories, he excelled by waggish simplicity, honest cordiality, freshness, vivacity, and rapid delineation. He produced 208 comedies and tragedies, 1700 humorous pieces, and 4200 songs. As early as 1523, he gave the Reformation a joyful greeting in his poem: "Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall;" and did much to secure a welcome for it among his fellow-citizens.

For *Missions among the Heathen* little was done during this period, and for obvious reasons. First of all, the Lutheran Church was too much occupied with internal matters. It had neither the same call to engage in the work, by which the Catholic Church was led to lay hold of it through the political and commercial relations of its countries with distant pagan lands, nor those means of doing so, which the monastic orders afforded, etc. And yet we meet with beginnings of a Lutheran mission even in this period; for *Gustavus Vasa* of Sweden established one (1559) among the neglected Laplanders. (Cf. § 39, 6.)

§ 23. INTERNAL CHARACTER OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Cf. *M. Göbel* u. *Jul. Wiggers* ll. cc. § 20.—*J. P. Lange*, die Eigenthlk. d. ref. K. Zürich. 1841. — *K. R. Hagenbach*, d. ref. K. in Bezieh. auf Verf. u. Cult. Schafh. 1842. — *K. Ullmann*, zur Charaktrst. d. ref. K., in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1843. III.

As the birth-place of the Reformed Church was free Switzerland, its constitution bears, to some extent, the impress of a democratic character; and as it strove to imitate the theocratic constitution of the Old Testament, it felt justified in claiming for the Church a decided voice in purely political matters. Instead of the Lutheran episcopacy under the chief civil magistrate (as summus episcopus), it adopted a presbyterial constitution, with its emancipation of individual congregations from the idea of a united Church. The firm consolidation of all the Lutheran State Churches under one confession, is lacking in the Reformed Church; for the Church of each country adopted its own confession. The ministers of the Church are only *preachers*, even the name pastor was avoided. Presbyteries exercised a more rigid external discipline. Civil and domestic life assumed a strictly legal, often a gloomy rigorous character (especially in the Scotch Church and among the English Puritans); but, along with this, developed a wonderful degree of moral energy, which, however, too often ran into extremes, and an unjustifiable application of Old Tes-

tament principles and examples. In regard to its *cultus*, the Reformed Church exhibits the extreme reverse of that of the Catholic Church, with its abundant sensuous ceremonies. *Zwingli* wished to abolish the ringing of bells [*during thunder-storms, etc., for superstitious purposes*—TR.]; organ-playing, and singing in Churches [by priests, as was then the exclusive custom, in the Romish Church — TR.], and he approved of the removal of altars [as used for crucifixes, etc., and for the sacrifice of the mass — TR.], and the destruction of images. The more prudent Calvinists, even, would not tolerate altars [as used by Romanists — TR.]; crucifixes, images, candles, etc., in the Churches, because they were thought absolutely incompatible with the prohibitions of the decalogue. The Churches were converted into naked prayer-halls and auditories, altars into simple communion-tables; kneeling was discarded as an outward ceremony, in the Lord's Supper (at which the symbolical element predominated, if it was not the only one); the *breaking of bread* was introduced as essential, private confession was rejected, the baptism of dying persons prohibited, and the liturgy changed into simple spoken (not sung) prayers. In France, however, the singing of Psalms was introduced, and their use spread from France to other countries; there were no proper hymns. The number of festivals was reduced as much as possible, and only the principal Christian festivals were tolerated. On the other hand, Sunday was observed with well-nigh Old Testament strictness. In regard to the exceptions to all this, in the theory and practice of the Anglican Church, cf. § 29, 4.

1. The adoption of *psalmody* into the worship of the Reformed Church was effected especially by the efforts of *John Zwick* (a clergyman in Constance, *ob.* 1542). In 1536, he published a small hymn-book, with versions of some Psalms, adapted to Lutheran tunes. At Calvin's request, *Clement Marot* prepared versions of most of the Psalms, in the measure of popular French songs and tunes. *Th. Beza* completed them, and Calvin introduced this French Psalter into the Genevan Churches (1555). In 1562, *Claude Goudimel* published 16 of these Psalms, with music for four parts. (He was murdered in Lyons (1572), in connection with the St. Bartholomew's massacre.) *Ambrose Lobwasser*, Prof. of Jurisprudence in Königsberg, in imitation of Marot, prepared the Psalter in German (1573). Notwithstanding its total lack of poetic merit, this Psalter was, for a long time, exclusively used in the German churches. The few, and for the most part, unimportant authors of hymns (the chief of whom were *Zwick* and *Ambr. Blaurer*—

who subsequently embraced Zwinglianism), failed to have them adopted in the churches. The Reformed Church continued to denounce the use of organs. (Cf. § 41, 1.)

2. *Theological Studies* flourished in the Reformed Church, also, especially in *Basel* and *Geneva*, in the French Church at the theol. seminaries in *Montauban*, *Sedan*, and *Montpellier*. Biblical studies were prosecuted with special interest. *Sebastian Münster*, then at Heidelberg, afterwards at Basel, published a Hebrew lexicon as early as 1523. Zurich theologians (*Leo Juda*, etc.), published Luther's translation of the Bible, in the Swiss dialect, revised, however, according to the original text. *Th. Beza* published an improved recension of the New Testament text, with a new Latin version. *Seb. Münster* edited the Old Testament text, with an independent Latin version. *Leo Juda*, in Zurich, an able linguist, also undertook one. *Seb. Castellio*, in Geneva, devoted himself to a translation of the Prophets and Apostles' writings in elegant Ciceronian Latin. The ablest was the Latin version of the Old Testament, made by *Imanuel Tremellius* of Heidelberg, and his son-in-law *Francis Junius*. The number of *commentators*, also, was large. Besides *Calvin*, who excelled all the rest (§ 18, 5), distinguished exegetical contributions were furnished by *Zwingli* [Annot. in Gen., Exod., Isaiam, Jerem., Evangg. In hist. Dom. pass., Rom., Corinth., Philip., Colos., Thessal., Jac., Hebr., 1 Joann. — Tr.], *Œcolampadius* [Conciones XXI. in Ep. Joh. I., 1524; Comment. in Proph. Es., ll. V., Annot. in Ep. ad Rom., 1525. — Tr.], *Conr. Pellicanus* [of Zurich, Comm. on the O. T., in which special use was made of the Rabbins, on Paul's Epp., and the Cath. Epp.—Tr.] *Th. Beza* [Annot. on the N. T., 1527. — Tr.], *Francis Junius* [prof. of theol. in Leyden. Prælect. in tria prima cap. Gen.; Exposit. Dan.; Analys. Apocal. — Tr.], *John Mercerus*, and the Frenchman *Marlaratus*. — As a theologian, also, *Calvin* indisputably occupied the first place in the Reformed Church. In speculative power, and a masterly use of his material, he excelled all his cotemporaries. *Andrew Hyperius*, of Marburg, held an honorable position as a theologian, in the Reformed Church of Germany. But little was done, during this period, in ecclesiastical history, by Reformed theologians. *Th. Beza*, however, wrote an excellent history of the French Church. [Among the *theological* productions of the Reformed Church of this period, *Zwingli's* Comm. de vera et falsa rel., Auslegung, etc., d. Schlussreden, etc., Von göttl. u. menschl. Genechtigkeit, Elenchus contra Catabaptistos, Brevis in evang. doctr. Izagoge, etc., and the able doctrinal treatises of *Œcolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Capito*, *Bullinger*, and *Peter Martyr*, are entitled to notice.—Tr.] (Cf. § 40, 4.)

3. The Genevan Church engaged in a *Missionary* enterprise as early as 1557. A French adventurer, *Villegagnon*, submitted a plan to Admiral *Coligny* for the colonization of persecuted Huguenots in Brazil, who should found a mission among the native heathen. Sustained by

Coligny, he sailed in 1555 with a number of Huguenot mechanics, and established Fort Coligny on the Rio de Janeiro. At his request Calvin sent out two Genevan clergymen (1557). The intolerable tyranny exercised by Villegagnon over the defenceless colonists, their failure to effect anything amongst the natives, together with their destitution and various sufferings, compelled them to return in 1558, on a very frail vessel. It could not hold all, and many of those admitted perished of hunger on the voyage. (Cf. § 41, 2.)

§ 24. CALVINISING OF GERMAN LUTHERAN NATIONAL CHURCHES.

The crypto-Calvinistic controversies were conducted with so much violence, that they frustrated the scheme of the Philippists to effect an imperceptible transition of the entire Lutheran Church to Calvinism (§ 21, 1); but they could not prevent several national Lutheran Churches in Germany from adopting, or being compelled to adopt, the Reformed Confession. The *Palatinate* was the first to pass over; its example was soon followed by *Bremen*, *Anhalt*, and, at the commencement of the following century, *Hessen-Cassel*, *Lippe*, and *Electoral Brandenburg*.—(Cf. § 34, 1–3.)

1. *The Palatinate* (1560). (Cf. *D. Seisen*, Gesch. d. Ref. in Heidelb. Heidelb. 1846.—*F. Blaul*, d. Ref. Werk in d. Pfalz. Speier, 1846.)—*Tilemann Hesshus*, a violent advocate of pure Lutheranism, had been driven from Goslar and from Rostock, as a disturber of the peace. At Melanchthon's recommendation, the Elector *Otho Henry* of the Palatinate appointed him professor and general superintendent at Heidelberg (1558). There he soon disputed with his deacon, *William Klebitz*. During a brief absence of Hesshus, Klebitz, by vindicating Calvinistic views of the Lord's Supper, secured his own promotion as baccalaureus. Hesshus disciplined and suspended him. But Klebitz would not leave. The violence of both exceeded all bounds; they even seized each other by the hair at the altar. The new elector, *Frederick* III., drove off both (1559), obtained Melanchthon's opinion on the subject, and joined the Reformed Church (1560). He then appointed Calvinistic teachers throughout his country, and directed two Heidelberg professors, *Zacharias Ursinus* and *Caspar Olevianus* to prepare the *Heidelberg Catechism*, for the use of the schools of the Palatinate. (In popular simplicity, power, and depth, it is far inferior to Luther's smaller catechism; but in other respects it is distinguished by its method of instruction, theological skill, Christian fervor, and conciliatory mildness, and richly merits the favor with which it has ever been received, not only by the Reformed of Germany, but of other countries. It avoids Calvin's doc-

trine of predestination, and makes the nearest possible approach to the Lutheran dogma concerning the Lord's Supper. The Catholic mass it denounces as an accursed idolatry.) [Cf. *Sudhoff*, Olevianus u. Ursinus. Elberf. 1857.— *Van Alpen*, Gesch. etc., d. Heid. Cat. The highest commendation of the Heidelberg Catechism, as a systematic exhibition of evangelical doctrines, is found in the fact that it was at once cordially welcomed by all but Romanists and extreme Lutherans; that it was speedily translated into many different languages; and that it is, virtually, the doctrinal platform occupied at the present day, by the largest portion of the Protestant Church, especially in regard to its moderate Calvinistic and sacramental doctrines. — Tr.] The government of *Lewis* VI. (1576–83), a zealous friend of the Form. Concord., was of too short duration fully to check the transition of the Palatinate to Calvinism. The Elector *John Casimir*, whilst exercising the regency, banished all the Lutheran preachers, and had his ward, *Frederick* IV., educated in the strictest Calvinism.

2. *Bremen* (1562). (Cf. *H. W. Rotermund*, Gesch. d. Domkirche zu Bremen. Brem., 1829.)—In Bremen, *Albert Rizäus v. Hardenberg*, cathedral preacher, publicly assailed the 10th art. of the Augsb. Conf., and became involved in a controversy respecting it with his colleague, *John Timann*. All the clergy sustained Timann, but Hardenberg was powerfully supported by the burgomaster *Büren*, and he was favored by an opinion of Melanchthon (1557), counselling them to hush up the matter. As he also refused to take oath in support of the Augsb. Conf., the disturbance daily increased. Timann died in 1559. *Hesshus*, who had been driven from Heidelberg, was called to take his place. He at once put Hardenberg under the ban, and accused him before the League of the cities of lower Saxony. It held a martial diet at Brunswick (1561) which deposed Hardenberg, yet without depriving him of his office. He went to Oldenberg, and became preacher at Emden, where he died in 1574. Hesshus, also, soon left Bremen; and after having been expelled from eight other posts, as an agitator, became prof. in Helmstädt, where he died in 1588. His successor at Bremen, *Simon Musäeus*, no less violent than himself, insisted upon the banishment of all Hardenberg's adherents, and the council had actually consented to this, when affairs took a sudden change. In spite of all opposition, Büren was chosen chief burgomaster in 1562. Musäeus and 13 other preachers were driven off, and even the Lutheran members of the council had to leave the city. Foreign mediation effected a compromise, however, in 1568, by which those who had been expelled were allowed to return to the city, but not to resume their offices. All the churches of Bremen, the cathedral excepted, remained Reformed.

3. *Anhalt* (1597). (Cf. *G. Schubring*, Gesch. d. Einführ. d. ref. Conf. in Anh. Lpz. 1848.)—After the death of Prince Joachim Ernest, his sons founded four Anhalt lines (Dessau, Bernburg, Köthen, Zerbst). *John George*, founder of the house of Anhalt-Dessau, reigned for his

minor brothers from 1587–1603. Subscription to the Form of Concord had been previously declined, and in 1589 Calvinism began to be introduced into the country, by the abrogation of exorcism. This was followed by substituting a Reformed for the old Lutheran directory. Not long afterwards, Luther's catechism was also laid aside, and in 1597 a copy of 28 Calvinistic articles was laid before the clergy, which they were required to subscribe on pain of banishment. The prime movers in this were *Caspar Peucer* (§ 21, 7), who had been expelled from Wittenberg, and *Wolfg. Amling*, the superintendent at Zerbst. In 1644, Anhalt-Dessau was restored to the old confession by Prince *John*, who had been reared by his mother in the Lutheran faith.

II. THE DEFORMATION.

§ 25. CHARACTER OF THE DEFORMATION.

Cf. *H. W. Erbkam*, Gesch. d. protestant. Secten in Zeitalt. d. Ref. Hamb., 1848.

That fanatics and ultraists of various grades would endeavor to produce a sensation during a period of such agitation as characterized the Reformation, will be readily conceived; but that the Reformation itself is not chargeable with such excrescences, is proven by the exclusive opposition in which it ever stood to those deformities. Both have, indeed, the same starting-point, opposition to the degenerate churchism of that period. But the Reformation at once wholly renounced the Deformation, and often even joined Catholicism in efforts to suppress it; whereas the Deformation vented its bitterest hatred upon the former. The origin of the Deformation may be traced, on the one hand, to the tendency of human nature, when once aroused to opposition, to run into radicalism, partly in the form of rationalism, partly that of mysticism. If the Reformation recognizes the Bible as the sole norm and rule of religious faith and practice, and as the judge of tradition, deformatory *rationalism* subjects the Bible to the authority of the reason, and regulates revealed truth by the demands of logical thinking. If the former opposes the deification of the Church, the latter even disputes the divinity of Christ. On the other hand, deformatory *Mysticism* carried the evangelical demand for inward religious experience to the extreme opposite of the externalizing formalism of the Romish

Church, and by the side of the inspiration of the Word of God set up an assumed illumination by the Holy Spirit, as a higher revelation, despised the sacraments, and aimed at forming a visible communion of saints. The denial of the doctrine of the Trinity became the shibboleth of the former (*Anti-Trinitarians, Unitarians*), the rejection of infant baptism, that of the latter (*Anabaptists*). It cannot seem surprising, however, that both tendencies often commingled, since the so-called inner light is, after all, nothing else than a fanatical excited reason. As a *third* deformatory tendency, the *liberalist, revolutionary*, and *antinomian* movements of this period might be named, the common character of which consists in the transfer of the Reformatory demand for the freedom of the Christian from the spiritual thraldom of the hierarchy, to political, civil, social, and moral spheres. But these movements partly lacked independency, being merely offshoots of some other tendency, and partly were so speedily suppressed, that they were but of temporary importance, and have already been noticed. (Cf. § 4, 2, 5; § 18, 3.)

1. As to the way in which Protestantism should dispose of heretics, mediæval principles still so far prevailed, that a *Calvin* could urge the burning of a man who denied the Trinity, and even the mild Melanchthon approve of his execution (§ 28, 2). [*Servetus* perished at the stake, not for denying the Trinity, but for the scandalous blasphemies he uttered against the Godhead in this form, and for political machinations. See *Henry's* Life of Calvin, and *Calvin* and *Servetus*, mainly from the French of *M. A. Rilliet*, by *W. K. Tweedie*, Edinb. 1848.—Tr.] But in both theory and practice the view prevailed that heretics should not be forced, or punished with death, though they might be imprisoned to bring them to reflection, or prevent their doing harm, or be banished.

§ 26. MYSTICISM.

Cf. *M. Carriere*, d. philosoph. Weltanschauung d. Reformationszeit. Stuttg. 1847.

Beside the truly evangelical and churchly mysticism, which, as a sincere apprehension of the Christian life, *Luther* ever highly esteemed, and which the Lutheran Church never wholly excluded, an unevangelical and unchurchly mysticism early manifested itself in various forms. To the intoxicated fanaticism, and tumultuous revolutionary agitations of the Anabaptists (§ 27), *Schwenkfeld's* mysticism presents a favorable contrast, distin-

guished by its theological moderation, and quiet efforts to extend its influence. *Agrippa* and *Paracelsus* advocated a mysticism constructed upon a basis of natural philosophy, and their phantasies were adopted by *Val. Weigel* in his theosophy. *Seb. Frank* derived nourishment for his pantheistic mysticism from the writings of Eccart and Tauler. *Jordanus Bruno* was rewarded with the stake for his fanatical bacchanalian mysticism, supported by the boldest pantheism; whilst the *Familists* were united together as members of a family, in the service of a deified love. — (Cf. § 36, 1; 39, 2.)

1. Among the mystics of the age of the Reformation who were hostile to the Church, Caspar Schwenkfeld of Ossigk, in Silesia, was distinguished for his sincere piety. At first he ardently embraced the Wittenberg Reformation; in its progress, however, it wholly failed to satisfy his spirit, which was exclusively bent upon an inward mystical Christianity. In 1525 he personally met Luther in Wittenberg. The friendly relation there maintained between them, notwithstanding fundamental differences in the tendency of their views, soon yielded to open opposition on Schwenkfeld's part. In his dissatisfaction with the Wittenberg Reformers, he even declared that he would rather join the Papists than the Lutherans. As early as 1528, he was banished from his native country, and commenced laboring in Swabia and along the Rhine, in the face of constant opposition, against both the German and Swiss Reformation, seeking quietly to carry on a reformation according to his own views. He died in 1561, leaving behind a small company of adherents. The party has perpetuated itself to the present day. [A colony settled in Pennsylvania, N. A., in 1734. They have 5 churches and about 800 members. — Tr.] *Schwenkfeld's* main dislike of the Lutheran Reformation was its scriptural churchly objectiveness. He called Luther's insisting upon the unconditional authority of the Word of God a bondage to the letter, and exalted the inner word of the Spirit above the written Word of the Scriptures. He was wholly opposed to all outward church forms. He confounded justification with sanctification, similarly with Osiander, and declared it to be an incarnation of Christ in the believer. Besides, he taught (Eutichianistically) that Christ was *born* of God even according to the flesh, and that his human nature was absorbed by the divine. He disapproved of infant baptism, and affirmed that a regenerated person might live without sin. In the Lord's Supper he made everything rest upon the inner operation of the spirit; the bread was merely a symbol of Christ as the food of the soul (he considered τοῦτο the predicate: My body is this, sc. the bread of life). His "Christlich orthodoxischen Bücher u. Schriften," were published in 4 vols. (1564), by *Hans Ossigk.*

2. *Agrippa of Nettesheim* (*ob.* 1535), a man of extensive learning,

and an ostentatious dealer in mysteries, led a most unsettled, adventurous life, was a politician and a soldier, taught medicine, theology, and law, with cutting satires flagellated the monks, who persecuted him as a heretic, and developed his magniloquent wisdom in his *de occulta philosophia*. Of the same cast was the learned Swiss physician *Theophrastus Bombastus* PARACELSUS *ab Hohenheim* (*ob.* 1541), a man as genial and profound as he was fantastic and conceited, a man who solved all the mysteries of the Godhead, as well as of things natural and supernatural, and who affirmed that he had found the philosopher's stone. (Cf. *H. A. Preu*, d. Theol. des Th. Parac. Berl. 1839.) They both remained in the Catholic Church. *Valentine Weigel* was a Lutheran preacher in Saxony, universally esteemed for his piety and edifying labors (*ob.* 1588). His mystic theosophy, which led him to reject all external Church forms, and to regard the doctrines of the Church as merely an allegorical veil of deeper knowledge, first became fully known by the publication of his works after his death. He had many admirers among "the quiet in the land" until the present century.

3. *Sebastian Frank* at first devoted himself zealously to the cause of the Reformation, but afterwards opposed it, denounced and ridiculed all the theological views of his times, took refuge in a pantheistic, dualistic mysticism, demanded unlimited religious liberty, defended the Anabaptists against the intolerance of theologians, and died in Ulm (1543), at enmity with all the world. He deserves great praise, however, as the author of the first history of the world in the German language. (Cf. *H. Bischof*, Seb. Fr. u. d. deutsche Geschichtschreibung. Tübg. 1857.) — *Giordano Bruno*, a Dominican of Nola near Naples, was a man of much more vigorous mind. His ridicule of the monks and of ecclesiastical doctrines compelled him to flee to Geneva. Subsequently he lived and taught in London, Paris, Wittenberg, and Helmstädt, then returned to Italy, and was burned at Rome in 1600. He never left the Catholic Church.

4. The *Familists* (familia charitatis) were a mystic sect founded in England under *Elizabeth*, by *Henry Nicolai* of Münster, who was previously associated with David Joris (§ 27, 1); the queen instituted an investigation against them (1580). They differed from the Anabaptists by indifferently allowing infant baptism. Nicolai professed to be an apostle of love, by and through which the mystical deification of man was to be effected. Although an illiterate man, he wrote several works, and in one of them claimed to be "deified with God in the spirit of his love." His adherents were accused of mystical licentiousness, and he was said to teach that Christ was only a divine "condition," which was communicated to all the pious. In a confession of faith and an apology (1575), however, they acknowledge the three œcumenical symbols, and sought to prove their affinity to the evangelical Church. *James* I. still speaks of the infamis Anabaptistarum secta, quæ familia amoris vocatur. After that they disappear.

§ 27. ANABAPTISM.

Cf. *J. A. Stark*, Gesch. d. Taufe u. d. Taufgesinnten. Lpz. 1789.— *J. Hast*, l. c. (§ 24, 1); *Erbkam*, l. c. (§ 25).

The Anabaptist movement, the operations of which, so far as they immediately entered into the history of the Reformation, were mentioned in § 4, 1, 3, 4, 5; § 10, 5; § 13, 16, everywhere followed upon its heels, in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, Sweden, Denmark, Livonia, etc. In spite of numerous defeats, it pushed itself most audaciously forward, when *John of Leyden* established his splendid kingdom in Münster, and sent out his apostles into all the world, to gather the people of God into the new Zion. But the unhappy issue of this transient glory spoiled all its high hopes. Its scattered remnants were everywhere imprisoned, banished, or executed. Moreover, it was rent with internal factions. Two men, of a wholly different character, labored indefatigably, from 1536, to gather and reorganize these fragments; they were *David Joris* and *Menno Simons*. The latter, by adopting prudent measures of reform, managed to perpetuate his party.

1. *David Joris*, a glass-painter of Delft, was a fanatic of the worst stamp. With Anabaptist revelations, by which he claimed to be the true Christ according to the Spirit, he combined sabellian, anti-trinitarian, and antinomian doctrines. He travelled over Germany, disseminating his views by his writings, and orally. At last a reward was offered for his apprehension. Assuming another name, he went to Basel, and remained there undisturbed until his death (1556). When, subsequently, his true name was discovered, the city authorities had his body dug up and burned.

2. *Menno Simons*, a Catholic priest in Wittmarsum, Holstein, gave himself to the diligent study of the Scriptures, and soon was troubled with many doubts concerning Catholic doctrines. The martyr-like courage of an Anabaptist directed his attention to that subject, and he soon was induced to believe in the correctness of the views of the Anabaptists. In 1536 he resigned his priesthood, and was baptized. With indescribable toils and untiring patience, he labored to reorganize the sect. He drew up a distinct form of doctrine, related to that of the Reformed Church, differing from it only in rejecting infant baptism, and in an unqualified spiritualization of the idea of the Church as a communion of such only as were true saints. He also forbade military and civil service, and the oath, and in addition to baptism and the Lord's Supper, introduced feet-washing (John 13). By means of a

rigid ecclesiastical discipline, he maintained a simple mode of living and strict morality. The quiet, pious disposition of the *Mennonites*, soon secured religious toleration for them in Holland; afterwards, also, in Germany and England. Menno died in 1561. During his life, yet, his sect in Holland divided into two parties, the *fine* and the *coarse*, the latter disregarding Menno's severe discipline. (Cf. § 42, 1.)

§ 28. ANTI-TRINITARIANS AND UNITARIANS.

Cf. *F. Trechsel*, d. prot. Antitrin. vor Faust. Socin. Heidelb. 1839, 44. 2 Bde.—*O. Fock*, d. Socinianism. Kiel, 1847. 2 Bde.

The first opponents of the doctrine of the Trinity were German Anabaptists (*John Campanus*, *Lewis Hetzer*, and *John Denck*). The Spaniard, *Michael Servetus*, reduced his Unitarianism to organic connection with a complete pantheistic, philosophical system. But Italy was the proper home of the rationalistic denial of the doctrine; it was the fruit of the half pagan humanism which flourished there. Its advocates, compelled to flee, took refuge in Switzerland, but being persecuted there, and banished, they went to Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania, where princes or nobles protected them. The several scattered Unitarians were furnished with a complete doctrinal system by the two *Sozinni* (uncle and nephew), and thus, also, secured an ecclesiastical organization.

1. *Fanatical Anabaptist Anti-Trinitarians.*—The most notable of these are: (1.) *John Denck*, of the Upper Palatinate. In 1524, he became rector in Nuremberg; after that he wandered about until Œcolampadius gave him shelter in Basel, where he died of the plague in 1528. He rejected the written Word and infant bastism, resolved the doctrine of the Trinity into a pantheistic speculation, and taught an apocatastasis, but recanted shortly before his death. (2.) *Lewis Hetzer*, of Switzerland, was a priest in Zurich, and at first a zealous adherent and fellow-laborer of Zwingli. Subsequently he was converted by Denck, joined the Anabaptists, published (even before Luther) a German translation of the Prophets, and by means of hymns spread his monarchianistic views, until he was beheaded for polygamy at Constance in 1529. (Cf. *Kaim*, L. Hetzer. In the Jahrbb. für deutsche Theol., by *Dorner* u. *Liebner*, I. 2.) (3.) *John Campanus* of Jülich. Driven from Cologne, where he studied, he went to Wittenberg (1528), accompanied the Reformers to Marburg, where he endeavored to harmonize the disputants by interpreting: This is my body, to mean: This is a body made by me. Returning to Wittenberg, he began to circulate Anabaptist and Arian views, and to vilify the Reformers in his preaching and writings ("Wider die ganze Welt nach den Apos-

tles," "Göttlicher u. heiliger Schrift Restitution u. Besserung"), he was expelled from Saxony (1532). Imprisoned for preaching Chiliastic sermons, he died, after twenty years' confinement, in Cleve, (1574).

2. *Michael Servetus*, of Spain, was a man endowed with speculative talents, but of restive mind. Driven from Spain, he wandered about through France and Switzerland. Luckily escaping the stake in Vienna (though burnt in effigy), he was imprisoned in Geneva (1553), at Calvin's instigation, and having refused to recant, was burnt there as a disturber of the peace and a blasphemer. [Cf. § 25, 1.—Tr.] His pantheistic monarchianism was fully developed in his works: de trinitatis erroribus Ll. VII., and Dialogorum de trinitate Ll. II. He taught that the Logos was an emanation of the divine light, which became personal at the incarnation. The grosser materials of his body he received from his mother, the substance of the divine light taking the place of the male seed. By both he is God ὁμοούσιος, for even the earthly matter of his body is only a grosser form of the primal light. The Holy Spirit, from which the Logos differed in being a more corporeal manifestation of God, was the soul of Christ. Servetus also denied original sin, controverted justification by faith, disapproved of infant baptism, advocated a spiritualistic view of the Lord's Supper, and cherished Chiliastic expectations. (Cf. *L. Mosheim*, Unparth. Ketzergesch. Bd. II. Helmst. 1750. *Trechsel*, l. c. Bd. I. *Heberle*, Servet's Trinitätsl. u. Christol., in the Tübg. Ztschr. 1840. II.)

3. *Italian Unitarians before Socinus.*—The most noted are: (1.) *Claudius of Savoy*. In 1534, in Berne, he contended that Christ should be called God only because the fulness of the divine Spirit was communicated to him. Driven thence, and soon afterwards from Basel also, he went to Wittenberg, where he was likewise badly received. In 1537 he recanted at a synod in Lausanne. Then he went to Augsburg, and operated as a popular agitator. In 1550 he still appeared as a prophet in Memmingen. After that, we lose sight of him. (2.) *Valentine Gentilis*, of Calabria, driven from Berne, went to Poland (1552). In 1556, having ventured back to Berne, he was beheaded. (3.) *George Blandrata*, a physician of Saluzzo, in Piedmont, fled from his native country to Switzerland, and thence to Poland. In 1553 he was appointed private physician to the prince, in Transylvania. There he spread anti-trinitarian doctrines, and was murdered (1590) by his nephew, whose avarice could not wait for his death.

To the Italian infidelity of this period probably belongs, also, the authorship of the book *de tribus impostoribus* (Moses, Jesus, Mohammed), even though the conception is mediæval (Vol. I., § 96, 8). The work is first mentioned in the 16th cent. (Editions by *Genthe*, Lpz., 1833; *Weller*, Lpz. 1846; *Rosenkranz*, d. Zweifel am Glauben, Kritik d. Schrift de trib. impost. Halle, 1830). Of similar tendency is the work of the French jurist *Jean Bodin* (*ob.* 1597): *Heptaplomeres*, a dialogue upon Religion between *seven* learned free-thinkers of Venice,

in which all positive religions are set forth as possessing the same merits and defects. Ideal deism is commended, however, as the true religion. Edidit *L. Noack.* Schwerin. 1857. (Cf. *G. E. Guhrauer,* d. Heptapl. v. J. Bodin. Berl. 1844.)

4. *Lælius Socinus*, sprung from a celebrated family of jurists in Siena, himself a jurist, was early led to the conviction that Romish theology did not accord with the Bible. To acquire more certain knowledge of the matter, he learned the original languages of the Scriptures; on a journey he became acquainted with the most prominent theologians of Switzerland, Germany, and Poland; and constructed a complete, consistent system of Unitarianism. He died in Zurich (1562), and his nephew *Faustus Socinus*, whom he had indoctrinated into his own views, set himself about forming a Unitarian society from the anti-Trinitarians of Transylvania, who were in a very distracted state. His untiring efforts were successful. *Rakov* became the chief seat of *Socinians*, and the *Rakovian Catechism* (1602) their confession of faith. Faustus died (1604), and soon after his death the Socinian congregations in Poland and Transylvania flourished beyond all expectation. Learned men, like *John Crell, Schlichting, Wolzogen, Wissowatius*, etc., advocated and defended Socinianism in numerous works. This prosperity lasted a half century. But in consequence of a premeditated insult offered to the crucifix by some Rakov students, their church in that place was closed (1638), and their flourishing school broken up; and in 1658 they were excluded, in Poland, from the Religious Peace, and ordered to leave the country. In Transylvania, however, some Socinian congregations are still found at the present day.

The *Socinian System* is, substantially, the following: The Bible is the sole source of our knowledge of the plan of salvation, but it contains nothing contrary to reason. The doctrine of the Trinity conflicts with the Bible and with reason; God is only one person. Jesus was a mere man, who, however, was endowed with divine power to accomplish man's salvation, and was rewarded for his perfect obedience by being exalted to divine majesty, and invested with authority to judge the quick and the dead; hence divine honors are due him. The Holy Spirit is only a power of God. Man's original likeness to God consisted in his dominion over all creatures. Man was mortal by nature, though if he had not sinned, God might, by a supernatural operation, have caused him to pass into eternal life without first dying. There is no original sin, but original evil, and a hereditary inclination to sin, which, however, involves no personal culpability. God's foreknowledge of human actions must be disclaimed, because it would lead to the doctrine of absolute predestination. Redemption consists in Christ's having, by his doctrine and life, pointed out the way of moral improvement. God bestows upon all who choose this way the pardon of sin and eternal life. The death of Christ was not an atonement, but simply sealed his doctrine, and opened to him the way to divine honors. Con-

version must be begun by personal effort, but it cannot be completed without the aid of the Holy Spirit. The sacraments are mere ceremonies, which might be dispensed with, though it is better to retain them as ancient and pleasant customs, etc.

III. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

§ 29. EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN AND RENOVATE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The exertions of the *Catholic Church* to confine the triumphs of the Reformation to the narrowest possible limits, and to conquer as much as possible of their lost territory, are so prominent, so absorbing, and predominant, that we may exhibit its whole history during this period under the aspect of a *counter-reformation.* These efforts aimed partly at strengthening and reviving the Church *inwardly*, partly at securing its *outward* extension and increase — and this both by missions among the heathen, and by a violent suppression of Protestantism. The Council of Trent was designed to inclose mediæval, scholastic Catholicism with a brazen wall, which should forever secure it against reformatory measures, whilst, at the same time, many abuses were either corrected or curtailed. The old degenerate monastic orders, once so mighty a support of the papacy, were unable to resist the violence of the Reformation. A new order took their place, *the Jesuits*, which propped up the tottering hierarchy for some centuries, and sought in every way to hinder the spread of the Reformation. There also arose a number of other orders, *partly new, partly reformed*, mostly having a practical Christian tendency, none of which acquired the importance of the Jesuits, or even of many earlier orders, but which labored all the more beneficially in narrower spheres. Conflicts and rivalry with Protestantism likewise excited theological science to fresh and more profitable activity.

1. *The Council and the Popes.* — (Cf. *J. J. Rambach*, Gesch. d. röm. Pp. seit d. Ref. Magd. 1779. 2 Bde. 4to. — *L. Ranke*, d. röm. P., ihre K. u. ihr Staat, 3 A. Berl. 1844. — *Paolo Sarpi* (Petro Soave Solano), Istoria del conc. Trident., ed. M. A. de Dominis. Lond. 1619. Fol. In French, by *P. Fr. le Courayer*, with valuable notes. Lond. 1736. 2 vols. fol. German, by *F. E. Rambach*, Halle, 1761, 6 vols. Contra:

Sforza Pallavicino, Ist. del conc. di Trento. Rom. 1656. — *C. A. Salig*, vollst. Hist. d. trid. Conc. Halle, 1741, 3 Bd. 4to.—*J. H. v. Wessenberg*, d. gr. K.-verfass d. 15. u. 16. Jahrh. Konst. 1844. Bd. III. IV. — *E. Köllner*, Symbolik. Hamb. 1844. Bd. II.) — Pope *Paul* III., at the earnest and repeated solicitations of princes and people, opened the general *Council of Trent* in 1545. Its continuance, however, in a German city, seemed to him unadvisable, in view of the emperor's power and influence. On pretence of avoiding the plague, therefore, he removed it to Bologne in 1547, and in 1549 wholly dissolved it. *Julius* III. was constrained to reopen it (1551) in Trent, but the terror which preceded the army of Maurice scattered it, already, in 1552. (Cf. § 14, 1; 15, 10; 16. 4, 8; 17, 2.) It was not reopened again until *Pius* IV. (1559–65) convoked it in January, 1562, at Trent, where it adjourned after the 25th solemn plenary session in December, 1563. Some French and Spanish bishops plead for a thorough reformation, but they were voted down. Of 255 persons who participated in its business, more than two-thirds were Italians. The papal legates had unlimited sway, and it was a public mystery that the Holy Spirit had been brought from Rome to Trent in a locked up sack. In the doctrinal decrees, mediæval dogmas were confirmed (only shunning points of diversity between the Franciscans and Dominicans), all Protestant departures therefrom condemned. The decrees touching a reformation ordered various improvements, so far as they could be introduced without infraction upon hierarchical interests. *Pius* IV. confirmed all the decrees, but strictly forbade, on pain of the ban, all explanations and expositions of them, as all such belonged solely to the apostolic chair. *Gregory* XIII. (1572–85) completed the *Reformed Calendar* (1582) ordered by the Council of Trent. The Gregorian Calendar, which obviated the diversity between the civil and solar year by suppressing ten days in the civil calendar, was received with opposition even by the Catholic States. The Evangelical States of Germany did not accept it until 1700, and it was not introduced into England until 1752. Russia, and the entire Greek Church, still retains the old Julian Calendar. Among the succeeding popes, *Sixtus* V. (1585–90), who rose, from being a shepherd's boy (Felix Peretti), through all the grades of the hierarachy (Cardinal *Montalto*) to the papacy, distinguished himself by his vigorous reign and far-reaching plans.

Addend. About the close of this century arose the celebrated *prophecy*, ascribed to *St. Malachi*, archb. of Armagh (*ob.* 1148), which describes the popes, 111 in all, from Cœlestin II. (1143) to Sixtus V. (1590), in brief sketches, which, though spiritless, are very accurate, and mainly derived from the papal coats of arms. The succeeding popes, to the last (who is represented as guarding the Church amid great tribulations, and as surviving the downfall of the city of seven hills, and the coming of the day of judgment), are characterized by similar delineations, for the most part, however, indefinite and inapposite, though

in a few cases remarkably striking (ex. gr. Pius VI.: peregrinus apostolicus, § 44, 8, 9; Pius IX.: crux de cruce, § 57, 1). There are to be still eleven popes.—The real author of this prophecy is most probably the Benedictine *Wion*, in whose Lignum vitæ (1595), it was first made known. He probably ascribed it to St. Malachi, because St. Barnard, Malachi's friend and biographer, praises his gift of prophecy, or because he bears the name of the last prophet of the Old Testament. The aim of the prophecy was apologetic, by showing, in opposition to Protestantism, that the Papacy would maintain the Church to the coming of Christ. The author may possibly, also, have desired to influence the choice of the conclave of 1590, by directing special attention to that cardinal, as divinely indicated, whom he wished to see elected. (Cf. *H. Weingarten*, in the theol. Studd. u. Kritt, 1857. III.)

2. *The Society of Jesus* (1540). — (Cf. *Ribadaneira*, Vita Ign. Loy. Neap. 1572.—*J. G. v. Gumpach*, Ign. Loy. u. s. Gefährten. Darmst. 1845. — *Hospiniani* hist. Jesuitar. Zürich, 1619, fol.—*J. C. Harenberg*, pragm. Gesch. d. Ord. d. Jes. Halle, 1760, 2 Bde., 4to. (*Adelung*) Verf. e. neuen Gesch. d. Jesuitenord. Berl. 1769, 2 Bde. — *P. P. Wolf*, allg. Gesch. d. Jes. 2. A. Lpz. 1803, 4 Bde.—*F. Kortüm*, d. Entsth.-Gesch. d. Jes. Ord. Mannheim, 1843.—*S. Sugenheim*, Gesch. d. Jes. in Deutschl. Frkf. 1842, 2 Bde.—*G. Julius*, d. Jes. Gesch. d. Gründ., Ausbr. u. Entw. Lpz. 1845. — Catholic authors: *J. B. Leu*, Beitr. zur Würdigung d. Jesuitenord. nebst. e. Gesch. d. Ord. v. *J. A. Möhler*, Luzern, 1840. — *J. Cretineaux-Joly*, Gesch. d. Gesellsch. Jesu. From the French. Wien, 1845, etc., 5 Bde. — *F. J. Buss*, d. Gesellsch. Jesu. Mainz (1853.) — Ignatius of Loyola, descended from a notable family of Spanish knights, was severely wounded at the siege of Pampelona by the French. During his long and painful confinement he amused himself by reading romances of knight-errantry, and, after completing those, saints' legends. The latter made a deep impression upon him, and kindled in his breast a burning desire to imitate the saints in their renunciation of and victory over the world. Religious ecstacies and apparitions of the queen of heaven, invested this tendency with a celestial sanction. After his convalescence he gave all his possessions to the poor, and assuming the garb of a mendicant, practised the severest asceticism. At the age of 33 years he joined a class of boys, and studied the elements of Latin (1524), then philosophy at Complutum, and theology at Paris. With an iron will he surmounted all hindrances. In Paris, six men of like mind associated themselves with him: *Peter Faber* (Le Fèvre) of Savoy, (then already a priest), *Francis Xavier*, of a family of Spanish grandees, *James Lainez*, a Castilian, *Simon Rodriguez*, a Portuguese, *Alfonso Salmeron*, and *Alfonso Bobadilla*, both Spaniards. With glowing zeal they prepared a plan for a new order, bound themselves by a solemn oath to entire poverty and chastity, and to serve the Catholic faith in accordance with the pleasure of the pope (1534). They completed their studies under the most rigid

asceticism, and were consecrated priests. Then they went to Rome, and after some hesitation Paul III. confirmed their association as *the Order of the Society of Jesus* (1540). Ignatius was chosen their first general. In this capacity, also, he continued, with energetic power of will, to devote himself to religious discipline, the service of the sick, and the care of souls. It was not until after his death (1556) that the Order acquired great historical importance, under his successors, the skillful *Lainez* and vigorous *Francis Borgia* (a Spanish grandee), who far surpassed him in intellect, sagacity, and their far-reaching measures. The popes, also, bestowed a number of privileges upon the Order, and it rapidly grew in power and energy.

Subject and responsible only to the pope, exempted from all other jurisdiction, the Order constituted a close organization, with the most perfect unity of membership ever possessed by any of the large societies of any age. The circle nearest the general, who resided in Rome, consisted of the *Professi*, the choicest members of the Order. The chief officers of the Order (procurators, superiors, and rectors), were selected from their number. In addition to the three usual monastic vows, they took a *fourth*, by which they bound themselves to unconditional obedience to the pope. They were supported in their houses by charity. The *coadjutors* formed the second grade, who were either *ecclesiastics*, having charge of the course of studies, of instruction, and of spiritual matters, or *seculars*, who attended to all other interests. That these might follow their vocation without hindrance, they were excused from the fourth vow, and also from that of living by alms. The *scholastics* formed the third class, and the *novices* the fourth, who became scholastics, as soon as they had passed through their studies and ascetic exercises. Only such as enjoyed good bodily health, and were talented, were admitted to the novitiate. The *general* had monarchial authority, but, as a restraint upon violations of the rules of the Order, he was under the supervision of five *assistants*. Everything otherwise dear and sacred to man was sacrificed to the interests of the Order, and unconditional submission to its superiors. Country, friends, personal inclinations and aversions, even private opinions and the conscience, were to be as *nothing*, the Order everything. No government ever better understood each member's talents, or where to place him, and how to use him for its own ends; and none ever devised and employed so thorough and universal a system of mutual espionage. The Order made all conceivable means, science, learning, art, cultivation, politics, even commerce and trade, subservient to its purposes. It seized the management of the education of youth of the higher classes of society, and thus trained devoted and powerful friends; by preaching and private counsel, it operated upon the people, and in the confessional secured control over princes, and penetrated into all the relationships of life, and obtained possession of all secrets. And all these thousands of means, these eminent powers and talents, were united under *one* will,

served *one* purpose: positively, the furtherance of Catholicism, negatively, the suppression of Protestantism. Assuredly, the fact that Protestantism was not wholly vanquished by this stupendous agency, proves incontrovertibly, that it was animated by a higher than human spirit.

A system of *casuistry* threatening all morality was involved in the fundamental principle of all the efforts of the Order, and was not merely suggested by the private opinion of some inconsiderate moralists; and this does not require us to deny that the Order had, at all times, many members eminent for piety and strict morality. Primarily, and in a general way, the ethics of the Order showed a most decided tendency to *Pelagianism*, and the most distinctly avowed opposition to Augustinianism. But Jesuit ethics became especially notorious for the following principles: (1.) The end sanctifies the means. (2.) An action is justifiable, or at least excusable, when there is a probability of its goodness, or when approved by some respectable theologian (probabilismus). (3.) Mental reservations are allowable in making oaths or promises, the person so obligating himself being bound only by his intention. (4.) Philosophically, every violation of a divine commandment is a sin; theologically, only such violations as are perpetrated with full consciousness of the wrong, and a set purpose to break God's law. The most celebrated Jesuit moralists who contended for these principles were: *Francis Toletus* (*ob.* 1596), *Gabriel Vasquez* (*ob.* 1604), *Thomas Sanchez* (*ob.* 1610), *Francis Squarez* (*ob.* 1617), *Herm. Busenbaum* (*ob.* 1669). In politics, the Order for the benefit of the papacy maintained the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Only the pope derives his authority from God (Matth. 16 : 18, etc.), that of princes is derived from the people. Hence, if a king becomes a tyrant or a heretic, the people may depose him; or, if he refuses to submit to this, kill him. Thus *Bellarmine* (de potestate pontificis in temporalibus), and still more openly and decidedly, *Mariana*, in the work ascribed to him, de rege et regis institutione Ll. III. (Tolet. 1598, 4to.)—In the nature of the case, the operations of the Order in their heathen missions, were of a less exceptionable character (§ 30). (Cf. § 44, 7.)

3. *New Orders for Inner Missions.* — To these belong: (1.) The *Theatines*. They originated in an association of pious clergymen of Thiene or Theate, formed by *Gœtano da Thiene*, with the advice of Bishop *John Peter Caraffa* of Theate (afterwards Pope *Paul* IV.) In 1524 they were confirmed as Clerici regulares. They desired to depend for support, not upon begging, but upon divine providence furnishing them with means not solicited from any person, and acquired importance as a nursery for the higher clergy. Their regulations required them, moreover, to operate upon the people by frequent preaching, to give temporal and spiritual aid to the sick, to labor for the salvation of criminals, and oppose the rise of heresies. (2.) The *Barnabites*, likewise an association of regular clergy, founded by *Antonio Maria*

Zaccaria, in Milan, confirmed by Clement VII. (1532). They obligated themselves to devote their whole life to works of mercy, the care of souls, the instruction of youth, preaching, confession, and missions. Their great patron was *St. Borromeo*, Archb. of Milan. They derived their name from the Church of St. Barnabas, which was assigned to their use. The Society of *Angelicas*, founded by *Louisa Torelli, Countess Guastalla* (a wealthy lady, who had been twice widowed in the 25th year of her age), was attached to the Barnabites, and confirmed by Paul III. (1534). At first they accompanied the Barnabites on their missions, and labored for the conversion of women. But subsequently they were required to remain in a convent. Each member adds the name of the Order, *Angelica*, to her own, to be admonished thereby to be pure as the angels. (3.) *Brothers of Mercy* (1550), a society for the care of the sick, irrespective of their religion, founded by the friends of a poor, but excellent Portuguese, whom his bishop honored with the name *John de Dio*. (4.) The *Ursulines*, founded by a pious young woman, *Angela of Brescia*, for the succor of all classes of sufferers, but especially for the education of young women (1537). (5.) *Priests of the Oratory*, or *Order of the Holy Trinity*, founded by *St. Philip de Neri* of Florence (1548). They united works of mercy with devotional exercises and biblical studies, attended to in the *Oratory* of a hospital erected by them. A branch, or rather imitation of this society, arose in France (1611), under the name of *Fathers of the Oratory of Jesus*. (Cf. § 35, 2.)

4. *Reformation of the Old Orders.* — (1.) The revival of the strict rule of the *Franciscans* was effected by the *Capuchins*, whose founder, *Matthew de Bassi*, was a monk in the monastery of the Observantes at Montefalco, in the duchy of Urbino. Having incidentally discovered that St. Francis wore a cloak with a long pointed cowl, and, soon after, having had a vision of the saint in such a garb, he fled from his monastery, went to Rome, and besought the pope to allow him to restore the cowl (1525). His request was granted, and thus he formed a new congregation of the *Hermits of the Minorite Brethren*. The unusual dress attracted universal attention. Whenever one of the brethren appeared on the street, boys ran after him crying: Capucino. They adopted the name as that of their Order. Their self-denying philanthropy during a plague in Italy won general esteem for the Order, so that in a short time it spread over all Italy. The conversion of its third vicar-general, *Bernhard Ochino*, to the Reformed faith, brought it, however, into bad repute for a time. The members were characterized by a total want of scientific training, which often sank into low rudeness. (2.) *Theresa*, the daughter of a Spanish grandee, effected a reformation of the *Carmelites* (1562). The revived Order (monks and nuns) assumed the name of *Barefooted Carmelites*, and was devoted to the instruction of youth, and to works of mercy. In the reorganization of the male Carmelites she was assisted by the acute and pious mystic *John of the Cross*. (3.) A reformation of the *Cistercians* was finally effected by *Jean de la*

Barrière, abbot of the monastery of Feuillans, whence the congregation acquired the name of *Feuillantes* (Fuliensians). The manner of life he introduced was so rigid, that fourteen members died under it in the course of a few years; this led to a moderation of their rule (1595). Henry III. called its founder to Paris to establish a monastery there. He remained true to the king, even after he had renounced the league, and thus incurred the hatred of the fanatically Catholic brethren of his Order, so that, in 1592, they deposed and banished him. A subsequent committee of investigation under Cardinal Baronius, however, pronounced him innocent.

5. *The Struggle against Augustinianism.*—The Council of Trent had prudently guarded against giving a decision in the old dispute between the Thomists and Scotists, concerning grace. The Jesuits now joined the Scotists. *Michael Baius*, the learned and pious professor at Louvain, and his colleague *John Hessels*, defended the Augustinian doctrine; but the Franciscans gathered 76 propositions from the writings of Baius, which, through the aid of the Jesuits, they induced Pius V. to condemn (1567). Baius had to abjure them. The controversy was renewed in 1588, when the Jesuit *Louis Molina*, in Portugal, published some semi-pelagian views upon the doctrine in question (Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia). The Dominicans, with the learned *Dominicus Banez* at their head, made a violent attack upon him, but the entire Order of the Jesuits, to a man, defended Molina. Such was the violence of the controversy, that it had to be settled by a papal decision. Clement VIII. appointed a special congregation (congregatio de auxiliis) to examine the subject of dispute (1597), which labored in vain for ten years to frame a formula which would satisfy both the powerful parties. At length Paul V. dismissed them (1607), promised to give a decision at a convenient time, and forbid all controversy upon the subject. The prohibition availed but little. Soon the controversy broke out afresh, in a very threatening form. (Cf. § 44, 6.)

6. *Theology.* — Various measures were adopted to establish the doctrines of Trent. Even at Trent already, Indices librorum prohibitorum and expurgandorum were instituted, which were afterwards continued. The Professio fidei tridentinæ (1564) and the catechismus romanus (1566) were prepared as authentic exhibitions of the doctrinal system of Trent; and in 1588 a permanent congregation, even, was appointed to interpret its meaning upon any point which might come up. The Breviarium romanum (1568), Missale romanum (1570), and Clementine edition of the Vulgate (1592) served the same purposes. Meanwhile Catholic scholars, in spite of the decree of Trent, began to examine into the authenticity of the Vulgate, and earnestly to study the original text of the Scriptures. The Dominican *Santes Pagninus* of Lucca (*ob.* 1541), a pupil of Savonarola, published a Hebrew lexicon (1529), (closely following rabbinical helps), a Hebrew grammar (1528), a literal faithful translation of the Old and New Testament from the original, at which he labored thirty years, an isagogic (with extended

explanations of Biblical tropes), and wrote commentaries upon the Pentateuch and the Psalms. He regarded the literal sense as palea, folium, cortex; the mystical as triticum, fructus, nucleus suavissimus. The Dominican *Sixtus of Siena* (*ob.* 1569), laid more stress upon the historical sense. His Bibliotheca sancta, in 8 vols., was for that period an important introduction to the Bible. The Jesuit Cardinal *Robert Bellarmine* (*ob.* 1621), in his Ll. IV. de verbo Dei, controverted the Protestant rule: Scriptura scripturæ interpres. *Jerome Emser* violently abused Luther's version of the Bible, and in opposition to it issued a translation of the New Testament (1527) claimed as his own, but which is no more than a copy of Luther's, with some unimportant verbal alterations. *John Deitenberger*, of Mayence, perpetrated the same barefaced deception in regard to the Old Testament. Luther and Leo Juda are literally copied (1534). *John Eck*, also, of Ingolstadt, published a translation of the Bible from the Vulgate, into the most wretched German, without any reference to the original text (1537). The learned Spaniard *Arias Montanus*, aided by King Philip II., furnished the *Antwerp Polyglott*, in 8 vols., with a large number of learned additions (1569, etc.) Towards the close of the century, the number of exegetes who began to give decided prominence to the literal sense, greatly increased. The most notable are: *Arias Montanus* (*ob.* 1598, upon nearly the whole Bible); the Jesuit *John Maldonatus* (*ob.* 1583, upon the four Gospels); *John Mariana* (*ob.* 1624, Scholia in V. et N. T.); *Nich. Serrarius* (*ob.* 1609, on the O. and N. T.); and *William Estius* of Douay (*ob.* 1613, on the Epistles). In the sphere of dogmatics, the old method of commenting upon the Lombards was continued. But as early as 1528, *Berthold Pirstinger*, Bishop of Chiemsee, published a complete text-book of dogmatics, in the upper German dialect, entitled "Tewtsche Theologey," which was wholly emancipated from the scholastic form (cf. § 5, 3), and *John Eck* published a counterpart to Melanchthon's locis (Enchiridion locorum communium), which passed through 30 editions. Of far greater importance were the Loci theologici of the Spanish Dominican *Melchior Canus* (*ob.* 1560), which appeared in Salamanca (1563). The work is not so much a system of dogmatics as a thorough and learned introductory investigation of the sources, principles, method, and fundamental idea of dogmatics. He controverts the absurdities of the scholastic method, but instead of wholly discarding it, desires that it should be pruned, and rescued from its errors. The Jesuit *Peter Canisius* acquired a high reputation in the Church for his two *Catechisms* (Cat. major 1554, and Cat. minor 1566), which for two centuries were used in all the Catholic schools of Germany, and are still considered unsurpassed. Among Catholic *controversialists*, Cardinal *Bellarmine* holds indisputably the first place. His Disputationes de controversiis chr. fidei adv. hujus temp. hæreticos (1581–93) have, in many respects, not been surpassed even to this day. Previously, *William Lindanus*, Bishop of Ghent (Panoplia evangelica, Colon. 1563), and the Jesuit *Francis Coster*, of Mechelu (Enchiridion controversia-

rum. Col. 1585), had acquired great celebrity among Catholics, as assailants of Protestantism. The merits of Cardinal *Baronius*, as an eccl. historian, have already been acknowledged (Vol. I., § 4, 2).

7. *Music, Art, and Poetry.*—*Musical* taste had been completely spoiled in the second Netherland school (Vol. I., § 113, 3), and *Church music*, especially, had become so artificial, fanciful, and secular, that some fathers at the Council of Trent earnestly proposed that music should be wholly excluded from Church service (at the mass). Then *Palestrina* (*ob.* 1594) saved and improved it. He was a pupil of Goudimel (§ 23, 1), and by direction of the Council composed three masses, of which the Missa Marcelli is the most celebrated, in a grand, churchly style; artistic and yet not artificial, lofty and fervent, but not secular or sentimental, they mark a new epoch in the Romish Church music. In *poetry*, *Torquato Tasso* (*ob.* 1595) celebrated the Christian heroism of mediæval Catholicism in his Gerusalemme liberata.—*Painting* still made important contributions to the service of the Catholic Church. Besides, and after, *Correggio* and *Titian*, the noble masters *Caracci*, *Domenichino*, and *Guido Reni*, were distinguished. *Michael Angelo* (*ob.* 1564, in his 90th year), developed the most profound Christian ideas in the most lofty productions of painting and sculpture, was likewise distinguished as an architect, and ranks among the greatest poets of Italy. Not only as painter and sculptor, but also as poet, he was far from doing slavish homage to the worship of Mary and the saints; he rather gave utterance, in glowing sonnets, to his poignant sense of sin, and his strong faith in the crucified destroyer of sin. (Cf. § 37, 2, 3.)

8. The new efforts which Catholicism was driven to make for its self-preservation, by the progress of the Reformation, produced some happy results in the *practical life* of the Church. The awakened zeal for inner missions furnishes a bright proof of this, and the Catholic Church could once more produce saints worthy of being placed beside those of the middle ages. In addition to those already named, we meet with one especially distinguished by his elevated and noble character, *Charles Borromeo* (*ob.* 1587), who, as a nephew of the pope, and a high dignitary of the Church (Archb. of Milan), exerted considerable influence upon the Council of Trent and the Curia, and succeeded in having many abuses corrected. His life furnishes a perfect ideal of a Catholic pastor; and to this day his lofty form looks down from a colossal statue upon the streets of Milan, as the revered patron of the land.

§ 30. TRANSMARINE MISSIONS.

Cf. *H. Brown*, Hist. of the propag. of Christianity among the heathen since the Ref. Lond. 1814, 2 vols. — *P. Wittmann*, d. Herrlichk. d. K. in ihr. Miss. seit d. Glaubensspalt. Augsb. 1841, 2 Bde.—*Baron Henrion*, allg. Gesch. d. kath. Miss. seit d. 13. Jahrh. From the French. Schaffh. 1845, etc. 3 Bde. — *M. Müllbauer*, Gesch. d. kath. Miss. in

Ostind. Freib. 1852. — *W. Hoffmann*, d. Epochen d. K. G. Indiens. Berl. 1855. Gesch. d. kath. Miss. in China. Wien, 1845, 2 Bde.

The extensive geographical discoveries which immediately preceded the Reformation period, and the serious losses of ecclesiastical territory in Europe, resuscitated the missionary zeal of the Catholic Church. Opportunity and incitement to transmarine missions were afforded by the commerce and conquests which were still almost exclusively carried forward by the Catholic nations; and abundant means were furnished, to sustain them by the numerous old and new monastic Orders. The missionary efforts of the Jesuits were especially brilliant. But the mutual jealousies and animosities of some of the Orders soon caused many interruptions. (Cf. § 35, 3.)

1. *East India and Japan.* — The Portuguese had established bishoprics in their possessions in East India as early as 1510, though there were no churches there. Then *Francis Xavier*, Loyola's companion, the *Apostle of India*, fired with glowing zeal for the salvation of men, imbued with apostolic simplicity, and filled with love and a spirit of self-denial, entered that field in 1542, and baptized many thousands, mostly belonging to the despised caste of Pariahs; but he progressed so rapidly that he nowhere took time to secure an inward basis for this external success. His unrestrained missionary zeal impelled him still onward. From East India he went to Japan, and only his death prevented his entering China (*ob.* 1552).—An inquisition for the maintenance of the Catholic faith was instituted in East India in 1560, which destroyed the remnants of the ancient Thomas Christians. Among the Brahmins the Jesuit *Nobili* labored with some success, by accommodating himself to their prejudices, and avoiding all intercourse with the Pariahs. In *Japan* the Jesuits carried forward Xavier's work with brilliant success; even some princes embraced Christianity. But in 1587 a violent persecution broke out, and the Jesuits held their position in the country with great difficulty. The envious devices of the Franciscans against the Jesuits, and the political rivalries which arose between the Hollanders and Portuguese, increased the trouble; persecutions were renewed, and resulted in the utter extermination of the Church (1637).

2. *China.* — Commerce also opened the way for missions to China, where a proud contempt of all foreigners was the chief obstacle. But the Jesuits, with *Matthew Ricci* at their head, contrived (1582) to gain entrance to the imperial court, by their mathematical, mechanical, and architectural knowledge. Ricci first nationalized himself, and then began to preach Christianity. He died in 1610, but his work was carried on by his Order, and hundreds of churches had spread like a network over a large portion of the country.

3. *America.* — Zeal for the spread of the kingdom of Christ was not one of the least impulses which influenced *Christopher Columbus* in his

zeal for geographical discoveries. But the avarice, cruelty, and immorality of the Spanish invaders, who were less concerned to make the natives Christians than slaves, proved a mighty hindrance to the successful Christianization of the country. The missionaries, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, earnestly, but unavailingly, vindicated the human rights of the abused Indians. The noble Spanish Bishop *Bartholomew de las Casas*, devoting his whole life (1474–1566) to the sacred work, labored untiringly not only for the conversion of the Indians, but also for their deliverance from the hands of his avaricious and blood-thirsty countrymen. He visited Spain six times, to intercede personally with the highest authorities for the amelioration of the lot of the poor natives, and he had to go the seventh time to defend himself against the complaints of his bitter foes. As early as 1517, Charles V., at his entreaty, had granted the Indians personal liberty, but simultaneously allowed the colonists to introduce Negro slavery for the severe labors of the mines and plantations, and Las Casas was compelled to assent. But Indian slavery was still continued, and not until 1547 were earnest measures adopted for its abolition, after many millions of Indians had been sacrificed. Christianity had then already spread as far as Spanish rule reached, and was placed under the care of the Inquisition. In South America the Portuguese held dominion over *Brazil*, a rich but little known country. In 1549 King *John* III. sent a Jesuit mission thither, with *Emanuel Nobreya* at its head. Amid indescribable toils they prevailed upon the native cannibals to embrace Christianity and civilization.

4. *Abyssinia and Egypt.*—The revived missionary zeal also directed its efforts towards the schismatic Churches of the East. Early in the 16th century it was ascertained through Portuguese merchants that an independent Jacobite Christian empire still existed in Abyssinia. The Abyssinian sultan, *David*, willingly received a Catholic patriarch (*Bermudez*), upon assurances of Portuguese aid against the encroachments of neighboring Mahommedan States. But his successor *Claudius* drove the patriarch off. From 1546 Jesuit missionaries went thither, but Claudius denounced them as Arians, and the people refused to listen to them. Paul V., at the commencement of the 17th century, encouraged by a friendly letter of the Coptic patriarch, sent the Jesuit *Christopher Rodriguez* to Egypt. The patriarch took the rich presents he brought along, and then let him return home without having effected anything.

§ 31. CATHOLIC RESTORATION EFFORTS.

Cf. *L. Ranke*, d. röm. Päpste. Bd. II.—*H. Heppe*, d. Restaur. d. Katholicism. in Fulda, auf d. Eichsfelde u. in Würzb. Marb. 1850.—*Ch. A. Pescheck*, Gesch. d. Gegenref. in Böhmen. Lpz. 1844. 2 Bde.

No sooner had the Catholic Church settled and secured matters at home, by the happy termination of the Council of Trent, than

it put forth all its strength to recover as much as possible of the territory it had lost. It can, at least, not be denied, that the efforts made for this purpose were extensive, persevering, bold, and successful. Two things favored the scheme, one was the *territorial system* (§ 17, 5), legalized by the enactments of the empire, which was originally devised for the rescue of Protestantism (§ 6, 7), but now operated to its destruction; the other was the policy of the *Jesuits*, who spread over Europe, and, according to circumstances, openly or under close concealment, combined with, or intrigued against State authorities, for the overthrow of Protestantism, wherever it had taken root. Their craftiness, boldness, skill, their diplomatic arts, machinations, and practice in controversy, succeeded in one place in fanning the scarcely glimmering spark of Catholicism into a bright flame; in another, either in exterminating Protestantism root and branch, or reducing it to the limits of a scarcely tolerated sect. Above all, they aimed to secure the management of the seminaries and schools, in order to plant hatred of Protestantism in the breasts of the rising generation. The other monastic Orders, also, were not idle; but in extensive plans, thorough system, and strict unity, they fell far short of the vast and comprehensive energy of the Jesuits. The efforts at restoration, however, were most stupendous, comprehensive, and general, during their first epoch, which were begun, reached their climax, and achieved their last renowned feat, for the time, in the sixty years intervening between the death of Maximilian II. (1576), and the restoration edict (1629) of Ferdinand II. (Cf. § 33, 1.)

1. *The Views of the German Emperors. — Ferdinand* I. (1556–64), more patient than his brother even as archduke and Roman king, and often the mediator between Charles and the Evangelicals, displayed a still more conciliatory and gentle disposition towards Protestantism during the last years of his own government. He was greatly dissatisfied with the Council of Trent. Indeed, he tried anew the old ineffectual plan of a union by mutual concessions, and had union schemes prepared (1564) by the theologians near him, *George Cassander*, *Fred. Staphylus*, and *Geo. Wizel* (the last two had been Protestants). Cassander's opinion, the only one entertained, proposed the abandonment, for the sake of peace, of all doctrines and customs not founded upon the Scriptures. But he supposed many things supported by the Scriptures which Protestants could not find there, and the Catholics would not admit the principle. Hence the negotiations failed (cf. § 33, 5). Ferdinand's son *Maximilian* II. (1564–76) had been educated well-nigh

in an evangelical spirit by his instructor *Wolfg. Severus.* He gave full liberty to the Protestants in his country, conferred many high and inferior State offices upon them, had little to do with the Jesuits, and was kept from embracing Protestantism only by political considerations regarding Spain and his Catholic princes. But these considerations crippled his good intentions, and his half-way measures caused complications which subsequently led to the 30 years' war. His son, *Rudolf* II., educated by Jesuits at the Spanish court, gave them free scope for their operations everywhere, inflicted injuries on Protestantism, and was restrained from attempting totally to suppress it, only by his indecision and timidity.

2. *Restoration Attempts in Germany.* — After the treaty of Passau, political disorders and the exhaustion of the princes operated very favorably for Protestantism. It had spread mightily in the Catholic States; the States, and especially the nobility, did not conceal their sympathy for it, and demanded a religious concession of the prince for every grant made. Many spiritual princes had almost more Protestant than Catholic councillors; at their courts the Protestant nobility had unrestrained intercourse; Protestant cities were partly their residences, and the benefices were often held by evangelical canons. But for the Jesuits all Germany would, in a few years, have come under the Evangelical Church, in spite of territorial authority and ecclesiastical reservations. The first Jesuits, thirteen in number, came as Spanish priests to Vienna in 1551, at the call of Ferdinand. Several years later they nestled themselves in *Cologne* and *Ingolstadt* (1566). From these cities they spread in a few years over the whole of Catholic Germany, and the hereditary States of Austria. Then the work of restoration began. First in *Bavaria* (1564), Duke *Albert* V., converted into a zealous Catholic by the opposition of his Protestant States, excluded Protestant nobles from the Bavarian diet; banished all the evangelical preachers; compelled all his evangelical subjects, who refused to embrace Catholicism, to leave the country; and required all professors and persons holding office, to subscribe under oath the Trent Confession of Faith. For this the Jesuits commended him as a second Josiah and Theodosius, called Munich a second Rome, and the pope conferred on him the prerogatives of a summus Episcopus in his domain. When he obtained *Haag* as a hereditary earldom, and when *Baden-Baden* came under his rule as guardian, he extirpated Protestantism from those countries also. The Electors of *Treves* and *Mayence* followed the example of Bavaria, though with a measure of moderation. The latter (*Daniel Brendel*) restored Catholicism (1574) in *Eichsfelde*, which had become wholly evangelical. *Balthasar von Dernbach*, Abbot of *Fulda*, who was almost the only Catholic in his district, pursued the same course (1575). But he fell out with the chapter, which, with the knights, drove him off. The Bishop of Würzburg, *Julius Echter*, who had aided them, assumed the government of the institution (1576). But early in 1577 the abbot was

restored by imperial authority, and the last trace of Protestantism was then obliterated. Julius of Würzburg, who was placed in great peril, would probably have followed the example of *Gebhard of Cologne* (§ 17, 6), if the result had been different; but, as it was, he justified himself in exterminating Protestantism from his almost wholly Protestant district (from 1584). His example was followed by the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Salzburg*, *Hildesheim*, *Münster*, *Paderborn*, etc. The Jesuits were everywhere at work, openly and secretly. Then *Ferdinand* II. of Steiermark (emperor from 1619) and *Maximilian* I. of Bavaria, both great pupils of the Jesuits, and educated at Ingolstadt, appeared on the stage. When Ferdinand celebrated Easter (1596) in *Gratz*, he was the only one who communed according to the Catholic mode. Two years afterwards he began the counter-reformation, and carried it to a glorious completion, in the spirit of the Jesuits. His relative, Emperor *Rudolf* II., encouraged by this, followed his example (cf. § 19, 9). In *Switzerland*, also, the Jesuits and papal nuncios made successful efforts to restore Catholicism fully, in the Catholic and mixed cantons. (Cf. § 33, 1.)

3. But the restoration was not limited to Germany. It embraced *all Europe*. Everywhere the Jesuits urged their way, and contrived to effect something even where there seemed to be no prospect of success. (Cf. § 19.) In France the sanguinary civil wars broke out in 1562; in the Netherlands the Duke of Alba arose in 1567. The Jesuits penetrated *Poland* in 1569, and thence worked their way into *Livonia*. In 1578 the cunning Jesuit *Possevin* appeared in *Sweden*, and converted the king. Even in England, where *Elizabeth* threatened (1582) every Jesuit with death, scores of them toiled in secret, and kept alive the glimmering spark of Catholicism with promises of better times (cf. § 33, 3).

4. *Russia and the United Greeks.*—The attempts made from time to time, after the Council of Florence, to win over the Russian Church, had been abortive. Then the unhappy war between *Ivan* II. Wassiljevitsch and *Stephen Bathori* of Poland, broke out, and afforded the pope the desired opportunity of offering himself as a mediator. To this end *Gregory* XIII. sent the subtle Jesuit *Anthony Possevin* to Poland and Russia (1581). The czar received him with great distinction, granted him, also, a religious conference, but he neither could be induced to attach himself to Rome nor to banish the Lutherans. On the other hand, Rome triumphed in having effected a union of the Greeks in the provinces of Western Russia, which had revolted to Poland, partly by violence, partly by deception; the union having been ratified by the Church at the *Synod of Brest* (1594). The *united Greeks* were required to submit to the supremacy of Rome and its doctrine, but were allowed to retain their old ecclesiastical customs. (Cf. § 42, 5; 45.)

SECOND PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

I. RECIPROCAL RELATIONS OF THE CHURCHES TO EACH OTHER.

§ 32. THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES AND THE WEST.

Cf. *K. R. Hagenbach*, Vorless. ü. Wesen u. Gesch. d. Ref. Bd. IV. 2 A. Lpz. 1854.

THE Eastern Church opened new prospects of conquest to Popery; but either no actual results were secured, or they soon again disappeared. Still more illusory were the hopes awakened in London and Geneva, that a Calvinistic regeneration of the Greek Church might be effected.

1. *Expectations of the Catholics.* — Rome sent successive missions, mostly Jesuits, into *Turkish countries*, to operate both among the orthodox and schismatic Greek Churches, and at the same time to oppose Protestant interests there. They succeeded, however, only in the matter last mentioned. The *Jesuit mission in Abyssinia*, which we left (§ 30, 4) in a rather hopeless condition, was now reaping a glorious harvest. The Jesuit *Peter Paez* acquired influence over the Sultan *Segued*, and induced him to renounce the Jacobite heresy by promises of Spanish support. *Urban* VIII. appointed the Jesuit *Alfonso Mendez* Catholic patriarch of Abyssinia (1625). But the clergy and people several times rose up against the sultan and his patriarch. They were conquered in a bloody civil war, but *Segued* thought it prudent to abate his coercive measures, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction of the Jesuits with his course. His successor *Saghed* expelled the entire Jesuit mission, and almost every trace of Catholicism disappeared (1642).— New prospects of gaining Russia opened under the *pseudo Demetrius* (1605), who attached himself to the Catholic interests of Poland; but

just this convinced the Russians that Demetrius could be no genuine son of the Czars. When his Catholic bride, a Pole, entered Moscow with 200 of her countrymen, an insurrection occurred which cost him his life.

2. *Expectations of the Calvinists.*—*Cyrillus Lucaris*, of Candia (patriarch of Alexandria from 1602–1621, then patriarch of Constantinople), had imbibed a decided partiality for Calvinism during his visits to Geneva, and after his return earnestly thought of effecting a union. By means of letters and messengers he maintained a constant correspondence with Reformed theologians in England, Holland, and Switzerland, and in 1626 sent a well-nigh Calvinistic confession of faith to Geneva. But the other Greek bishops persistently opposed his plans of union, and influential Jesuits in Constantinople excited political suspicions against him. On this account the sultan several times deposed him, and he was finally (1638) seized and strangled for high treason. (Cf. *Hefele*, in d. tübg. Quartalscher. 1843. IV.—*A. Twesten*, in d. deutsch. Ztschr. v. Schneider, 1840. Nr. 39.)

3. *Orthodoxy Confirmed.*—The Russian orthodox Church, after its emancipation from Constantinople, and the establishment of an independent patriarchate at Moscow (1589), had become decidedly more prominent than that of Greek countries, and the Russian Czar had assumed the position of the former Roman Emperor of the East, as protector of the entire orthodox Church. The various perils which for some time threatened the orthodox faith, by a Catholic and Protestant union, led the learned metropolitan *Petrus Mogila* of Kiev to prepare a new confession of faith, which was formally approved (1643), at a synod in Constantinople, by all the orthodox patriarchs (of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow), as ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

§ 33. CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

The Jesuit counter-reformation progressed with unabated vigor, and during the first quarter of this century achieved the most brilliant results in *Bohemia*. The Peace of Westphalia set bounds to its violent measures, but not to its secret machinations and open arts of deception. Next to the conversion of the Bohemians, the restoration accomplished most in France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The Catholic cause gloried also in the return of many Protestant princes, who were converted mostly by the zeal of the Jesuits. The most remarkable examples of this kind were the capricious conversion of *Christina* of *Sweden*, and that of the *dynasty of Electoral Saxony*. Repeated union efforts were also started, but they proved as abortive as earlier attempts.

1. *The Restoration in Germany and the neighboring Territories.* (Cf. *Pescheck*, l. c. § 31.)—In 1609 the Emperor *Rudolf* II. had guaranteed the existence and freedom of Protestantism in *Bohemia*, by a letter of majesty. But the Emperor *Matthias*, by preventing the erection of a church-edifice, practically violated the promises of the letter of majesty. The excited Bohemians cast the imperial councillors out of the window, chased off the Jesuits, and chose the Elector *Frederick* V. of the Palatinate as their king (1618). But Ferdinand II. conquered, tore up the letter of majesty, led back the Jesuits, expelled the Protestant clergy, etc. Christian IV. of Denmark, with some other princes, attempted to rescue Protestantism, but they, also, were defeated. Ferdinand II., drunken with victory, issued an *edict of restoration* (1629), as an *authoritative* declaration of religious peace, by which the Protestants were to deliver up all the monasteries confiscated after the treaty of Passau. Calvinists were excluded from the Peace, and the Catholic States were granted unconditional liberty to suppress Protestantism in their hereditary countries. Then *Gustavus Adolphus* (*ob.* 1632) of Sweden, impelled no less by political than religious motives, stood forth as the deliverer of Protestantism. The unhappy war was finally terminated by the *Peace of Westphalia*, at Münster and Osnabrück. Germany lost many excellent provinces, but liberty of thought and religion was secured. The Religious Peace of Augsburg was confirmed by a Swedish and French guaranty, and extended to the Reformed, also, as related to the Augsburg Confession. Jan. 1, 1624, was fixed as the date when possession should be taken of the Church property. Thus the political balance of the Protestant and Catholic States in Germany was established. But the pope persistently refused to recognize the Peace; and by means of Jesuitic manœuvring and political measures, considerable limitations were imposed upon the Protestant Church. It was wholly exterminated in *Bohemia*, and in the other Austrian hereditary States the oppressions increased until the reign of Joseph II. In *Silesia* more than 1000 churches were taken from the Evangelicals after the edict of restoration. A restitution was not thought of; the persecution and oppression continued during the entire century (§ 44, 4), and compelled thousands to emigrate (mostly to upper Lusatia). In *Hungary* the number of Protestants was reduced one-half, by various intrigues and enticements. *Transylvania*, however, continued a place of refuge for the dissenters. In *Livonia*, also, which was under Polish dominion from 1561, the Jesuits had effected an entrance, and began their work of restoration; but Swedish rule, under *Gustavus Adolphus* (from 1621), put an end to their machinations. The *Valteline massacre* (1620) was a Swiss Bartholomew's eve on a small scale, but with equal madness and cruelty. *All* the Protestants were murdered in *one* day. The conspirators, at the ringing of the storm-bell at the earliest dawn, broke into the houses of the heretics, and murdered all they met with, to the babe at the breast. From four to five hundred were killed. The *Pala-*

tinate, into which the Reformed faith had been forcibly introduced, came (1685) under the dominion of the Catholic house of Neuburg, and then the Reformed Church suffered most from the oppressive measures adopted. In *Juliers-Cleve-Berg* the Reformation had from the first progressed successfully, but was stopped and thrown back by the victory of Charles V. (§ 15, 8) and the fall of Archb. Hermann (§ 16, 2). From the middle of the 16th century, however, a number of Walloon zealous Reformed fugitives from Belgium settled in those districts, and powerfully strengthened the Protestant element. From that time the Reformed Church had a decided preponderance over the Lutheran; and the Lutherans, whilst strictly adhering to the doctrine of their Church, adopted many Reformed peculiarities in Church government and worship. By the treaty concerning inheritance of Juliers-Cleve (1666), Cleve, Mark, and Ravensberg passed over to the Reformed house of Brandenburg, but Juliers and Berg to the Catholic Palatinate, whilst each government pledged protection to subjects of a different faith from its own, and also conceded to them the jus retortionis, if their complaints did not secure reparation.

2. *Protestants in France, and Waldenses in Piedmont.* (Cf. *J. Chr. K. Hoffmann*, Gesch. d. Aufruhrs in d. Sevennen. Nördl. 1838. — *G. v. Polenz*, d. Camisarden u. d. Kirchen d. Wüste; in the ev. K. Z. 1846, Nr. 64, etc., 74, etc.; 1848, Nr. 18, etc.)—*Henry* IV. (1588–1610) faithfully adhered to the promises of the Edict of Nantes. But under *Louis* XIII. (1610–43) oppressions of the Huguenots were revived, and excited them to new insurrections. *Richelieu* annulled their political claims, though in the *Peace of Nismes* (1629) their religious rights were retained. *Louis* XIV. (1643–1715) allowed his confessors to persuade him to atone for his excesses by purging his dominions of all heretics. Money and court-influence having done their part, the terrible dragonnades commenced the work of converting the Protestants (1681). In 1685 the formal *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* was issued, and the work of conversion was carried forward more furiously than ever. Thousands of churches were demolished, confessors past numbering were executed or doomed to the galleys, and violently robbed of their children, etc. In spite of fearful penalties against emigration, and the most careful guarding of the borders, hundreds of thousands of refugees escaped, and were received with open arms in Brandenburg, Holland, England, and Switzerland. Many fled to the *Cevennes*, where (called *Camisards*), with incredible courage, and under various fanatical, prophetic manifestations, they maintained themselves against the converting and persecuting efforts of the Catholics, during a struggle of 20 years, and finally secured tolerable conditions of peace (1704). France lost a half million of its most pious, industrious, and thrifty inhabitants, and still two millions of Reformed remained in the country, though deprived of almost every right.—The oppressions of the *Waldenses* in Piedmont were intimately connected with the persecutions of

the Huguenots in France. Although the Duke of Savoy confirmed to them their privileges in 1654, a fearfully bloody persecution broke out against them in 1655, professedly for the purpose of purging their abodes for the Papists banished during the Irish massacre under Cromwell (see 3, below). The cruelties of the troops despatched for this purpose drove the Waldenses to a desperate resistance. Through the mediation of the Protestant cantons of Switzerland a miserable toleration was again secured; and by large contributions of money from abroad, their temporal losses were measurably repaired. But in 1685 the persecution and civil war were revived at the instigation of Louis XIV. The soldiers forced their way through the valleys and compelled the inhabitants to flee. A portion found refuge in Würtemberg, others in Switzerland. The latter, supported by Swiss troops, invaded Piedmont in 1689, and reconquered their homes. Thenceforth they maintained their rights in spite of all conceivable oppressions.

3. *The Catholics in England.*—When *James* I. (1603–25), the son of Mary Stuart, ascended the throne of England, the Catholics expected nothing less of him than the complete restoration of Catholicism. But however strongly he was inclined to Catholicism, his predilection for a cesareo-papistic form of government was still stronger. Hence James persecuted the Jesuits with reckless severity, because they opposed royal supremacy over the Church. This enraged the Catholics to the highest degree. They formed a conspiracy (the *Gunpowder-plot*, 1605), by which they intended to destroy the king and his family, as well as the members of the parliament, at its next opening. The plot was discovered shortly before its execution, and the conspirators, with two Jesuit abettors, were executed. Thenceforth still more rigid measures were used against Catholicism and its adherents, not only in England, but in *Ireland* also, the mass of the people there adhering firmly to the Papacy. The endless sufferings and oppressions inflicted upon them, led to a most sanguinary catastrophe there, the *Irish massacre of* 1641. In October, 1641, a conspiracy, spread among all the Catholics of the country, broke out. It aimed at the annihilation of all the Protestants in Ireland. The conspirators forced the houses of Protestants, and murdered the occupants, or drove them naked and helpless from their homes. Thousands died of hunger and cold upon the highways. Others were driven in crowds into rivers, where they were drowned, or into empty houses, which were then fired. The number of those who perished is said by some to have reached 400,000. This event, of which *Charles* I. is accused of having been previously aware, or even the instigator, was his first step to the scaffold (1649). In opposition to the Catholic sympathies of *Charles* II. (1660–85), the Parliament ordained the *Test-act* (1673), by which every public officer, in the civil or military service, was required to take the oath of supremacy, to condemn transubstantiation and the worship of saints, and partake of the Lord's Supper in the Anglican Episcopal Church. The declaration of a certain *Titus*

Oates, that the Jesuits had formed a conspiracy to murder the king, and restore Popery (1678), caused a terrible excitement throughout the kingdom, and led to numerous executions. The assertion of Oates, however, was to all appearances unfounded, and was the result of an intrigue, designed to secure the exclusion of the king's Catholic brother *James* II. from the succession. When James II. assumed the crown (1685–88), he at once opened negotiations with Rome, and appointed scarcely any but Catholics to the various civil offices. At the invitation of the Protestants, *William* III. of Orange, the king's son-in-law, landed in England (1688), and after the flight of James was proclaimed King of England by the Parliament (1689).

4. *Converted Princes.*—(Cf. *Gallerie* d. denkw. Personen, welche im 16. 17. 18. Jahrh. zur kath. K. übergetr. sind. Herausgeg. v. *F. W. Ph. Ammon.* Erlg. 1833.)—The first reigning prince who returned to Catholicism was the Margrave *Jacob* III. *of Baden*, in 1590. But incomparably greater surprise was occasioned by the conversion of Queen *Christina of Sweden*, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, a highly gifted and intelligent, but also a vain and perverse princess. Her chief motive was to do something extraordinary, for in reality she esteemed the new religion as little as she did the old. As she previously abdicated the throne (1654), the Catholic Church gained nothing by her conversion but the vain glory of it, and Pope *Alexander* VII. had to grant his spiritual daughter a pension of 10,000 scudi, to keep her from starving. Of greater account was the apostacy of the Elector *Frederic Augustus* of Saxony (1697), the *Mighty*, mighty in herculean strength, still more mighty in unbounded profligacy. (Cf. Bar. v. *Pöllnitz*, d. galante Sachsen. Offb. 1735). He was tempted to this by the crown of Poland. The people and States, however, maintained their ecclesiastical rights. He himself died trusting in the mercy of God in Christ to penitent sinners. But Saxony, the fatherland of the Reformation, is still ruled by a Catholic prince.

5. *Union Efforts.*—(Cf. *C. W. Hering*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Unionsvers. seit d. Ref. Lpz. 1836–38, 2 Bde.)—(1.) King *Wladislas* IV. of Poland thought it possible to effect an understanding and reconciliation between the Catholics and Protestants of his kingdom; and to this end appointed a *Religious colloquy at Thorn* (1645). Prussia and Brandenburg were also invited to participate. The elector sent his court-preacher, *John Berg*, and requested the Duke of Brunswick to send the Helmstädt theologian *George Calixtus*. The principal Lutheran speakers were *Abr. Calov* of Dantzig and *John Hülsemann* of Wittenberg. That Calixtus, a Lutheran, supported the Reformed, embittered the Lutherans at the outset, beyond measure. The result was an aggravation of the schisms on all sides (§ 44, 4). The Reformed set forth their views in the *Declaratio Thoruniensis*, which acquired symbolical significance in Brandenburg. (2.) *Jacques Benigne Bossuet* (*ob.* 1704), Bishop of Meaux, employed his extraordinary eloquence (from 1671)

in efforts to open the way for the return of the Protestants to the only true Church. In several works (Exposition de la doctrine de l'église cath. sur les matières de controverse, 1671, and Hist. des variations des églises prot. 1688), he set forth the Catholic faith in an ideal form, concealed those points in it specially objectionable to Protestants, and endeavored, acutely but sophistically, to show that the doctrines of Protestants were untenable and contradictory. Simultaneously a union project was started again at the imperial court, at the instigation of the Spaniard *Spinola*, Bishop of Neustadt near Vienna, who had come into the country as confessor of the queen. The controverted points were to be decided by a free council, but the primacy of the pope, and the hierarchical orders, were to be antecedently admitted, as established jure humano. In order to awaken interest in this plan, *Spinola*, by order of the Emperor *Leopold* I., travelled through almost the whole of Germany. He was most favorably received, from regard for the emperor, in Hanover, where *Molanus*, the Abbot of Loccum, very earnestly furthered the union effort; *Bossuet* on the side of the Catholics, and the great philosopher *Leibnitz* on the side of the Protestants, taking part in the measure. But notwithstanding some reciprocal approximation, his exertions were fruitless. Some have supposed that Leibnitz had secretly embraced Catholicism, from a MS. discovered after his death, inscribed by a strange hand: Systema theologicum Leibnitii (transl. into German by Räss u. Weis. 3d ed. Mayence, 1825). It contains a Latin treatise in vindication of the doctrines and usages of the Romish Church. Fully as Leibnitz may have been inclined and qualified to fathom and acknowledge what is profound and true in Catholicism, his aim in this treatise, most probably, was to see whether and how far Catholicism might be vindicated from its own stand-point. That the work does not set forth his own doctrinal views, is manifest from many other declarations, in which he affirms most distinctly the irreconcilable opposition between his Protestant views and Catholic doctrines. (Cf. *Tholuck*, verm. Schr. I. 318, etc.)

§ 34. LUTHERANISM, CALVINISM, ANGLICANISM.

The transition of *Hesse-Cassel* (1604), of the earldom of *Lippe* (1602, etc.), and of the reigning house of Brandenburg (1613), gave new strength to the Reformed Church in the heart of Lutheran Germany. Renewed attempts to *unite* the two Churches were as abortive as the efforts to effect a union between the Catholic and Protestant Churches. In England and Scotland, the Act of Toleration (1689), was gained by the *Dissenters* after protracted struggles.

1. *The Calvinising of Hesse-Cassel* (1604).—(Cf. *W. Münscher*, Vers. e. Gesch. d. hess. ref. K. Cass. 1850.—*H. Heppe*, Gesch. d. hess. Gene-

ralsyn. v. 1568–82. Cass. 1847, 2 Bde., together with the Erlanger Ztschr. für Prot. u. K. 1855. I.: d. Bekenntnissstand d. s. g. ref. K. in Kurhessen.) — Even the Landgrave *Philip* regarded the difference between the Lutherans and Reformed as non-essential, and without hesitation appointed the Ref. theol. *Andrew Hyperius* to a chair at Marburg. His son *William* IV., who inherited Hesse-Cassel (1567–92), declined accepting the Form of Concord, and by the proceedings of four general synods prepared the way for the adoption of Calvinism in the land; his son *Maurice* completed the work. Maurice embraced Calvinism in 1604, prohibited the Lutheran Catechism, introduced the Reformed worship, and expelled resisting preachers. In 1604 Hessen-Marburg came under his rule. He promised, indeed, not to disturb the existing religion, but broke his word. The Lutheran professors fled to *Giessen*, where the zealous Lutheran *Lewis* V. of Hessen-Darmstadt founded a Lutheran university. A violent popular tumult broke out in Marburg; Maurice suppressed it, and by force executed a total change in Church matters. His cousin *Lewis* accused him before the emperor, and the imperial chamber transferred Marburg to Hessen-Darmstadt. But during the disorders of the Thirty Years' war, *William* V., son of Maurice, reclaimed it. Meanwhile the brief Lutheran interregnum had strengthened Lutheranism there, so that it existed in Upper Hessen, beside Calvinism, whilst all Lower Hessen remained Reformed.

2. *The Calvinising of the Earldom of Lippe* (1602, etc.).—*Simon* VI. of Lippe, was brought, by his stirring life, into frequent contact with the Reformed Netherlands, and into special intimacy with Maurice of Hessen. His earldom was soundly Lutheran, but from 1602 Calvinism glided imperceptibly into it, by the decided favor of the prince. The chief agent of this innovation was *Henry Dreckmeyer*, appointed general superintendent in Detmold (1599). During a visitation in 1602, the festivals of Mary and the Apostles, exorcism, signing with the cross, the host, burning candles, and Luther's catechism, were abolished. The clergy who resisted were deposed, and Calvinists were appointed in their stead. The city of *Lemgo* withstood the longest, and by a struggle of eleven years with the prince (1606–17), saved its Lutheran faith. After the death of Simon VI., his successor Simon VII. finally allowed the city the free exercise of its Lutheran form of religion.

3. *The Transition of the Electoral House of Brandenburg* was of greater importance, at least in its consequences, than all earlier conquests of Calvinism. *John Sigmund* (1608–19) had by oath promised his father Joachim Frederick, that he would adhere to the Lutheran Church, and was thrice required to give a bond to this effect. But his own inclination, which was fostered by his connection with the Palatinate court, together with his expectation of inheriting Juliers-Cleves, and securing an advantageous alliance with the Netherlands, prevailed over his vow. His Calvinistic court-preacher, *Sol. Fink*, no doubt, also, contributed to this result. At any rate, on Christmas (1613), he

entered the Reformed Church, claiming that in divine matters no bond could obligate against the conscience. The Augsburg Confession (of course the *Variata*) — the condition of admittance to the Religious Peace of Augsburg — he retained. But he introduced a Calvinistic symbol of his own (*Conf. Sigismundi* or *Marchica* (1614), omitting the doctrine of predestination. He could not, however, compel his people to follow his example; even his wife, *Anna of Prussia*, refused. No efforts were spared. His court-preacher, *John Gerike*, had to flee, likewise *Martin Willich*, another preacher, from Berlin. But when they began to remove the altars, pictures, and baptismal fonts from the Berlin churches, a mighty popular insurrection was excited, which was not quelled without bloodshed (1615). The following year the elector forbid the teaching of the communicatio idiomatum and ubiquitas corporis, at the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, till then Lutheran; and when the Wittenbergers (*Leonard Hutter*) issued a violent assault upon him (Calvinista aulico-politicus, d. i. chr. u. nothwend. Bericht von den vornehmst. polit. Hauptgründen, durch welche man die Calvinisterei in die hochlöbl. Kur-u. Mark Br. einzuführen, sich eben stark bemüht, 1616), he forbid all his subjects visiting the university of Wittenberg, and commanded that the Form of Concord, which he and the whole country had previously subscribed, should be stricken from the collection of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church of his land.

4. *Union Efforts.* (Cf. *Rudelbach*, l. c. § 13, 8.) — Amidst the troubles of the Thirty Years' war, the princes of the electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg, and of Hessen-Cassel, appointed a *Religious Colloquy* at *Leipsic* (1631), to heal, if possible, the old schisms. The Reformed were much inclined to yield; they were even willing to acknowledge the *invariata*. The Lutherans (the Dresden court-preacher *Hoë* of *Hoënegg*, and the Leipsic professors, *Polyc. Leyser* and *Henry Höpfner*), accepted this, but remonstrated against explaining the 10th art. in the sense of a spiritual participation. They parted amicably, but the matter ended with that. On the contrary, the *Religious Colloquy of Thorn* (1645) only aggravated the schism (§ 33, 5). That of *Cassel* (1661), between some Marburg and Helmstädt theologians, was well meant; but at a time when the synocretistic controversy was raging, reciprocal concessions could only make the parties more bitter. The *great elector* Frederick William of Brandenburg (1640–88) labored zealously to restore religious unity among his Lutheran and Reformed subjects, though, indeed, in a spirit of indifference to the points of diversity between them. The Lutherans could not be content with this. Confessors, also, were not wanting among them. The noblest of these was the admirable composer of hymns, *Paul Gerhardt*. (Cf. *G. Langbecker*, Leben. u. Leid. v. P. G. Berl. 1841.—*C. A. Wildenhahn*, P. G., ein kirchengesch. Lebensbild, Lpz. 1845, 2 Bde.) As preacher at the church of St. Nicolai he was the life of the Lutheran opposition.

As he steadfastly refused to sign a pledge wholly to abstain from attacking the Reformed doctrines, he was deposed in 1666, but restored again in 1667 (mainly at the earnest request of the noble consort of the elector, *Louisa Henrietta*, Princess of Orange, and therefore Reformed, cf. § 41, 1), in the expectation that he would conform to the wish of the elector, even without giving a written pledge. But his conscience troubled him, and he made a public declaration which led to his being again deposed. Soon afterwards he was called as preacher to Lübben, in Lausatia. (*Ob.* 1676.) (Cf. § 48, 2.)

5. *The English Non-Conformists.* (Cf. *J. H. Merle d'Aubigne*, the Protector, or the Engl. Republic under Cromwell.)—*James* I. (1603–25), the son of Mary Stuart, was hated by the Papists, whose expectations of him were disappointed, no less than by the Calvinistic Dissenters, who accused him of being openly inclined to popery, on account of his hierarchical views. His son *Charles* I. inherited this animosity (1625–49). The Scotch made a *covenant* for the maintenance of Calvinism; the English were afraid that Catholicism would be again introduced; the Irish massacre (1641, cf. § 33, 3) was charged upon the king; and the political religious fanaticism of the Independents under *Oliver Cromwell*, brought Charles to the scaffold (1649). Under Cromwell's government the adherents of the Episcopal Church were oppressed, whilst Dissenters were greatly favored. When *Charles* II. ascended the throne (1660), this was reversed. The *Test Act* (1673, cf. § 33, 3), though primarily aimed against the Catholics, also struck Dissenters, and excluded them from all civil and military offices. But *William of Orange* (from 1689), by the Act of 1689, secured *toleration* to Dissenters also; only Socinians and Catholics were excluded from its privileges.

II. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 35. THE PAPACY, MONASTICISM, AND HEATHEN MISSIONS.

The theocratic system of Hildebrand had perished beyond redemption. Even Catholic princes refused to be any longer ruled in political affairs by the vicegerent of Christ. The ban had lost its power, but the popes still strove to rescue the idea, even where they had to yield the fact, and never ceased to enter impotent protests against measures of which they disapproved. Politically the pope was only a prince among princes. Among existing *monastic orders*, the Jesuits enjoyed by far the most power and influence. They extended the pope's infallibility

even to matters of fact. The other Orders were envious and jealous, and vigilantly seized every opportunity of assailing the Jesuits, especially the Disciples of St. Thomas, who were also their doctrinal antipodes. During this period also, Catholic *missions among the heathen* were prosecuted with vigorous activity. The Jesuits were still most energetic; next to them the Dominicans and Franciscans.

1. *The Papacy.*—*Paul* V. (1605–21), equally energetic in politics and the interests of the hierarchy, had nevertheless to experience the impotence of the papal ban and interdict, in a controversy with the Republic of Venice. The pious and learned Servite, *Paul Sarpi* (historian of the Council of Trent), a man who deeply deplored the errors of his Church, and who was familiar with the "*Stylum Curiæ*," but did fear it, boldly defended the liberty of the Church and the State, and the pope had to yield. His successor *Gregory* XV. (1621–23) wrote a secret scrutiny for the election of a pope, canonized Loyola, and enriched the Vatican library with the valuable treasures of the Heidelberg library, given him by Maximilian I. after the conquest of the Palatinate. *Urban* VIII. (Card. Barberini, 1623–24) gave the bull Cœna Domini its present form, but in other respects did more for the martial than religious prosperity of the Church State. *Innocent* X. (1644–55) was derided as another Johanna Papissa, on account of his shameful subjection to a woman (Donna Olympia). His fourth successor *Innocent* XI. (1676–89), an energetic pope, and one who sincerely labored for the good of the Church, became involved in a dangerous controversy with France. *Louis* XIV. (1643–1715) exercised the established right of appropriating the revenues of vacant benefices, in the widest sense, and had the celebrated principles of the Gallican Church (propositiones cleri Gallicani) adopted by an assembly of the Paris clergy. (1.) The power of the pope extends only to spiritual, not to temporal matters. (2.) The spiritual power of the pope, according to the decision of the Council of Constance, is subject to the supreme authority of general councils. (3.) In France his power is further limited by the old ecclesiastical laws of France. (4.) The decisions of the pope in matters of faith are only infallible by their agreement with the entire Church. The pope energetically opposed these claims, refused to confirm French bishops; and his successor *Innocent* XII. had the satisfaction of seeing the king and clergy humbly yielding their demands (1691). Nevertheless, the idea of the liberty of the Gallican Church, once awakened, was not abandoned; and the celebrated Bishop *Bossuet* of Meaux wrote a learned and extended vindication of it (Defensio declarationis celeberrimæ, quam de potestate ecclest. sanxit Clerus gallicanus, 2 vols. 4to.) (Cf. § 44, 1.)

2. *New Congregations and Orders.*—(1.) The Benedictine *Congrega-*

tion of St. Vanne, at Verdun, founded by *Didier de la Cour*, stands foremost among the creations of this century. Elected Abbot of St. Vanne, in 1596, Didier devoted all his energies to the reformation of that monastery, which had utterly degenerated. A papal bull of 1604 granted certain rich privileges to all monasteries which would unite in a congregation with St. Vanne. By degrees all the Benedictine monasteries in Lorraine and the Elsace, joined that congregation. Didier's reform aimed mainly at morals and asceticism. But learning and education (*Calmet*, *Ceillier*, etc.) were also diligently promoted by the new congregation. (2.) The *Fathers of the Oratory of Jesus*, an imitation of Philip de Neri's priests of the oratory (§ 29, 3). It was founded by *Peter of Berylle*, son of a Parliamentary counsellor, by the establishment of an oratory in Paris. Peter was more given to mysticism than learning, but his Order took another course. It produced many stars of Catholic, and at the same time very liberal, erudition (Malebranche, Morinus, Thomassinus, Rich. Simon, Houbigant, etc.) (3.) The *Maurines* in France (1618). Taking their name from St. Maurus, the pupil of St. Benedict, they aimed at a revival of the fallen Order of Benedictines, and were distinguished for producing many really learned men. Patristics and Church History owe much to their untiring diligence. To this Order belong such brilliant names as those of Mabillon, Montfauçon, Ruinart, Martène, D'Achery, Le Nourry, etc. (Cf. *J. G. Herbst*, d. Verdienste d. Maur. um d. Wissch., in the tübg. Quartalschr. 1833, I. II.) (4.) The *Piarists*, founded (1600) by the Spaniard *Joseph Calasanze*, in Rome, for the instruction of youth; in this sphere they were the hated rivals of the Jesuits. (5.) The *Order of the Visitation of our beloved Ladies*, or *Salesians*. It owed its origin (1618) to that superior mystic Count *Francis of Sales* (§ 36, 1), a zealous proselyter of Protestants, and the Baroness *Francisca of Chantal*, who stood in intimate spiritual fellowship with him. The care of the sick and training of children was its object (cf. *B. Rensing*, Leb. d. h. Fr. v. Sales. Paderb. 1848). (6.) The *Priests of the Missions*, and (7.) *Sisters of Mercy*, were both founded by *Vincent of Paula*. Born of poor parents, after completing his studies, he was captured by pirates, and succeeded, as a slave, in converting his master, a renegade Christian. Afterwards he was settled at Chatillon, as priest, and with the aid of the family of Count *Gondy*, awakened, though with the most unassuming humility, a really wonderful and efficient measure of zeal for inner missions. In 1618 he established the Order of *Sisters of Mercy*, who devoted themselves faithfully to the care of the sick, throughout France; and in 1627 the Order of *Priests of the Missions* (also called *Lazarists*), who travelled over the country ministering to the souls and bodies of men. After the death of the Countess of Gondy, he appointed *Louise le Gras*, a widow distinguished alike for intelligence and piety, superior of the Order. Vincent died in 1660, and was subsequently canonized (cf. *L. V. Stolberg*, Leb. d. h. Vinc. v. Paula. Wien, 1819, and *H. E. Schmieder*

V. v. P., in d. evang. K. Z. 1832, Nr. 77, etc.) (8.) The *Trappists*, founded by *Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé* (*ob.* 1700), a distinguished canon, who was led to renounce his worldly life by an alarming event, and ran into the opposite extreme of over-wrought asceticism (1664). The Order took its name from the Cistercian Abbey la Trappe, in Normandy, whose commendatory abbot was Rancé. After many difficulties he succeeded in persuading the worldly voluptuous monks to adopt a life of unexampled austerity. His rule imposed unbroken silence, excepting in prayer and singing, and the occasional admonition: *memento mori*, when they met each other. Their bed was a hard board, with a little straw, their only food bread and water, roots, herbs, some fruit and vegetables, but without butter, fat, or oil. All literary pursuits were forbidden; farming their recreation. Their dress consisted of a dark-brown cowl, and wooden shoes. Such austerities kept most other monasteries from adopting the rule (cf. § 57, 2, and *E. L. Ritsert*, d. Ord. d. Trappisten. Darmst. 1833.—*Chateaubriand*, Leb. d. Paters Bouth. de Rancé. In German, Ulm, 1844). (9.) The *Christian School Brethren*, founded in 1680, by the Rheims canon *Jean Bapt. de la Salle*, for the training and instruction of children of the laboring classes. The members assume the vow of poverty, chastity, obedience, and continuance in the institution, but they dare not be priests, nor strive to become priests. In the course of time the institution spread mightily (over France, Belgium, and N. America), and was allowed to have a superior-general with eight assistants, at Paris. (10.) The *English Ladies*, founded by *Mary Ward*, the daughter of an English nobleman who adhered to Catholicism. Fleeing with her family, she founded a society of English young ladies, fugitives like herself, at St. Omer in France, for the education of young girls. The institution was soon enlarged by admitting persons from other countries. Houses were also established in Germany (Cologne, Munich, Vienna, etc.), Italy, and the Netherlands. It never obtained papal confirmation; indeed Urban VIII., listening to the complaints of their enemies, who charged them with heresy, formally abolished the society. All their houses and schools were closed (excepting that in Munich, at Maximilian's especial request). Mary herself was imprisoned and handed over to the Inquisition in Rome. But Urban was soon convinced of her innocence, and released her. The scattered young women soon assembled again, but the society was not formally confirmed until 1703, by Clement XI., 58 years after the death of the founder. Its object is the care of the sick and education of youth. The members are divided into three classes: ladies (nobles), young women (civilians), and waiting sisters. All assume the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, annually, or triennially renewed, and binding only for that period. They may, therefore, leave the society and marry. They still have many houses in Germany, France, Belgium, England, and Italy.

3. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. § 30.)—From 1622, the *missionary opera-*

tions of the Catholic Church acquired unity, strength, and permanence, through the grand institution of *Gregory* XV., the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* (cf. *O. Mejer*, d. Propag., ihre Provinzen u. ihr Recht. 2 Bde. Göttg. 1852, etc.) With its seminary for the education of missionaries it became the heart of Catholic missions, celebrating the Epiphany in Rome by having the praises of the Lord sung in all the languages of the world. The astonishing success of Catholic missions is owing partly, no doubt, to the zeal, perseverance, and self-denial of the missionaries, but, also, to the readiness with which they accommodate themselves to the habits and views of different nations, if the people will only outwardly embrace Christianity, without antecedent knowledge or conversion. *Ricci's* death in 1610 did not interrupt the labors of the Jesuits in the *Chinese Mission*. In 1628, *Adam Schall*, a German Jesuit, arrived, and by his skill in mathematics won great respect at the Chinese court. Everything progressed admirably. The mission flourished gloriously in its way. But in 1631 the *Dominicans* also entered *China*. They found a half million nominal Christians, and innumerable Churches, but objected earnestly to the accommodation measures of the Jesuits, and the mixture of heathen and Christian elements. Rome dismissed their complaints, and the Jesuits went boldly forward. *Louis* XIV. then founded a missionary college in Paris, designed mainly for China, which sent Jesuits, thoroughly educated in mathematics, into the central empire. Soon, however, the old complaints of the Dominicans were revived, and with increased vigor. In 1701 the pope sent a legate, *Thomas of Tournon*, to Asia; but the Jesuits put him out of the way (he died (1710) in prison at Macao), and continued their operations, despite papal injunctions and their own fourth vow. Their doings in *Paraguay*, S. America (from 1608), were most renowned. There they converted the savages, taught them European customs, trades, and arts, and organized a complete independent government, in which the natives, under the mild patriarchal rule of the Jesuits, whom they obeyed like children, long dwelt in prosperity; the Order, meanwhile, grew very rich. (Cf. § 44, 3.)

§ 36. MYSTICISM, QUIETISM, AND JANSENISM.

The Reformation drove back the Romish Church, which had become wholly externalized in life and doctrine, to a revival of mediæval mysticism. The preceding period, already, exhibits evidences of this tendency (St. Theresa, John of the Cross, etc.), but in the present epoch it manifested itself more energetically. The powerful Jesuits, however, who, in the mechanical character of all their religious practices, hated, as much as they did Augustinism, every species of mysticism which held outward religious forms in little esteem, and was, indeed, not wholly free from fana-

tical enthusiasm. They branded it with the heretical name of *Quietism;* and did all in their power, by violent persecutions, to harass those who devoted themselves to quiet communion with God, and to prevent the successful propagation of their views. The reaction in favor of Augustinism, thus far confined to the Dominicans, and only a matter of theological parties, now found a citadel in French *Jansenism.* Combined with deep moral earnestness, it spread out, pervading and purifying Christian life as well as theological science.

1. *Mysticism and Quietism.*—The noblest, tenderest, and most devout mystic of the Catholic Church, after the Reformation, was *Francis of Sales* (§ 35, 2), B. of Geneva (*i. e.* in partibus, then at Annecy, *ob.* 1622). His overflowing love, and conciliatory manners, led crowds of Protestants back to the Romish Church. His "Philothea," giving directions to the people of the world, for maintaining a devout life, and enjoying a sense of the love of God, amidst all the distractions of their business. Next to the "Imitation of Christ," it is the most popular and common devotional book in the Catholic Church. In his "Theotime" the reader is led further into the faintings and longings, the pains and pangs, the joy and felicity of a life hid in God.—*John Scheffler* (Angelus Silesius) flourished in Germany; he was a friend of Jacob Böhm, previously a Protestant, then a convert, physician to the emperor, Catholic priest, and a zealous controversialist (*ob.* 1677). Whilst a Protestant he composed several very sweet, devout hymns. Afterwards he produced "der cherubinische Wandersman," a collection of poetical sayings, in which, with childlike simplicity and ardent love, he buries himself in the depths of the universal Godhead, and propounds the boldest pantheistic theses. (Cf. *C. F. Gaupp*, d. röm. K. beleuchtet in einem ihrer Proselyten. Dresd. 1840.—*A. Kahlert*, Aug. Sil. Bresl. 1853.—*P. Wittmann* (Cath.), Aug. Sil. als Convert., Dichter u. Polem. Augsb. 1842. Adv. *W. Schrader*, Aug. Sil. u. s. Mystik. Halle, 1853, who endeavors to show that Aug. Sil. and *Scheffler* are two different persons; cf. *G. Schuster*, Aug. Sil. in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1857, III.) — Similar causes produced a mystical tendency in Spain, the friends of which were called *Alombrados* (illuminati). *Michael Molinos* of Saragossa imparted to this movement a more substantial character. From 1669, as priest in Rome, he became the spiritual guide of many earnest souls, and taught them how to find the highest enjoyment of piety, in sincere prayer, in pure love to God, and in a calm, peaceful, immediate contemplation of God. He was unmolested until the jealousy of the Jesuits, and especially the machinations of the confessor of *Louis* XIV., *La Chaise*, incited the Inquisition against him. He was put in confinement, compelled to abjure 68 statements selected from his books (the principal one was his Guida

spirituale, published in Latin by *A. H. Francke;* Manuductio spiritualis, Lpz. 1687, in German by *G. Arnold;* Geistl. Wegw. Frkf. 1699) as heretical and blasphemous (1687), and was then condemned to perpetual confinement in a monastery, and rigid spiritual oversight (*ob.* 1696). His adherents were branded as *Quietists* (cf. *C. E. Scharling*, Mich. de Mol., in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1854, III. IV., 1855, I.) But the mystical tendency was not thus suppressed. In France, especially, it found many warm friends and supporters. *Antoinette Bourignon* (*ob.* 1680) spread her theosophic and fanatical mysticism in the Netherlands, and adjacent parts of Germany. *Peter Poiret*, court-preacher of the palatine Deux-Ponts (once a Cartesian philosopher, then an ardent admirer of Mad. Bourignon and Guyon) published her works in 25 vols. Amst. etc. Concerning her doctrines, cf. *W. Klose* in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1851, p. 497.—The mystical love of *Johanna Maria de la Mothe Guyon* (*ob.* 1717) was much richer and purer. Early left a widow, after a vain course of life, she devoted herself to a glowing love of God. That man should die to himself and to all self-will, so that Christ alone might live in him, and that man should love God without regard to reward or punishment, yea, even though it should please God to damn him for ever, were the thoughts which underlay her life and labors, and which she cherished with most ardent, sincere, and tender love. She travelled many years with her confessor, *La Combe*, who shared her views, through France and Switzerland; and by means of numerous writings, and oral instruction, kindled a like burning love to God in the hearts of countless disciples, male and female. No tribulations, persecutions, imprisonments, could divert her from her purpose. She found powerful protectors at the court; Mad. *Maintenon* secured her liberation from prison. Above all, one of the noblest men who ever lived, defended her against her enemies' accusations of heresy. This was *Francis de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon*, formerly tutor of the king's nephews, from 1695 Archbishop of Cambray (*ob.* 1715). By his advice she begged the king for an examination of her writings. A commission, headed by *Bossuet*, objected to her amour désintéressé. *Fenélon* then defended the doctrine, and *Bossuet*, incited by passion and jealousy, answered in several writings. *Fénélon* sent his own writings to Rome. In the mean time he had lost the king's favor. It was the more easy, therefore, for his adversaries to induce the pope to condemn his views. *Fénélon* (who adhered most cordially to the Catholic Church, and had ever labored zealously for the conversion of Protestants), with admirable self-denial and humility, read the brief of his own condemnation from the pulpit, and, putting all the blame upon his own imperfect and erroneous productions, admonished his people to obedience (1699). Among the *works of Mad. Guyon*, the most important is: La Bible de Mad. Guyon avec des explications et réflexions, qui regardent la vie intérieure, ed. by *P. Poiret.* Col. 1715, etc., in 20 vols.; a German transl., Regensb., 1835, etc. (Cf. La vie de

Mad. de Guyon écrite par elle-même. Col. 1721.—*C. Hermes*, Züge aus d. Leben d. Fr. v. Guyon. Magd. 1845. — *Ramsay*, Hist. de la vie de Fénélon; A la Haye, 1723.—*L. v. Bausset*, Lebensgesch. Fenel., from the French, 3 Bde. Würzb. 1811; Fenelon's works, in German, by *M. Claudius*, 3 Bde. Hamb. 1823. — Herzog's Theol. and Eccl. Encycl., Philad. II., 1860. — *Ruckgaber*, d. Quietism. in Frankr., in the tübg. Quartschr. 1856. II.)

2. *Jansenism in its First Stage.* — (Cf. *Melch. Leydecker*, de hist. Jansen. Ll. VI. Traj. ad Rh. 1695. (G. Gerberon) Hist. génér. du Jansen. Amst. 1711, 3 vols.—*H. Reuchlin*, Gesch. v. Port-royal, 1839, 1844. 2 Bde.—*A. Sainte-Beuve*, Port-royal, 1840, 2 Bde.—*Grégoire*, Les ruines de Port-royal. Par. 1809.—*Reuchlin*, Pascal's Leb. Stuttg. 1840. [Pascal's Provincial Letters, transl. by *M'Crie*, N. York, 1850]).—Bishop *Cornelius Jansen* of Ypern (*ob.* 1638) had devoted his whole life to the most careful study of the works of St. Augustine. The result of these studies was a learned work entitled Augustinus, first published (1640) after Jansen's death, in 3 vols. fol. As the great Church father's doctrine of sin and grace were here exhibited in their whole truth and bluntness, the Jesuits violently assailed the work, and secured a prohibition of it from the pope (1642). But there were in France many friends of Augustine's doctrine, who were distinguished for talent and learning. Among them was the excellent *Jean Duvergier de Hauranne*, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of *St. Cyran* (*ob.* 1643), and the equally able teacher at the Sorbonne, *Anthony Arnold*. The latter, by his works (De la fréquente communion, against the Opus operatum in the sacrament; La théologie morale des Jésuites; La morale practique des Jés.) soon became involved in an open controversy with the Jesuits. These persuaded *Innocent* X. to condemn five Jansenist theses as heretical (1653). The adherents of Augustine's doctrine did not assail the papal decision; but affirmed, however, that the views condemned were not found in Jansen's Augustinus in that sense. At the instigation of the Jesuits Arnold was ejected from the Sorbonne. He took refuge with his sister, *Angelica Arnold*, abbess of the Cistercian nunnery of Port-royal near Paris, a woman of deep, earnest piety. Through her Port-royal became a centre of religious life and zeal in France. Much in the manner of the ancient anchorets, a large number of the most talented and pious men of France, at once admirers of Augustine and hostile to the destructive morality of the Jesuits, gathered around this monastery. The profound and talented *Blaise Pascal* (author of the Pensées sur la réligion) was of the same spirit with these men. Under the name of *Louis de Montalte* he published (1656) his celebrated Lettres provinciales, in which he exposed, in all their hatefulness, the pernicious moral principles of many Jesuits, with authentic proofs, and with equal earnestness and wit. The book produced a wonderful sensation; but the Jesuits avenged themselves by means of a papal bull (1656), which declared that Jansen taught the

five points in question in the very sense in which they were condemned. The Jansenists affirmed that the pope was not competent to decide upon a question du fait; but the king and pope demanded that all French ecclesiastics, monks and nuns, should take oath in acknowledgment of the bull, and in condemnation of the Jansenist heresy (1665). Those who refused were banished, and fled into the Netherlands. Subsequently subscription to a milder declaration was allowed. But the hatred of the Jesuits still rested on Port-royal. In 1709 the institution was abolished and destroyed. Although the Jansenists agreed with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and though their fundamental tendency was truly Protestant, they were, it would seem because of these points of similarity, zealously opposed to the Protestants. (Cf. § 44, 6.)

§ 37. SCIENCE AND ART IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Catholic theology flourished more during the 17th century than it had done from the 12th and 13th, or has done since. And an active liberal scientific life bloomed in the Gallican Church, above all the Catholic Churches of other countries. The Sorbonne of Paris, and still more the Orders of the Jesuits, Maurines, and Oratorians, rivalled each other in the most praiseworthy manner, in theological, but especially in patristic literature, and Church history; and the cotemporaneous bloom of theological learning in the Reformed Church of France was a powerful incentive to such rivalry. The flourishing period of the plastic arts, especially *painting*, had passed. But Church *music* was enriched, though also enervated and secularized. Religious *poetry* was cultivated to any notable extent, only in Spain and Germany.

1. *Theology.*—The parliamentary advocate, *Mich. le Jay*, at his own cost, had the *Paris Polyglott* published, in 8 vols. fol. (1629–45), which, besides complete Syriac and Arabic versions, included the Samaritan. *Morinus* was the chief editor. *Sixtus* V. had caused a new edition of the Vulgate to be published (1590), and in spite of its many (but partly covered or erased) errors, pronounced it authentic (Editio Sixtina). Nevertheless Clement VIII. published a recension which varied from it in many points (Ed. Clementina, 1592), and strictly forbid any departure from it: but in 1593 he himself caused another edition to be issued, in which many variations occur. *Caspar Ulenberg* (once a Lutheran) of Lippe issued a new German version (1630), in which free use was made of Luther's. The learned Oratorian *J. Morinus* (*ob.* 1659) edited the Septuagint and Samaritan version, both which he pronounced infinitely better than the masoretic text corrupted by the Jews. Another Oratorian, the renowned *Richard Simon* (*ob.* 1712), wrote a criti-

cism of the Scriptures (Histoire critique du Vieux Test. and du Nouv. Test.), which surpassed in boldness anything before heard of. He was assailed, indeed, by Catholic reviewers, but as his criticisms served to sap the basis of the Protestant theory, the Curia allowed his boldness to go unpunished. (Cf. *K. H. Graff*, Rich. Sim.; in the Strassb. Beitr. zu. d. theol. Wsch. I., 158, etc.) The most notable *exegetes* are the Jesuits *James Bonfrère* (*ob.* 1643, a diffuse comm. on the Pentat.); *Cornelius a Lapide* (*ob.* 1639, exposition of the Bible in its fourfold sense); *Stephen Menochius* of Milan (*ob.* 1655) and *James Tirinus* of Antwerp (*ob.* 1636). In *systematic theology*, the old scholastic method still had full sway. Among *controversialists*, the Brabant Jesuit *Martin Becanus* (*ob.* 1624) was distinguished as author of the Manuale controversiarum, Bishop *Bossuet* (§ 33, 5), and the Jansenists *Peter Nicole* and *Anthony Arnauld*, who, to purge themselves from the charge of Calvinism, both endeavored to prove that the Catholic doctrine of the Lord's Supper was taught by the Apostles, and ever held by the Church. (La perpétuité de la foi cath. touchant l'eucharistie. Par. 1664), and exchanged a number of controversial papers upon this subject, with the Reformed Claude and Jurien. Here we must also mention the writings of the apostate Lutherans *Casper Ulenberg* (Causæ graves et justæ, in German, by *Kerz*, Mayence (1836), and *Ulrich Hunnius*, son of the celebrated Ægid. II. (Invicta prorsus et indissolubilia argumenta, etc.) in defence of their course. *Apologetics* received valuable contributions from *Blaise Pascal* (in his *Pensées*, cf. § 36, 2), the Oratorians *Le Vassor* (De la véritable réligion. Subsequently he entered the Anglican Church), *Bernh. Lamy* (Preuves évidentes, etc.) and the French bishop, *Peter Dan. Huetius*, the ed. of Origen (*ob.* 1721), who, in his principal work, *Demonstratio evangelica*, attempts to show that all the myths and fables of heathenism are distortions of Biblical histories; he also defended the Pentateuch against Spinoza's attacks. In his *Quæstiones Alnetanæ* (written in the monastery of D'Annay), he controverts the Cartesian philosophy. The learned Jesuit *Dionysius Petavius* (Jesuitarum aquila, *ob.* 1652), in addition to his herculean chronological labors, wrote a profoundly learned history of doctrines, or rather a work exhibiting the doctrines of the fathers (Dogmata theologica), which, however, was not completed (it embraces, in 3 fol. vols., only the first five loci). The Oratorian *Louis Thomassinus* followed his example (Dogm. theol. 3 vols. fol. Par. 1680). But his archæological work is of more importance: Vetus et nova ecclesiæ disciplina circa beneficia et beneficiarios, 3 vols. fol. In the department of *Church History*, Catholic theology, especially in France, acquired a superior reputation. It was incited to this by rivalry with Protestantism, and controversies with the learned Reformed theologians of France. This was allowed by the freedom of the Gallican Church (cf. § 35, 1). Besides excellent works on general Church History by *Godeau*, *Nat. Alexander*, *Fleury*, *Bossuet*, *Tillemont*, to whom we must add *Ant. Pagi* (Critica hist.-chronol. etc.) the keen

ed. of Baronius, the study of ecclesiastical sources was promoted by excellent editions of the Church fathers, with most learned critical and historical apparatus, by editions and collections of mediæval works, archives, etc. (*Sirmond*, *Mabillon*, *D'Achery*, *Martène*, *Baluzius*), the acts of Councils (*Labbé* and *Cossart;* especially of the French, by *J. Sirmond*, of the Spanish by *Aguirre*), of the acts of Martyrs (*Ruinart*), monastic rules (*Luc. Holstenius*), etc. *Charles du Fresne du Cange*, by his wonderful Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis, and his Gloss. med. et inf. græcitatis, greatly advanced the full understanding of the sources in regard to language and contents. *John Mabillon* was doubtless the brightest star in the constellation of learning (*ob.* 1707, author of: Acta Sanctorum Ordinis s. Benedicti; Annales Ordinis s. Bened.; Vetera Analecta; de re diplomatica, etc.) *Peter de Marca*, finally Archb. of Paris (*ob.* 1662), wrote the celebrated work De concordia sacerdotii et imperii s. de libertatibus eccl. Gallicanæ; the Jansenist doctor of the Sorbonne, *Elijah du Pin* (*ob.* 1719), the Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclest. in 47 vols.; the Antwerp Jesuits *Bolland*, *Henschen*, and *Papebroch*, began (1643) the herculean Acta Sanctorum, arranged according to the Roman calendar, and learned members of their Order (the *Bollandists*) in Belgium continued it, until the French invasion of 1794 interrupted the work, when it had reached the 53d fol. vol., ending with Oct. 15. Recently Belgic Jesuits have resumed the work, but not with the critical care or the liberality of their predecessors. In Venice, *Paolo Sarpi* (*ob.* 1623) wrote a history of the Council of Trent, which is one of the most brilliant historical contributions ever composed. *Leo Allatius*, a Greek convert in Rome (*ob.* 1669) wrote his celebrated work De eccl. Occidentalis et Orientalis perpetua consensione. Cardinal *Bona*, Cistercian general, was a brilliant liturgical author (De divina psalmodia; Rerum liturgicarum Ll. II.) But distinguished names in the department of Church History are too numerous to allow us to name them all. Pulpit *eloquence*, also, flourished in France to a degree not since attained (*Fléchier*, *Bossuet*, *Bourdaloue*, *Bridaine*, *Fénélon*, and *Massillon*). In Vienna, *Ulrich Megerle* (Abraham de St. Clara) zealously denounced the corruption of the times, in odd, witty, and yet thoughtful addresses. Though he assumed the manners of a clown, he often gave utterance to most solemn and pungent truths. (Cf. § 44, 11.)

2. *Church Music.* — The Italian *Greg. Allegri* (*ob.* 1652) was the greatest master of the school founded by Palestrina. His *Miserere* was annually performed on Wednesday afternoon of Holy Week in the Sixtine Chapel, Rome, with powerful effect. The application of the operatic style to the lofty music of this school gave rise to the *oratories*, or musical dramas, composed of Biblical material, designed to be produced only with music, not theatrically. They were mainly practised in the school for music established by *Philip de Neri*, in his oratory; hence their name. This new style, which required that the music

should be closely suited to the word and to musical declamation, soon excluded the Canto fermo with its counterpoint combination of voices, and for it substituted a *religious concert*. Thus solo and recitative singing became very common, and attained great perfection. The chromatic scales was to furnish the means of producing feelings in the hearer corresponding with the sentiments of the words sung; the general bass, as the foundation of the piece, which, by the accompanying signatures, should indicate its entire harmony, was also to leave room for the freest action, and independent production of the several voices; and finally, by combining instrumental music with the singing, it was intended to call forth the most lively variety and fulness. This new style of Church music, meanwhile, became more secular and effeminate, and gradually sank into an operatic performance, from which it has not thus far been raised up.

3. *Christian Poetry.*—The Spanish poet *Calderon* (*ob.* 1681) composed 128 dramas, 95 autos sacramentales, and 200 preludes. The focus of his mostly allegorical compositions was religion. In fertility, variety, as well as in poetical geniality and religious depth, Calderon was excelled by his countryman *Lope de Vega* (*ob.* 1635, author of 1500 comedies and 320 autos). The noble German Jesuit *Fred. v. Spee* (*ob.* 1635) merits special prominence. His religious poems glow with sincere love to the Redeemer, combined with a child-like spirit, and a deep, thoughtful naturalness, and seem to be related both to the mediæval minstrel songs, and the cotemporaneous evangelical hymns. They appeared after his death under the title of "*Trutz-Nachtigall,*" but were unnoticed even by the Romish Church, until the German novelists of the 19th century drew them forth again from the dust. Spee was one of the first but unavailing opponents of the insane process for detecting witches. Vexation in regard to it early turned his hair gray. The Jesuit *Jacob Balde* of Munich (*ob.* 1688) was another eminent poetic genius of this period. His lyric compositions were the most brilliant. His few German poems are far inferior to those in Latin. A deep religious longing, which turns with fervor and spirit to the Queen of heaven, as the only deliverer from earthly troubles, pervades all his poems. He too was long forgotten, until *Herder* rescued him from oblivion. *Alb. Knapp* gives an excellent description of the noble poet in his Christoterpe, 1848.

III. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

§ 38. LUTHERAN ORTHODOXY AND ITS STRUGGLES.

Cf. *J. G. Walch*, die Religionsstreitigk, in d. luth. K. Jena, 1733, 5 Bde.—*G. J. Planck*, Gesch. d. prot. Theol. v. d. Concordienf. bis Mitte d. 18. Jahrh. Göttg. 1831.—*W. Gass*, Gesch. d. prot. Dogmatik. Bd. I. Berl. 1854.—*A. Tholuck*, d. Geist. d. luth. Theol. Wittb. im Verlaufe d. 17. Jahrh. Hamb. 1852.—Die Theologie d. 17. Jahrh. In d. Zeitschr. für Protestantism. u. K. 1856, H. I., VII.

THE precision, clearness, and carefulness of the Form of Concord, gradually overcame all opposition to it. The result proved that, in spite of the ridicule of antagonists (cf. *Hospinian's* Concordia discors), it had really restored harmony. It now exercised authority not by means of the imperative power of princes, but through the free moral power of science, and introduced a flourishing period of Lutheran theology of more than a century, during which the teachers of the Church adhered as one man firmly and unitedly to its doctrine. Theology was most fully developed, and reared like a mighty Gothic dome with astonishing acuteness, harmonious in its minutest parts, and firmly knit together as a whole. But the tendency towards an extremely subtile development and precise definition of doctrines, which sprang from the controversies of the preceding century, became continually more *one-sided.* Hence it called into existence a dialectic scholasticism, which was in no way inferior to that of the most flourishing period of the middle ages, either in the greatness or paltriness of the careful and acute development of its scientific form, or in the full and accurate exhibition of its religious contents. But, like mediæval scholasticism, in its concern for logic it almost lost vitality. Zeal for the truth degenerated into frigid orthodoxy *externally*, not only discerning essential diversities, but disregarding the broad basis of a common faith, and running into odious and unrestrained controversy; *internally*, holding to the form of pure doctrine, but neglecting cordially to embrace it, and to live consistently with it. Nevertheless, this scholastic orthodoxy, with all its one-sidedness, imparted to Lutheran theology a fulness and wealth, an acuteness and consistency of structure, the grandeur of which even a *Lessing* was compelled to acknowledge. And it cannot be denied that this period, so commonly reviled as that of "dead orthodoxy," possessed more

true piety and spiritual life, than the period (18th century) which most decried it. At the same time the one-sidedness and degeneracy of that orthodoxy is not to be denied, nor the propriety, necessity, and beneficial influence of the opposition to it which sprang from the bosom of the Church; though it cannot be disputed that this opposition was marked by a one-sidedness of another sort. The opposition was of a two-fold character: in the *syncretistic* controversy it was confined exclusively to the sphere of theology; in the *pietistic* controversy, it more largely concerned matters of piety.

1. *Orthodoxy in Conflict with itself.* — This includes the controversy between the theologians of *Tübingen* and *Giessen* concerning the *state of humiliation*. The Giessen theologians, with *Balth. Mentzer* at their head, referred the humiliation of Christ solely to his human nature, and pronounced it an actual κένωσις, that is, a complete, though free surrender of the omnipresence and omnipotence immanent in his divinity (κτῆσις but without χρῆσις), yet so that he might at any moment (as in working miracles) exercise them. The Tübingen theologians, on the contrary, with *Luc. Osiander* at their head, referred his humiliation to both natures, and taught that during it he was omnipresent even secundum carnem, and governed heaven and earth, though in a manner concealed from us. They said the κένωσις was no humiliation, but only a κρύψις. A commission from electoral Saxony (Hoe v. Hoenegg, Ægid. Strauch, etc.) decided in favor of the Giessen party (1624). The matter was attended with no further results.

2. *The Syncretistic Controversy.* (*E. Henke*, Helmst. im. 16. Jahrh. Halle, 1833; id. *G. Calixt's* Briefwechsel, Halle, 1833; id. G. Calixt u. s. Zeit. Halle, 1853, 56. 2 Bde.—*H. Schmid*, Gesch. d. synkr. Streitigkk. Erlg. 1846.—*W. Gass*, G. Calixt u. d. Synkr. Brsl. 1847.)—The university of *Helmstädt* followed a prevailingly humanistic tendency, and allowed, even in theology, larger liberty of views than was granted by the Form of Concord, which the city had not accepted. This school produced, and for 43 years (from 1613) employed, *George Calixtus*, a man of superior scientific and social accomplishments. A thorough study of Church History, and intercourse with distinguished theologians of all Churches, enjoyed during his extensive travels in Europe, had begotten in him not only an irenical turn of mind, but a more liberal judgment of foreign Churches, than was commonly indulged. He did, indeed, not desire a formal union of the various Churches, but that they should recognize, tolerate, and love each other. To this end he proposed, as a secondary principle of Christian theology (next to the Holy Scriptures as its primary principle), the concurrence of the first five centuries (Consensus quinquesecularis), as a common basis for all the Churches, and sought to show that subsequent diversities

were either non-essential, or less essential. But rigid Lutheran theologians, who were mistrustful of all irenical measures, ever since the trouble with crypto-Calvinism, pronounced this a religious medley (*syncretism*), and crypto-Catholicism. As early as 1639, *Statius Buscher*, a Hanoverian clergyman, denounced him, on this account, as a secret papist. His efforts were more generally assailed, after he attended the *Colloquy of Thorn* (§ 33, 5), as the assistant of the Reformed theologians of Brandenburg (1645). A most furious controversy arose, which divided the entire Lutheran Church into two parties. On the one side were the universities of *Helmstädt* and *Königsberg*, on the other especially the theologians of electoral Saxony, with *John Hülsemann*, in Leipsic, *Jacob Weller*, in Dresden, and above all, *Abr. Calov*, in Wittenberg, at their head; Calov alone wrote 28 controversial tracts. *Jena* sought in vain to mediate between the parties. The Wittenbergers hoped to fortify the Lutheran Church by a new symbol (which, however, was never legally ratified): Theologorum Saxonicorum *Consensus repetitus* fidei vere Lutheranæ (1655), in which, among other things, they rejected, as syncretistic errors, the assertions, that the Apostles' creed taught everything necessary to salvation; that the Catholic and Reformed Churches had not disturbed the real basis of the doctrines of grace; that original sin is only of a privative nature, that God is indirecte, improprie et par accidens the cause of sin; that the doctrine of the Trinity was first clearly revealed in the New Testament, etc. *Calixtus* died in the midst of the passionate contentions. But his son *Ulrich*, who possessed neither his father's spirit nor moderation, took his place. The strife was finally swallowed up by a suit for damages (between Ulr. Calixtus and his violent antagonist *Strauch* in Wittenberg), without anything important having been gained for the theology or science of that period. Weary of this barren controversy, the attention of theologians was turned to the pietistic movement which now commenced its career.

3. *The Pietistic Controversy in its First Stage.* (Cf. *C. H. v. Canstein*, Muster e. rechtsch. Lehrers in d. Leb. Spener's. Halle, 1740.—*W. Hossbach*, Ph. J. Spener u. s. Zeit. 2 A. v. *Ch. Schweder*. Berl. 1853.—*C. A. Wildenhahn*, Leb. Spener's; in d. Sonntagsbibl. 4, 5. Bielef. 1845.—*H. E. F. Guericke*, A. H. Francke. Halle, 1827.—*C. F. Illgen*, Hist. collegii philobiblici Lipsiensis. 4 Pp. Lps. 1836–41.—*Ph. Spener*, wahrhaft. Erzähl. dess., was wegen d. s. g. Pietismi in. Deutsch. vorgeg. Frkf. 1697.—*Fr. Buddeus*, wahrh. u. gründl. Erzähl. alles dess. was zwischen d. s. g. Pietisten gesch. Jena, 1719.) — *Philip Jacob Spener*, of Rappoltsweiler, Elsace, on account of his distinguished talents and rare learning (which was profound, thorough, and comprehensive, extending even beyond the sphere of theology to that of heraldry, history, geography, and philosophy), and his religious zeal, was chosen senior of the eccles. ministerium of Frankfort-on-the-Main, in his 31st year (1666), then chief court-preacher at Dresden (1686), and, having

been forced to leave Dresden, on account of his great zeal for vital piety, finally provost in Berlin (1691), where he *died* in 1705. He was most heartily attached to the Lutheran Church, but believed that in adhering to its then prevalent orthodoxy, it had departed from the earnest lively gospel of the Reformers, and was in danger of burying its talent in a sterile theology of words, and dead orthodoxy; and that it therefore greatly needed to be reformed again. As he discovered in it an exuberance of pure doctrine and the most vigorous susceptibility to exhibit genuine Christian piety above all other Churches, it was far from his thought to seek the powers of the necessary resuscitation anywhere else than in that Church itself, (*i. e.*, in unionistic or syncretistic schemes). A return from scholastic theology to the Holy Scriptures as the living source of all saving knowledge, a conversion of the outward orthodox confession into an inner living theology of the heart, and a demonstration thereof in true piety of life—these were the ways and means by which he proposed to effect the desired reform. In his child-like, pious humility, he did not deem himself called to commence this reform, but simply regarded it as his duty to point out the need of it, and some means of effecting it. This was done, especially, in his (1678) "Pia desideria oder herzliches Verlangen nach gottgefälliger Besserung d. wahren evangelischen Kirche;" and as his chief concern was to have every Christian become experimentally acquainted with practical Christianity, as taught in the Bible, he revived the well-nigh forgotten doctrine of "the spiritual priesthood" of all Christians, in a special work, and in 1680 published his "Allgemeine Gottesgelahrtheit aller gläubigen Christen und rechtschaffenen Theologen." At the same time he himself engaged in the work by holding religious meetings in his house (*Collegia pietatis*) for the revival of genuine piety in the congregation; similar meetings were soon started in other places.

Spener's position in Dresden gave him more decided and extensive influence over the Lutheran Church. Animated by his spirit, *Aug. Herm. Francke*, *Paul Anton*, and *John Casp. Schade*, three young magisters in Leipsic, began in 1686 to hold *Collegia philobiblica*, exclusively for mutual edification by a practical exposition of the Scriptures, in German (a thing unheard of at the universities). But the theological faculty of Leipsic, with John Bened. Carpzov at their head, accused them of contempt of regular public worship and theological science, and of promoting separatism. The Collegia philobiblica were prohibited, and the three friends, whose movement was designated *Pietism* (an effort to display extreme piety), had to leave Leipsic (1690); thus the tedious *pietistic controversies* began. Soon after this, *Spener* was compelled to leave Dresden (1691), but in his new position in Berlin he acquired decided influence in the appointment of professors of theology in the new university, which the pacific Elector *Frederick* III. of Brandenburg founded in *Halle*, in opposition to the contentious institutions

at Wittenberg and Leipsic, and the organization of which he entrusted (1694) to the jurist *Christian Thomasius*, who also had been driven from Leipsic (on account of his indifferentism), and who had in Leipsic, already, been the advocate of the pietists. In connection with others of like sentiments (Anton, Breithaupt) *Francke* was appointed a member of the theol. faculty. *Halle* now, for a time, acquired almost the importance which *Wittenberg* and *Geneva* possessed in the period of the Reformation, and the pietistic controversy entered upon its second more general and violent stage (cf. § 46, 1).

4. *Theological Literature.*—*Solomon Glassius* (prof. in Jena, general-sup. in Gotha, *ob.* 1656) contributed to Biblical philology, his Philologia sacra (1623), which had, for nearly two centuries, almost classic authority. Planned upon a large scale, the German, Hebrew, and Greek concordance of the Bible, by *J. Lankish* (of which only the first, German, part was publ. 1677, and often) was an invaluable aid in the study of the Bible. From about 1675–1700 a lively controversy concerning the Greek of the New Testament was kept up, in which the Lutherans and (chiefly) the Reformed participated. The *Purists* violently contended for the classical purity of the N. T. idiom, because they thought the inspiration of the Scriptures was imperilled by the opposite view. *Michael Walther*, general-sup. in Celle, issued the first hist. critical introduction to the Bible (officina biblica, Lps. 1636). *Aug. Pfeiffer*, of Leipsic (*ob.* 1698), rendered good service to Bibl. crit. and Hermeneut. by his critica sacra (1680), and his Hermeneut. s. (1684). In spite of its servile adherence to the interpretation of dogmatic proof-texts, traditionally fixed, and its mechanical theory of inspiration, the *exegesis* was valuable. The most distinguished exegetes were: *Erasmus Schmidt* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1637, Opus posthumum, a Lat. trans. of the N. T. with excellent notes). He also contributed a very useful concordance of the Greek N. T., entitled Ταμιεῖον (revised by *K. H. Bruder*, Lpz. 1841); *Theod. Hakspan* of Altdorf (*ob.* 1659. Notæ philol. theol. in difficiliora Scr. s. loca. 3 Pp. 1664); *Martin Geier*, of Leipsic (*ob.* 1680, an excellent comm. on Daniel and the poet. books of the O. T., even still worthy of notice); *Seb. Schmidt*, of Strassburg (*ob.* 1696, comm. on Joshua, the Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and several of Paul's epp.); *Aug. Pfeiffer* (Dubia vexata), and *Abraham Calov*, of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1686, Biblia illustrata, in 4 vols. fol., which took up and improved the comm. of *Grotius*, a work of stupendous labor, brilliant Biblical knowledge, and profound learning, but throughout too subservient to dogmatics).—The orthodox school gave still greater diligence to the study of dogmatics, the Lutheran fulness and depth of which was developed with amazing acuteness and brilliant learning, in a strictly scholastic form. Its greatest masters are: *Leonard Hutter* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1616, Loci communes theologici, and for the use of schools, Compendium loc. theol.); *John Gerhard*, prof. at Jena (*ob.* 1637, Loci theol. in 9 vols. fol. 1600, etc. The best ed. with notes by

J. F. Cotta, Tübg. 1762, etc., 22 vols. 4to. It is the opus palmare of Luth. theology); and *J. Andr. Quenstedt* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1688, Theol. didactico-polemica, the completion of Lutheran scholasticism, in its lights and shadows). Next to these were: *Brochmand*, prof. in Copenhagen (*ob.* 1652, Universæ theol. systema); *Conrad Dannhauer*, in Strassburg (*ob.* 1666, Hodosophia christiana); *Abr. Calov* (Systema loc. theol.); *König* in Rostock (*ob.* 1664, Theol. positiva acroamatica); *Scherzer* in Leipsic (*ob.* 1683, Systema theol.); *John Musäus* in Jena (*ob.* 1681); and *Baier* in Halle (*ob.* 1695). The most prominent theologian of the Calixtine school is *Conr. Horneius* (Comp. theol.) *Calixtus* himself did not publish a theol. work, but his lectures were printed. He, also, originated the division subsequently made between morals and theology (Epitome th. moralis). *John Gerhard's* Confessio Catholica was a complete refutation of Catholicism. But the most untiring controversialist was *Abr. Calov* (Hist. syncretistica; Mataelogia papistica; Socinianismus profligatus; Consideratt. Arminianismi; Theses de Labadismo; Anti-Bœhmius; Discussio controversiarum inter ecclesias orthod. et reformatas, etc.) *Nicholas Hunnius*, son of Ægid. H. (§ 21, 10), prof. in Wittenberg, and from 1623 superintdt. in Lübeck (*ob.* 1643), was also distinguished as an able opponent of *papism* (Demonstratio ministerii Lutherani; and when *Lancelot*, an Augustinian of Mechlen, fulminated a Capistrum Hunni against him, he retorted in his Capistrum Hunnio paratum, Lanceloto injectum), of *Socinianism* (Examen errorum Photinianorum), and of the enthusiasts (Christl. Betracht. d. neuen Paracelsischen u. Weigilianischen Theol.) Of chief importance is his Διάσκεψις de fundamentali dissensu doctrinæ Luth. et Calvin. s. Reform. His Epitome credendarum or Inhalt d. Christl. Lehre reached 19 editions. The syncretistic controversies led him, in his "Consultatio, oder wohlmeinendes Bedenken," to devise the plan of a Collegium irenicum s. pacificatorium (Collegium Hunnianum), as a permanent theol. senate for the adjustment of all theological disputes. (Cf. *L. Heller*, Nik. Hunnius, s. Leben u. Wirken. Lübeck, 1843.) Little was done, in the nature of the circumstances, in the department of Church History. Nevertheless, *Rechenberg*, *Kortholt*, *Ittig*, *Sagittarius*, *Veit Ludw. v. Seckendorf*, deserve to be named for their contributions to the history of the Reformation. *Calixtus*, however, awakened new zeal and spirit for the study of Church History, and *Gottfried Arnold* of Giessen (*ob.* 1714), a thoroughly learned investigator, but so violently opposed to every form of orthodoxy, that he could not find true Christianity, since the 4th century, anywhere but among sects, separatists, and heretics, threw the entire theol. world into an uproar, by his Impartial History of Churches and Heretics. (I., § 4, 2.) (Cf. § 46, 2.)

§ 39. RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The great importance which the Lutheran Church of this period attached to pure doctrine and a genuine faith, exposed it to the danger of a one-sided over-estimation and externalization of the same to a mere dead orthodoxy, an evil, indeed, which showed itself in various ways. But a great number of the most excellent and learned theologians, who recognized the influence of pure doctrine upon personal piety, as well as the necessity of possessing a theology of the heart, and of maintaining practical Christianity, opposed this evil tendency in a conciliatory but decided manner by their writings, preaching, and pastoral labors. During this whole century, but especially during its first half, there were many influential advocates of a nobly Lutheran *mysticism*, which harmonized with orthodoxy both in faith and knowledge, and only opposed its threatening or actually existing externalization of Christianity. But by the side of this mysticism, we find that *separatism*, an *unchurchly mysticism*, and *theosophy*, broke forth as excrescences, or caricatures of the truth. *Church hymnology* acquired a new life, during the tribulations of the Thirty Years' war, but after that gradually lost its sublime objective churchly character, for which the fluent rhyme, the easy style, and more elegant form, were only a feeble, and in part questionable substitute. Church music was correspondingly advanced.

1. *Mysticism and Asceticism.*—*John Arndt*, "the Fénélon of Lutheranism," stands at the head of those vigilant and faithful servants of the Church, who strove to vindicate the inalienable right, and urgent duty of the Lutheran Church to maintain a hearty sincere mysticism over against formal orthodoxy, which had allowed justifying faith and a correct belief to degenerate into a new opus operatum. His "Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christenthum," and his "Paradiesgärtlein," which have been translated into almost every living tongue, conferred incalculable blessings both upon his own and subsequent generations; upon himself, however, they brought great reproach and hostility, from the advocates of a malevolent or dead orthodoxy. He died in 1621, whilst General-superintendent in Celle, after he had been driven from Anhalt, as a confessor of Lutheran orthodoxy, for refusing to denounce exorcism as an ungodly superstition, and then openly accused by his colleague *Denecke* and other Lutheran zealots of papism, Calvinism, Osiandrianism, Flacianism, Schwenkfellianism, Paracelscism, Alchymy, etc. (Cf. *F. Arndt*, J. Arndt. Berl. 1838.—*H. L. Pertz*, de Joh. Arndtio

ejusque libris de vero Christ. Hann. 1852, 4to. Also, the lively descriptions of the historically faithful romance of *A. Wildenhahn*, J. A. ein Zeitbild aus Braunschweigs K. u. Stadtgesch. Lpz. 1847, 2 Bde.) Other successful advocates of a living Christianity are met with in the great theologian *John Gerhard*, of Jena (*ob.* 1637, Meditationes sacræ, and Schola pietatis d. i. Christl. u. heils. Unterricht v. d. Uebung d. wahren Gottseligk.); *Stephen Prätorius* of Salzwedel (*ob.* 1610, Geistl. Schatzkammer); *Herm. Rathmann* of Dantzig (*ob.* 1628, Jesu Christi Gnadenreich, cf. J. G. V. Engelhardt, üb. d. Rahtmannschen Streit, in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1854, 1); *Valerius Herberger* of Fraustadt (*ob.* 1627, Ev. Herzpostille; Geistlich. Trauerbinden; Magnalia Dei, etc.); *Heinrich Müller* of Rostock (*ob.* 1675, Himmlischer Liebeskuss; Geistl. Erquickstunden, etc.); *Christian Scriver* (Geistl. Seenlenschatz; Siech- und Siegesbette; Gottholds zufällige Andachten), *Ahasverus Fritsch*, privy councillor and chancellor in Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt (*ob.* 1701, Christenthums fragen), *Ph. Jak. Spener* and others. *Johann Valentin Andreä* of Würtemberg (*ob.* 1654), grandson of one of the authors of the Form of Concord, opposed the corruption of his time, by writings mostly satirical and allegorical, in an entirely original and genial manner, which, however, on account of its originality, was often misunderstood. Especially was his allegory of the union of the cross and the rose (as symbols of Christianity and science) in the society of the *Rosicrucians*, grossly misunderstood, as though such a society comprehended the science of magical arts,—an assumption of which fanatics and impostors took great advantage (Fama fraternitas Rosaceæ Crucis or Brüderschaft d. hochlöbl. Ordens d. Rosenkr. an die Häupter, Stände u. Gelehrten Europas, 1614; Confess. u. Bekenntniss d. Brüdersch. d. R. Cr.; Menippus, s. dialogorum satyric. Centuria; Mythologia christ. s. de virtut. et vitiis hum. vitæ; Turris Babel, s. Ros. Crucis chaos; Reipublicæ christiana politanæ descriptio; Veræ unionis in Chr. J. specimen, etc.; cf. W. Hossbach, Val. Andr. u. s. Zeitalt. Berl. 1819.) (Cf. § 166, 6.)

2. *Mysticism and Theosophy.* (Cf. *Fr. Delitsch*, d. Naturphilos. Mysticism, innerh. d. luth. K.; in the Ztschr. f. Luth. Theol. 1841, III. —*Fr. v. Fuqué*, Jac. Böhme. Greiz, 1821.—*W. L. Wullen*, J. B.'s Leben. u. Lehre. Stuttg. 1836.—*A. E. Umbreit*, J. B. Heidelb. 1835.—*Jul. Hamberger*, d. Lehre d. deutsch. Philos. J. B. Munich, 1844.—*H. A. Fechner*, Jac. B. s. Leben u. s. Schriften. Görlitz, 1857.)—A mystical theosophy, though much despised, partly remained within the limits of outward Church union, and was preserved by ecclesiastical restraints from grosser theoretical and practical errors, and partly also tore loose from the Church as a degenerate Babel (§ 42, 1). This movement received impetus and strength from the works of Agrippa and Paracelsus upon natural philosophy and alchemy, from the devotional, mystical, and theosophic posthumous works of Val. Weigel, and above all from the profound revelations of the mighty cobbler of Görlitz, *Jacob Böhme*

(philosophus teutonicus), the greatest, most profound, and most ingenious of all theosophists who ever lived — a man who, with all his unchurchly speculations, nevertheless in his life sincerely maintained true piety, and faithfully adhered to the Lutheran Church. As a travelling journeyman, already, he experienced blessed peace for seven days, from being encompassed by a divine light. But he dates his fuller theosophic illumination from a certain moment when, as a young master, just married, he was thrown into an ecstacy by the reflection of the sun from a brightly polished pewter plate, and beheld the mysteries of Deity, even to the last principles of all things, so as to discern their inmost quality. His theosophy, like ancient Gnosticism, starts with the question concerning the origin of evil. He solves it by assuming an emanation of all things from God, who completely attempers and harmonizes in himself fire and light, the quality of bitterness and sweetness, which become separated in the creatures emanating from him, but are reconciled and united again, to godlike harmony, by regeneration in Christ. In speculative power, and poetic wealth, exhibited with epic and dramatic effect, his system surpasses everything of the kind ever written. His works (Aurora, oder die Morgenrothe im Aufgang; Mysterium magnum, a sort of comm. on Genesis; Psychologia vera; Der Weg zu Christo; Von der Gnadenwahl; Von d. heil. Taufe u. d. Abendmahl, etc.) were published by *Gichtel*, Amst. 1682, 2 Bde. 4to.; and recently by *K. W. Schiebler*, Lpz. 1831, etc., 6 Bde. The blustering fanaticism of *Gregorius Richter*, preacher in Görlitz, caused Böhme much trouble, for at his instigation B. was banished from the city, after the publication of the Aurora. Subsequently he was allowed to return, on giving a pledge not to write any more books. But as he could not keep this promise, the angry zeal of his ecclesiastical superior vented itself in increased severity. *Abr. Calov*, also, entered the lists as a watchman of Zion, against the fanaticism of the Görlitz cobbler (Anti-Bœhmius, etc.), whilst in the Dresden consistorium he found a favorable judgment and forbearing toleration. Böhme died in the arms of his family in Görlitz, after having long banished himself from his native place (1624). *Gottfr. Arnold* (*ob.* 1714), for a time prof. at Giessen, sustained an intimate relation to the Böhmists, separatists, and pietists, and yet fell out with all of them. In several writings he described in a fanciful way, martyrdom, marriage, and the entire life of the first Christians, wrote and sung about the mysteries of the divine Sophia (when Adam, originally a man-woman, fell, his female nature, the heavenly Sophia, was taken from him, and instead of it a carnal woman was formed out of his rib), reviled the orthodoxy of all ages and churches, and canonized all heretics. But notwithstanding all this, he remained externally in the Lutheran communion, and even entered the ministry in that Church. (Cf. § 42, 4.)

3. *Church Hymns.*—The first period of its development in this cen-

tury, embraces that of the Thirty Years' war (1618–48). David's Psalms become the model and type of the poets, and the most earnest hymns of comfort in trouble, of imperishable value, spring from the trials of the times. This, of course, caused prominence to be given to personal matters. The influence of Opitz is also seen in Church hymns, inasmuch as more care is given to precision and purity of language, as well as to a fluent and pleasing measure. Instead of the expressive brevity, and vigorous terseness of earlier times, we meet with a certain cordial expansion and enlargement of the thought. As deserving special prominence, we name: the pious sufferer *John Heerman*, pastor in the principality of Glogan (*ob.* 1649), who composed 400 hymns, including: "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen;" "Früh Morgens, da die Sonn aufsteht;" "So wahr ich lebe, spricht dein Gott;" "Wo soll ich fliehen hin;" "O Gott, du frommer Gott;" "Zion klagt mit Angst. u. Schmerzen;" "Gottlob, die Stund ist kommen;" etc.—*Heinr. Held*, a Silesian lawyer (*ob.* 1643), "Gott sey dank durch alle Welt;"—*Paul Flemming*, in Voigtland, a physician (*ob.* 1640), "In allen meinen Thaten," written on a journey to Persia;—*Matth. Meyffart*, prof. and pastor in Erfurt (*ob.* 1642), "Jerusalem, du hochgelobte Stadt;"—*Martin Rinkart*, pastor at Eilenberg in Saxony (*ob.* 1648), "Nun danket alle Gott;"—*Apelles v. Löwenstern* (*ob.* 1648), "Christe, du Beistand deiner Kreuzgemeine;"—*Joshua Stegmann*, superintendent in Rinteln (*ob.* 1632), "Ach bleib mit deiner Gnade;"—*Joshua Wegelin*, minister in Augsburg and Presburg, "Auf Christi Himmelfahrt;"—*David Denicke*, consistorial councillor in Hanover (*ob.* 1680), "Wir Menschen sind zu dem, O Gott;"—*Just. Gesenius*, superint. in Hanover (*ob.* 1763), "Wenn meine Sünd mich kränken;"—*Tob. Clausnitzer*, pastor in the Palatinate (*ob.* 1648), "Liebster Jesu wir sind hier, dich und dein." — The poets just named belong mostly to the *first Silesian school*, which gathered around Opitz. *John Rist* (preacher in Holstein, *ob.* 1667) occupies an independent position, though he too was somewhat influenced by Opitz. He wrote 658 spiritual songs, many of which are remarkable for vivacity, solemnity, and elevated thought; "Auf, auf, ihr Reichsgenossen," "Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher Geist," "Jesu, der du meine Seele," "Du Lebensfürst, Herr Jesu Christ," "O Trauerigkeit, O Herzeleid," "Werde munter, mein Gemüthe," "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort," etc. — At the head of the cotemporaneous *Königsburg school* stood: *Simon Dach*, prof. of poetry in Königsb. (*ob.* 1658), who composed 150 religious poems, including: "O wie selig seid ihr doch, ihr Frommen," etc. Distinguished among his cotemporaries were: *Henry Alberti*, organist in Königsburg (*ob.* 1668), "Gott des Himmels und der Erde," etc.—*Val. Thilo*, prof. of elocution in Königsb. (*ob.* 1662), "Mit Ernst, ihr Menschenkinder;"—*George Weissel*, minister in Königsb. (*ob.* 1655), "Macht hoch die Thür," "Such wer da will."

From the middle of the 17th century, hymns assumed more and

more of a subjective character, which gave rise to a great diversity of style and classes. The Church no longer sings in the words of the poet, but the poet makes his own feelings and state of mind predominate. Confessional hymns became more rare, and those of a purely edifying character, having reference to various events in life, death, suffering, consolation, the family, became more numerous. Thus, as the objective feature is given up, one characteristic of true Church hymns disappears from the religious poetry of this period. And yet some essential marks still remain, such as a popular form and matter, freshness, vivacity, and a naïve style, the reality of personal experience, and full assurance of faith, etc. Even subjective individual feelings and frames still spring from the soil of a churchly faith, and are firmly and immovably rooted therein. Thus then the best hymns of this period are still Church-hymns, and bear upon their brow the impress of immortality. The poets of this period form three classes: (1.) *The transition group* from objectivity to subjectivity. The great master of this class, and next to Luther the greatest religious poet of the evangelical Church in general, is *Paul Gerhardt*, the faithful confessor of Lutheranism in suffering and persecution (§ 34, 4) In him the new subjective tendency exhibits itself in its noblest, purest, and most vigorous form. And by its side we also discover the old objective tendency, with its direct Church-consciousness and immovable faith, with its noble, vigorous popular character, in all the fullness and vigor of Lutheranism, and, as to form, even more perfect. His 120 hymns, if not all Church-hymns in the narrower sense, are nevertheless choice hymns of the finest gold (ex gr. "Wie soll ich dich empfangen," "Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen," "Wir singen dir Immanuel," "Nun lasst uns gehen und treten," "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt," "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben," "Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit," "Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund," "Befiehl du deine Wege," "Gieb dich zufrieden," "Nun ruhen alle Wälder," "Geh aus, mein Herz, und suche Freud," etc.) To this class belong, furthermore, *William* II., Duke of Saxe-Weimar (*ob.* 1662, "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend"); — *Geo. Neumark*, Librarian in Weimar (*ob.* 1681, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten"); — *Christian Keymann*, rector in Zittau (*ob.* 1663, "Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht"); — *John Franck*, burgomaster of Guben, Lausatia (*ob.* 1677), next to Paul Gerhardt the greatest poet of this period, composer of 110 hymns, less popular and cordial, but more soaring than Gerhardt. ("Heut ist uns der Tag erschienen," "Jesu meine Freude," "Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele," "Unsre müden Augenlider," etc.); — *Christopher Homburg*, actuary in Naumburg (*ob.* 1681, "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben"); — *Geo. Albinus*, pastor in Naumburg (*ob.* 1679, "Straff mich nicht in deinem Zorn," "Alle Menschen müssen sterben"); — *Mich. Schirmer*, conrector in Berlin (*ob.* 1673, "O heilger Geist, kehr bei uns ein"). — (2.) *The next class* of hymns is rather

moulded after the *Canticles* than the Psalms. The chief theme is the spousal relation of the soul to Christ. Feeling and fancy become predominant, and sometimes degenerate into sentimentalism and puerility. This tendency received a new impulse by a conjunction of the mystical contemplative element with it. To it belong: *Sigm. v. Birken* (Betulius, *ob.* 1668, "Lasset uns mit Jesu ziehen"); — *Christopher Wegleiter*, prof. and preacher in Altdorf (*ob.* 1706, "Beschwertes Herz, leg ab die Sorgen"); —*Mich. Franck*, chief baker, then preceptor in Coburg (*ob.* 1667, "Gen Himmel aufgefahren ist"); —*Angelus Silesius* (§ 36, 1), the chief poet of this class, who wrote, as Protestant, many admirably sweet hymns ("Mir nach spricht Christus, unser Held," "Der am Kreuz ist meine Liebe," "Ich will dich lieben, meine Stärke," "Liebe, die du mich zum Bilde," etc.); —next to these, *Christian Knorr v. Rosenroth*, died in Sulzbach (1689) ("Morgenglanz der Ewigkeit"); — *Ludämilie Elizabeth*, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (*ob.* 1672, composer of 215 precious hymns to Jesus: "Zeuch uns nach dir") etc.; —*Caspar Neumann*, prof. and pastor at Breslau (*ob.* 1715, "Gottes und Mariens Sohn"). — (3.) *The cotemporaries and congenial friends of Spener*, men who longed for a resuscitation of practical piety in the Church. Their hymns are pervaded by a healthy and sincere piety. Spener's effusions are of small importance. *J. Jac. Schütz*, Spener's friend, a counsellor-at-law in Frankfürt (*ob.* 1690), composed only one, but an important hymn ("Sei Lob und Ehr"); —*Ad. Drese*, leader of a band in Weimar (*ob.* 1718, three hymns, "Seelenbräutigam," etc.); — *Sam. Rodigast*, rector in Berlin (*ob.* 1708, "Was Gott thut, das ist wohlgethan"); — *Laurentius Laurentii*, director of music in Bremen (*ob.* 1722, "Wach auf mein Herz, die Nacht ist hin"); — *Cyriacus Günther*, gymnasial teacher in Gotha (*ob.* 1704, "Halt im Gedächtuiss Jesum Christ"); — *Gottfr. Arnold* (*ob.* 1714, "O Durchbrecher aller Bande"). (Cf. § 46, 4.)

4. *Psalmody.*—Simultaneously with the change effected, through the influence of Opitz, in the style and character of Church hymns, a corresponding change took place in Church music, through the influence of the new Italian school. Here also, as in the case of hymnology, we may discover a transition period, which retained the essential excellencies of the old style, but was ready, also, to adopt the more elegant and polished form, as well as the subjective sensitiveness of the new style, impressing it with the fervor and energy of the German evangelical spirit. The first prominent master of this transition-stage is *John Herm. Schein*, cantor at the St. Thomas school in Leipsic (*ob.* 1630). Still more prominent than he was *John Crüger*, cantor at the Church of St. Nicolai, Berlin (*ob.* 1662). He did for music what Paul Gerhardt did for hymnology. He composed 71 new tunes, full of the energy of faith, and tender fervor, adapted to Gerhardt's, Heerman's, J. Franck's, Dach's, Rinkart's, etc., hymns, and his tunes held their place in the Church until the period of illumination. Next to him we

must name: *Jacob Hintze* in Berlin (*ob.* 1695); *John Ebeling*, Crüger's successor as cantor, who composed tunes for Gerhardt's 120 hymns; *John Schop*, leader of a band in Hamburg (*ob.* 1660), who composed lively popular tunes to the best of Rist's hymns; and *Thom. Selle*, town cantor in Hamburg (*ob.* 1663), also an excellent singer of Rist's hymns.

In the second half of the 17th century, the modern style gained a decided preponderance over the antique method. Musical declamation, and expression suited to the words, prevail; rythmical irregularities and the old churchly tunes disappear before a regular measure, and modern softer tunes; so that psalmody becomes wholly alienated from its original vital element, as popular singing. Religious concert music, which contained no reminiscent traces even of the old Church melodies, and despised the form of hymns and strophes, was more constantly cultivated. Thus the congregation wholly ceased taking part in the singing. Among the masters of this concert style, in Italian fashion, *Heinrich Schütz*, master of the band of electoral Saxony (*ob.* 1672) was distinguished. He was the first to transplant to Germany the new artificial form, by elaborating single passages from the Psalms, Canticles, and the Prophets, into religious concerts ("Symphomiæ sacræ," 1629); and in these he entirely set aside the old popular Church tunes. But some time elapsed (forming the transition stage already spoken of), before so radical a reform could naturalize itself. This was effected by *John Rosenmüller*, leader of a band in Wolfenbüttel (*ob.* 1686), who published "Kernsprüche aus heiliger Schrift Alten u. Neuen Testaments," in concert style. A reaction against the exclusive predominance of the Italian fashion, and the unchurching influence of artificial religious music, was introduced by *Andr. Hammerschmidt*, organist in Zittau (1675), one of the noblest and most pious composers of the German nation. By interweaving old Church melodies with religious concerts, the old style of psalmody was combined with the new artificial style, somewhat in the form of a dialogue. The origin of *arias* is closely connected with this last movement, since, instead of the interwoven old Church melodies, suitable and stirring artificial tunes, according to the new taste, were invented for the hymns of cotemporaneous poets. The excellent composer *Rud. Ahle*, organist and burgomaster in Mühlhausen (*ob.* 1673), must be regarded as the proper author of the aria style. He introduced his own agreeable arias into the regular Lord's days' and festivals' services. By being frequently repeated, the pleasant ornate sounds impressed themselves upon the memory of all that heard them, so that they were soon adopted in the congregational singing. His religious arias, besides appropriating all the ornaments of the modern style, are distinguished by their youthful freshness and vigor, breathe a holy earnestness, and are still free of the secularization and playful trivialities into which the aria style soon fell. Next to Ahle, mention must be made of *Peter Sohr*, schoolmaster in Elbing,

many of whose arial tunes passed into Church use. As the massive, grand forms of the old melodies by this time already appeared too hard and irregular, *Wolfg. Charles Briegel*, cantor at Gotha, undertook to modify them (1687), so as to suit the altered taste of the times. *John Pachelbel*, organist in Nuremberg (*ob.* 1706), the greatest performer of his day, belongs to this tendency as a composer. (Cf. § 46, 5.)

5. *Christian Life.* — Notwithstanding numerous orthodoxistic and separatistic excrescences, the *religious poetry* of this period furnishes brilliant testimony concerning the fulness, depth, and fervor of the religious life of the period. And an abundance of excellent devotional books, of imperishable value, as well as popular expositions (especially that of Ernesti, Nuremb. 1641) of the Bible, afford proof of pastoral fidelity and zeal, as well as of the favor with which these attentions were received by the Lutheran people. *Ernest the Pious*, of Saxe-Gotha, appears almost an ideal of a Christian prince (*ob.* 1674, cf. *J. Gelbke*, Herzog E. d. Fr. 1810, 3 Bde.) (Cf. § 46, 6.)

6. *Missions.* — The missionary efforts of the Lutheran Church are still limited, in the nature of the circumstances, to their previous low level. *Gustavus Adolphus*, of Sweden, however, prosecuted the Lapland mission with increased zeal, and Denmark, also, cheerfully aided in the work. A Norwegian clergyman, *Thomas von Westen* (*ob.* 1727), may, on account of his efficient zeal, be called the apostle of this mission (completed more recently by *Stockfleth.*—Cf. *A. G. Rudelbach*, d. finnisch-lappische Mission u. Thom. v. Westen, in *A. Knapp's* Christoterpe, 1833). *Peter Heyling*, a German of Lübeck, went as a missionary to *Abyssinia* (1635), and several of his friends went to other countries of the East, at the same time, and for a similar purpose. Of the latter nothing was ever heard. But an Abyssinian abbot who visited Europe, brought tidings of Heyling. At first he was opposed by the machinations of the Jesuits. As soon, however, as they were driven off, he gained access to the court, became minister to the king, one of whose relatives he married. The ultimate fate of him and his mission is unknown (cf. *J. H. Michælis*, Sonderb. Lebensl. P. Heyling's. Halle, 1724). (Cf. § 46, 7.)

§ 40. REFORMED THEOLOGY AND ITS CONFLICTS.

Cf. *J. G. Walch*, Einl. in d. Religionsstreitigk. ausser d. luth. K. Jena, 1733. 3 Bde.

Theological science flourished in the Reformed Church during the 17th century, to an unexampled degree. The contributions to Biblical philology, to antiquarian and historical researches, were especially remarkable. The Reformed theologians of France sought to out-rival the Maurines and Oratorians of that country, and those of the Netherlands, England, and Switzerland, sought

to keep up with the reputation for learning acquired by their French brethren. But a union of the Reformed Churches of different countries, in faith and confession, and in the way of holding general synods, failed at the first attempt to effect it, in Dort. Opposition to Calvin's rugged doctrine of predestination started a Pelagianizing current in the Reformed Church, which carried with it others besides ex professo *Arminians*. In England this opposition found its expression in *latitudinarianism*, and, still worse, in *deism* (§ 43, 2). In France it took a more considerate course, and led, in several respects, to an approximation to the *Lutheran doctrine*. In general, however, all these movements are to be regarded as a reaction of *Zwinglianism*, which, though repelled, had not been overcome by *Calvinism*. The intrusion of the *Cartesian* philosophy into the Reformed Church, was successfully resisted by *Voetius;* but then a *scholasticism* obtained the ascendancy, in comparison with which that of Quenstedt is only child's play. In opposition to it the *federal* theology of *Cocceius* forced its way back to the Scriptural life-source, and to a certain extent corresponds with the pietistic movement.

1. *The Arminian Controversy*. (Cf. *J. Regenboog*, Hist. d. Remonstranten. From the Dutch, Lemgo, 1781, 2 Bde.—*M. Graf*, Betr. zur Gesch. d. Syn. v. Dordr. Bas. 1825. [Herzog's Encycl. Philad. 1860, articles *Arminius*, *Dort*]).—Calvin's dogma of absolute predestination (which even the German Reformed Church evaded, or softened down), produced in the Netherlands a passionate controversy, which ended in the split of the Netherland Reformed Church. In the 16th century, already, the milder view of the *infralapsarians*, who held that the act of predestination followed the fall, was set up in opposition to that of the stricter Calvinists, who maintained that God had passed that act, before the fall, and who were therefore called *supralapsarians*. Drawn into this controversy, *James Arminius*, prof. in Leyden since 1603, became more and more convinced, that the dogma of an absolute predestination was anti-scriptural, but then wandered into Pelagian paths. His colleague, *Francis Gomarus*, violently opposed him. The conflict soon became so bitter and general, that the Holland States supposed they would have to interfere. A religious colloquy proved the more fruitless, as *Arminius* died during its progress (1609). The States, favoring the Arminians, declared the differences non-essential, and enjoined peace. *Simon Episcopius*, from 1611 prof. in Leyden, placed himself at the head of the Arminian party. But as the Arminians were continually reproached and assailed by the Gomarists as Pelagians, they laid a *Remonstrance* before the States (1610), which, in five

articles, set forth a carefully restricted semipelagianism. Thenceforth they were called *Remonstrants*, their opponents *Contra-Remonstrants*. There were influential men on the side of the Arminians, including the syndic *Oldenbarnveld*, and *Hugo Grotius*, distinguished as a jurist, humanist, and theologian, — heads of the liberal, republican party. The Stadtholter *Maurice of Orange*, on the other hand, took part with the Gomarists, in order by their influence to pave his way to the throne. By a master-stroke he succeeded in overpowering the leaders of the opposing party. It was ordered that the religious controversy should be decided by a general *Synod at Dort* (1618–19). An invitation to attend was extended to theologians of all Reformed countries, and 28 foreigners were present. The synod held 154 sessions. The result could be foreseen. The doctrine of the Remonstrants was rejected, absolute predestination was established anew as a doctrine of the Church, but the infralapsarian view was allowed. *Remonstrant* congregations were not tolerated in Holland until 1630 (after the death of Maurice). Their original semipelagianism, however, gradually degenerated into decided Pelagianism. Concerning the Collegiants, see § 42, 1.

2. *Effects of the Arminian Controversy.* — The canons of Dort were by no means received by all the Reformed Churches. In *Germany*, Brandenburg, Hessen, and Bremen, expressly and decidedly refused assent to them. The temperate Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Confessio Marchica, continued to prevail there, with more or less sympathy for Arminianism. In *England* and *Scotland* spirited efforts were made by the *Presbyterians* to secure the ascendancy of Dort, whilst the *Episcopal Church* would have nothing to do with it, and, from its aversion to exclusive Calvinism, gave place to *latitudinarian* tendencies, which allowed the distinction of essential and non-essential doctrines, and thus largely fell into a state of lukewarmness and indifferentism. The most distinguished latitudinarians of this period are: *William Chillingworth* (*ob.* 1644), who became disgusted with the theological collisions of his Church, and took refuge in Catholicism, but soon discovered his mistake, retraced his steps, and sought and found true peace in the Word of God alone. (Cf. *A. Neander*, Eriun. an Win. Ch. Berlin, 1832. — [The works of Ch., etc., Philad., 1841]); the renowned pulpit orator, *John Tillotson*, Archb. of Cant. (*ob.* 1694); *Gilb. Burnet* (*ob.* 1715), author of a Hist. of the Ref. etc., and others.—The *French* Reformed Church remained, in general, true to strict Calvinistic orthodoxy, although several of its esteemed theologians strove to soften down the sharp points of the predestinarian system. Thus *Moses Amyrault*, prof. at the Ref. acad. of Saumur (*ob.* 1664), who proposed the doctrine of a universalismus hypotheticus, which taught that God had determined by a Decretum universale et hypotheticum to save all men (even the heathen on the ground of a fides implicita) through Jesus Christ, on condition of faith, to effect

which gratia resistabilis is given to all, whilst, in consequence of a decretum absolutum et speciale, only the elect receive gratia irresistabilis. (Traité de la prédestination, 1634). Two French synods, at Alençon (1637) and Charenton (1644), pronounced this doctrine to be admissible, and many highly respected theologians (*Dav. Blondel*, *Jean Daillé*, and *J. Claude*) defended it. Others, however, (*Pet. du Moulin* in Sedan, *Andr. Rivet*, and *Fr. Spanheim* in Leyden, *Sam. Maresius* in Gröningen), assailed it most violently (cf. *A. Schweizer*, Mos. Amyraldus, in the Tüb. Jahrbb. 1852, I.) Amyrald's colleague, *Joshua de la Place* (Placæus, *ob.* 1655) went still further, and denied the unconditional imputation of Adam's sin, and regarded original sin only as an evil which does not involve guilt until actual sin has been committed. The synods above named condemned this doctrine. Some time afterwards, *Claude Pagon*, at Saumur (*ob.* 1685), excited a lively controversy by a declaration which pointed to universal grace, affirming that all the operations of Divine providence and of the Holy Spirit were designed to effect man's conversion, the former by the events of life, the latter by means of the Word of God. A number of French synods condemned this doctrine, and affirmed an immediate, as well as a mediate operation of the Holy Spirit and of providence (cf. *Al. Schweizer*, d. Pajonismus, in the tübg. Jahrbb. 1853, I.) — In *Switzerland*, genuine Calvinism was most rigidly adhered to. In its defence, the Zurich theologian *J. H. Heidegger*, aided by Prof. *Fr. Turretin* of Geneva, drew up a new symbol, the *Formula consensus helvetici*, which was recognized by most of the cantons in 1675. Besides setting forth a rigid predestinarian doctrine, this consensus also laid it down as a doctrine of the Church, that the Hebrew vowel points of the Old Testament were inspired, a view for which the two Basel professors, *John Buxtorf*, father (*ob.* 1629) and son (*ob.* 1664), together with *Louis Capellus* of Saumur (*ob.* 1658), so earnestly contended.

3. *The Cartesian and Cocceian Controversies.*—Even after the subsidence of the Arminian controversy, the Netherlands were the scene of violent theological disputes. The philosophy of the French Catholic *René Descartes* (§ 43, 1) found great favor among the Reformed of Holland. It sustained, indeed, in itself, no immediate relation to Christianity, or the Church, and its theological adherents desired to have it used only as a means of formal cultivation. But its fundamental principle, that all real knowledge proceeds from doubt, was regarded by the leading representatives of a strict orthodoxy as most perilous to the Church. The most respected, talented, and violent of these opponents, was *Gilbert Voëtius*, prof. of theol. at Utrecht (1634–76). He succeeded in obtaining from the States' General a prohibition (1656) of the Cartesian philosophy. The system did, indeed, produce very suspicious fruits. One of its chief advocates, *Alex. Röll*, a German, and prof. at Utrecht (*ob.* 1718), not only taught that the divinity of the Holy Scriptures must be demonstrated by reason, inasmuch as

the testimonium Spir. s. internum was limited to believers, but he also disputed the imputation of original sin, the doctrine that the death of saints is a penalty of sin, and the eternal generation of the Son. Another zealous Cartesian, *Balth. Bekker* (preacher at Amsterdam, deposed 1692, *ob.* 1698), in his "De betooverde Weereld," denied the agency of the devil and of dæmons in general. Such evil fruits justified the cry of heresy raised by the orthodox party, and brought Cartesianism into very bad credit. But the theological scholasticism which Voëtius and his school so fully elaborated, called forth a more powerful reaction from another side, which successfully contended against it, as barren, and producing an ossification both of science and religious life. *John Cocceius* (Koch), prof. of theol. at Franeker and Leyden (*ob.* 1669), stood at the head of this reaction. The great aim of his life was to lead theology back to the Bible, as its only living source, and to supply it with a vital foundation, gathered from the Bible itself. He believed that he had found such a basis in the idea of a two-fold covenant of God with man (the fœdus naturæ *before*, and the fœdus gratiæ *after* the fall). Thus he became the author of the *federal theology*, which made the historical development of Revelation the ruling principle of theological inquiry, and of theology as a system, and thus became the founder of a purely biblical theology (as a history of Redemption). He adhered as closely as possible to predestinarian orthodoxy, but it was only a mechanical adhesion. It is not the idea of an *election* of grace, but of a *guidance* of grace, which predominates in his whole system. In exegesis he set up the rule: Id significant verba, quod significare possunt in integra oratione sic ut omnino inter se conveniant. But Christ is the centre of the history of Redemption, the Church, and the world; hence everything found in the Bible, history, doctrine, prophecy, stands in immediate and necessary relation to Christ. The Old Testament furnishes, everywhere, prophecies and types pointing to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and as all histories written after his coming, point to his second advent, both the Old and New Testaments foretell and foreshadow the history of the Church and the world to the end of time. Thus Typology becomes the essence and guide of Cocceian theology; but it also often wanders into innumerable arbitrary allegories, and an almost puerile trifling with external, incidental, and forced resemblances. Common opposition to scholasticism brought the Cartesians and Cocceians into a somewhat close relationship. The former took up with the favorite ideas of the Cocceians, and these prized the Cartesian philosophy as a formal means of culture. This, however, excited the scholastics to a violent assault upon both. They especially charged Cocceian theology with Judaism, Pelagianism, Chiliasm, and all conceivable heresies, whilst Cocceius and his adherents blamed orthodoxy à la mode with the radical ruin of the Reformed Church. Politics was mixed up with this controversy, also, as with the Arminian. The Orange party sought support among the Voëtians;

the liberal republican party looked to the Cocceians. A formal schism, as in the former case, was prevented only by the urgent entreaties and admonitions of foreign (German Reformed) synods. Coccean theology secured toleration and even admission to theological chairs, and soon acquired a decided preponderance over scholastic theology. (Cf. *Melch. Leydecker*, Synopsis controversiarum de fœd. et testamentis Dei, quæ hodie in Belgio moventur, Traj. 1690.)

4. *Theological Literature.* — *Biblical oriental philology* flourished mightily in the Reformed Church of this period, especially through the labors of *John Drusius* of Franeker (*ob.* 1616), the greatest Old Testament exegete of his day; then through the two *Buxtorfs* in Basel (father, *ob.* 1629; and son, *ob.* 1664), who were the greatest rabbinical scholars in the Christian Church. The former wrote Chaldaic and Syriac grammars, and a Hebrew-Chaldee lexicon, Tiberias s. Commentarius Masorethicus (inspiration of the vowel points), etc. His two greatest works: Concordantiæ Bibl. hebr. and Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabinicum, proofs of his gigantic industry, were first completed by his no less laborious son, who also contributed a number of his own works to this department of learning. Both were rivalled by *J. Henry Hottinger* of Zurich (*ob.* 1667), who made himself master of oriental literature and languages, so far as they were then accessible, and made them subservient to Biblical philology in a great number of learned works, and found time, besides, to write a comprehensive and learned Church history. *Cocceius*, also, holds an important place among Hebrew lexicographers. In England, *Brian Walton* (*ob.* 1661), in connection with a number of English scholars, undertook to issue the *London Polyglott*, which far surpassed all previous similar publications in the completeness of its material and apparatus. *Edm. Castellus*, prof. at Cambridge, contributed his renowned Lexicon heptaglotton, as the 7th volume of this great work. The *Elzevir* printing-offices in Amsterdam and Leyden effected the issue of a textus receptus of the New Testament (1624). *J. Pearson* collected the most valuable exegetical contributions of earlier times, and published them in his great work: *Critici Sacri*, Lond. 1660, 9 vols. fol.; and *Matthew Pole* did the same in his Synopsis criticorum, Lond. 1669, 5 vols. fol. The most distinguished exegetes of this period were: in France, the brothers *Jacob Capellus*, in Sedan (*ob.* 1624), and *Louis Capellus* in Saumur (*ob.* 1658), for their thorough knowledge of languages, and liberal criticisms; in England, *Edw. Pococke* in Oxford (*ob.* 1691, Hosea, Joel, Micah, Malachi), and *John Lightfoot* in Cambridge (*ob.* 1695, Horæ hebraicæ et talmudicæ, in elucidation of the New Testament); in the Netherlands, *John Cocceius*, who wrote comm. on almost the whole Bible, giving, beside the typological significations, a thorough grammatical historical interpretation, — and his pupil *Campegius Vitringa* in Franeker (*ob.* 1716), the distinguished expositor of Isaiah and the Apocalypse. Among the Arminian exegetes we name the learned statesman and

jurist *Hugo Grotius* (*ob.* 1645), and *John Clericus* in Amsterdam (born 1657, *ob.* 1736), the two greatest masters of historico-grammatical exposition, of this and the succeeding century, and who also levied upon classical literature and philology for illustrations of the Scriptures. Specially deserving of notice is *John Andr. Eisenmenger*, prof. of the oriental languages in Heidelberg (*ob.* 1704), author of the renowned work: "Entdecktes Judenthum," 2 Bde. 4to., in which he collected from countless Jewish works, with stupendous industry, enormous learning, and fanatical partiality, the absurdities and blasphemies of the Rabbinical theology, having been prompted to the undertaking by the assumptions and arrogance of the Jews of that day. The book was published in Frankfürt (2000 copies), and Eisenmenger devoted his entire property to it. The Jews offered him 12,000 guilders to suppress it, but he demanded 30,000. They then procured an order from the court of Vienna, for the distraining of the entire edition, before a single copy could be sold. Eisenmenger died soon after this (1704), and his heirs endeavored in vain to secure the release of the book. Even the urgent intervention of King *Frederick* of Prussia was unavailing. The king finally (1711) resolved to have another edition printed at his own cost, in Königsberg, from a copy which had been presented before the book was distrained. After this was done the Frankfürt edition was likewise released. The Reformed Church of this period made truly brilliant contributions to the departments of *Biblical Archæology* and *History*, including those of the Englishmen *J. Selden* (de synedriis vett. Hebr.; De Diis Syris.; Uxor hebr.; De jure naturali et gentium juxta discipl. Hebr.), *Thomas Goodwin* (Moses and Aaron), *James Usher* (Usserius, Annales V. et N. T.), *J. Marsham* (Canon chronicus), *John Spencer* (*ob.* 1693, de legibus Hebr. ritual., with an arbitrary reference of them to Egyptian customs, on the ground of a divine accommodation); of the Frenchman *Sam. Bochart* (Hierozoicon, a nat. hist. of the Bible; Phaleg, or bibl. geography as a comm. on Genesis, c. 10; both works almost inexhaustible treasures of the most exquisite learning); in the Netherlands, *Pet. Cunæus* (de republ. Hebr.) *J. Braun* (de vestitu pontif. hebr.), *C. Vitringa* (de Synagoga vett.), etc.

Dogmatic theology throve most on Netherland soil. A Pole, *John Makowsky* (Maccopius, *ob.* 1644), as teacher of theol. at Franeker, introduced the *scholastic* method into Reformed dogmatics (Loci communes theol.) The synod of Dort acquitted him, indeed, of the charge of heresy, but disapproved of his scholastic method. Nevertheless it soon became predominant. Its most distinguished advocates are *Samuel Maresius* of Gröningen (*ob.* 1673), *Gisbert Voëtius* of Utrecht (*ob.* 1676, Selectæ disputt. theol.), *John Hoornbeck* of Leyden (*ob.* 1666); and among the Germans, *Fred. Wendelin*, Rector in Zerbst (*ob.* 1652). The most distinguished *federal* theologians, next to *Cocceius* (Summa doctrinæ de fœdere et testamentis Die 1648), are: *Francis Momma*, *Abr.*

Heidanus, *Casp. Wittig*, *Sol. v. Till*, and *Henry Hulsius*, of Leyden; *John Braun* of Gröningen; *Herman Witsius* of Franeker; *Francis Burmann* and *Melch. Leydecker* of Utrecht.—The Frenchman, *Is. Peyrerius*, attracted great attention by his declaration, based on Rom. 5 : 12, etc., that Adam was primogenitor of the Jews only, and that the Gentiles were of pre-Adamite origin, and that the flood was not universal (Syst. theol. ex Præadamitarum hypothesi, 1655). He escaped imprisonment by entering the Catholic Church; he recanted, but still adhered to his views (*ob.* 1676).—Morality, which till then had been limited to an exposition of the decalogue, was raised by *Moses Amyrault* to an independent science (La morale chrétienne, 6 vols.) Casuistry was treated of by *M. Perkins* of Cambridge, and *W. Amesius* of Rotterdam. General polemics were prosecuted by *Hoornbeck*, *Francis Turretin*, of Geneva, *Fred. Spanheim* of Leyden, etc. The most extensive controversial work was produced by *Dan. Chamier* of Montauban (*ob.* 1621) against the Catholics (Panstratia catholica, 4 vols. fol.) The *historical* studies of the Reformed Church were, likewise, almost exclusively pursued for the purposes of controversy against the Catholics, and were prosecuted with a thoroughness and zeal which contributed largely to the elucidation of the science. General Church history was cultivated by *J. H. Hottinger* of Zurich, *Fred. Spanheim* of Leyden, *Jacob Basnage* of Zütphen, *ob.* 1691 (adv. Baronius). Among the numerous historical monographs, we must specially name the works of *Dav. Blondel*, *James Daillé* (Dallæus), *Claude Salmasius*, *J. Usher*, *Dodwell*, *Spanheim*, *Heidegger*, etc. (Cf. § 48, 3.)

§ 41. PIETY IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The piety of the Reformed Church is characterized by an austere legality, a rigorous renunciation of the world, and a resolute earnestness which disregarded consequences, coupled with a decision and energy of will, which nothing in the world could break or bend. It was the spirit of Calvin which impressed this character upon it, and his doctrine which supported it. Only by countries where Calvin's spirit was enervated or repressed, as in the Lutheranized German Reformed, or Catholicising Anglican Churches, was this tendency resisted. But it manifests itself in an enhanced degree, often to extreme harshness, among the English and Scotch Puritans, as well as among the French Huguenots, nourished, as it was, by persecution and oppression. Hemmed in by the narrowest legal limits, the religious life of the Reformed could not move so freely, and could not exhibit itself in such rich and various forms, as are expressed in the hymns and singing of the German Lutheran Church.

Nevertheless the Reformed Church furnished the pattern of a princely saint, in the person of the noble Electress *Louisa Henrietta*, who may be favorably compared with the pious Duke Ernest (§ 39, 5). She, likewise, composed several hymns of great merit, but they, and similar productions, breathe not a Romanic Calvinistic, but rather a German spirit, formed partly by Lutheran influences.—But the highest glory of the Romanic Reformed Church of this period, a glory which renders it honorable in all ages, is its incomparable martyr-spirit, which it displayed most brilliantly in France.

1. In its public singing, the Reformed Church still continued to use, mainly, Marot's and Lobwasser's metrical versions of the Psalms (§ 23, 1). *Maurice* of Hessen issued a new edition (1612) of the latter, with some new austere melodies, for the use of the Church in his country. But Lutheran psalmody gradually passed over into the Reformed Church, whilst the latter furnished a couple of religious poets during this period, whose hymns, as true Church hymns, were adopted by Lutheran hymn-books. They are: *Louisa Henrietta*, Princess of Orange, wife of the great Elector (*ob.* 1667). She furnished four hymns for a hymn-book provided by her for Reformed congregations (including "Jesus meine Zuversicht," and "Ich will von meiner Missethat"), and *Joachim Neander*, preacher in Bremen (*ob.* 1680. "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen König"). Among ascetic writers, *Richard Baxter* occupies the first rank. He was a moderate Puritan, and a chaplain in Cromwell's army (*ob.* 1691. "Saints' Rest," "Call to the Unconverted," "The Reformed Pastor," etc.) The Puritans can also boast of a most distinguished poet in *John Milton* (Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained), who, however, also handled a severe controversial pen, and vindicated the execution of Charles I.

2. The Reformed Church had two opportunities of proving the ardor of its Christian love in the work of *missions among the heathen*, one by the cession of the Portuguese East India colonies to the Netherlands, at the beginning of the 17th century, another by the colonies which went from England to North America, during that entire century. The Netherland government, in its missionary operations, followed in the footsteps of its Portuguese predecessor. It demanded of all the natives who sought any official position, that they should be baptized and subscribe the Belgic confession. Many thousands outwardly complied with these terms, who, morally, remained what they were before. On the other hand the English Puritans, who had emigrated to America on account of their faith, displayed a zeal in their efforts to convert the Indians, which was worthy of the Protestant name. One of their number, *John Eliot*, was called the apostle of the Indians. For fifty years he labored among them with untiring and self-denying zeal,

translated the Bible into their own language, and established 17 mission stations among them, 10 of which, however, were broken up during his lifetime by a bloody war. He died in 1690. English Puritans in London established a society for the propagation of the Gospel in 1647. (Cf. *J. H. Brauer*, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Heidenbek. Bd. I. John Eliot. Altona, 1835.) (Cf. § 46, 7.)

IV. ANTI- AND EXTRA-ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.

§ 42. SECTS AND FANATICS.

All the four principal Churches contribute a share to the history of sectarianism and fanaticism, not excluding the Catholic (§ 36, 1) or even the Greek. The *Baptists* in England, like the Anabaptists of the continent, rejected infant baptism; whilst the *Quakers*, carrying this tendency to its furthest extreme, wholly rejected baptism and the Lord's Supper, adopted the old theory of an inner light, and made it the basis of their organization. A number of other fanatics and separatists did not get so far as to form a permanent organization. The chief rendezvous of these was in the Netherlands, where a free government afforded a refuge for all who were banished on account of their faith. There alone, also, did the press enjoy sufficient liberty to aid in the propagation of mystical and theosophic works, without hindrance. The sects of Russia, finally, which have been but little inquired after, possess very special interest, and claim our notice. (Cf. § 49.)

1. *Netherland Anabaptists.* (Cf. § 27, 2).—Even during Menno's life, the Mennonites had divided into the moderate or *Waterlandians*, and rigid or *Flemingians*. The former, who departed in many respects from the original strictness of the sect, in regard to morals and discipline, and constituted a preponderant majority, soon separated, in consequence of the Arminian controversy, into a remonstrant and a predestinarian party. The former were designated *Galenists*, after their leader Galenus de Haen, and *Lammists*, because their church adopted the symbol of the Lamb. The others were called *Apostoolians*, from their leader Samuel Apostool, or *Sunnists*, because the sign of the sun was placed on the front of their churches. The Lammists, who rejected all confessions of faith, gradually gained a decided ascendency; but in 1800 the two parties united, and the Sunnists adopted the principles and doctrines of the Lammists. The Remonstrant Anabaptists received

a large accession from the Arminian Collegiants. During the time that the Arminians were not tolerated by the State, and when their teachers were banished, the lack of clergymen among them induced the three brothers *Van der Codde* to found another sect, called *Collegiants*, who abolished the office of the ministry, allowed laymen to preach and administer the sacraments, and admitted only adults to baptism, by immersion. Their place of immersion was the village of *Rhynsburg* on the Rhine; hence they were also called *Rhynsburgers*. They were called Collegiants from their assemblies, which were designated *Collegia*.

2. *The English Baptists.*—About the middle of the 17th century, the *Baptist* party sprang from the English Independents. They differed from the latter in the rejection of infant baptism, from the Anabaptists of the Continent, by retaining the independent or congregationalist constitution. They baptized by immersion. They also rejected ordination. Through the influence of Arminianism, they split (1791) into *Particular Baptists*, who hold to Calvinistic predestination (gratia particularis) and *General Baptists*, who reject that doctrine. The former were by far the more numerous. Another sect, the *Seventh-day Baptists*, was started toward the close of the 17th century by *Francis Bampfield*. They derive their name from their observance of the seventh instead of the first day of the week, as their Sabbath. From England the Baptists soon went to North America, which thenceforth became their chief seat. There the original English form of the sect was diversified with a great variety of shades. All the American Baptists retained the Congregational constitution. (Cf. § 49, 6.)

3. *The Quakers.* (Cf. William Penn, a summary of the hist. discipl. and doctrine of Friends. Lond. 1692.—*G. W. Alberti*, aufr. Nachricht von d. Rel., Gottesdienst Sitt. u. Gebr. d. Qu. Hann. 1750.—*H. Tuke*, Principles of Rel. as professed by the Quakers. [*Neal's* Hist. of the Puritans.—*Sewell's* and *Rutty's* Hist. of the Quakers]).—*George Fox* (*ob.* 1691), a shoemaker in the county of Leicester, arose (1647) as a preacher of repentance and a reformer, during the disturbances which then distracted Church and State in England. Rejecting all external Churchism, he desired to base Christianity wholly upon the inner light of the Spirit in man, as a continuous divine revelation. He gained many adherents, and in 1649 founded a distinct religious communion, which assumed the name of the *Society of Friends*, but their opponents, in ridicule, called them *Quakers* (tremblers, probably, from Philip. 2 : 12.) The doctrinal views of the Friends were reduced to a system, during Fox's life, by *George Keith* (who, however, subsequently returned to the Anglican Church, and assailed Quakerism), and especially by *Robert Barclay* (*ob.* 1690. Theologiæ vere Christ. apologia, and a Catechism or Confession of Faith, pronounced good by the general assembly of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles). Their refusal to serve in war, to take the oath, or to pay tithes, subjected them to severe

persecutions, imprisonment, etc. *William Penn* (*ob.* 1718), son of the English admiral, then appeared as their deliverer and second founder. In payment of a debt due his father, the Government conveyed to him a large tract of land along the Delaware, in North America, which he converted into an asylum for all the persecuted and oppressed, and not only from among Quakers. He founded, there, the colony of Pennsylvania (1682), under the English Government. Its chief city was Philadelphia, and the fundamental principle of its charter complete liberty of religion and conscience. In England, also, the Quakers soon obtained toleration, and were granted the same rights with other dissenters, all possible forbearance being exercised towards their views concerning the oath, war, etc. The Quakers acknowledge the Bible as the word of God, but regard the inner word of God in men as of superior force, the former being considered merely as the starting-point of the latter, and a means of exciting it. They wholly reject the ministry and theological learning. Their communion consists only of such as are enlightened. In their meetings, whoever is moved by the Spirit, man or woman, may speak, pray, or exhort. If none is thus moved, they continue sitting for a while in silent contemplation, and then as quietly separate. They have no singing or music. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not observed by them. In social life, the Quakers are distinguished by strict honesty, earnestness, an extremely simple mode of living, a contempt of all luxury, change of fashion, or conventional rules of society, etc. They conscientiously forbade taking the oath, and all military and civil service. Subsequently, however, many of them abated their rigorous severity in life and manners; such were called the *wet*, whilst those who adhered to their original rigor were called the *dry*, Quakers. During the present century a new party arose among the American Quakers, under *Elias Hicks*, who wholly tore loose from historical Christianity, by denying the divinity of Christ, and the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. This movement compelled the opposing party, called *Evangelical Friends*, to attach themselves more closely to the authority of the Holy Scriptures. (Cf. § 49, 7. [Also, *Gurney*, on the peculiarities of Friends, and *Is. Crewdson*, Beacon to the Friends, 1835]).

4. Many other fanatics arose during this period, who failed, however, to found permanent sects. *Jean de Labadie*, of France, whom the Jesuits educated, joined the Reformed Church, and by the aid of his talented and learned adherent, *Anna Maria von Schurmann*, founded the sect of Labadists in the Netherlands, who insisted upon an inner Christianity, in true mystic sectarian style. — *Peter Poiret*, court-preacher at Deux-Ponts in the Palatinate, previously a Cartesian philosopher, was a warm admirer of Bourignon and Guyon, whose writings he published, and whose genuine Catholic mysticism he caricatured by protestanizing it (L'économie divine. Amsterd. 1687, 7 Bde.).—*Jane Leade*, of the county of Norfolk, a great admirer of Böhme's writings,

had spasms and visions, in which divine wisdom appeared to her in the form of a virgin. She spread her Gnostic revelations by means of numerous tracts, founded the *Philadelphia Society*, and died in 1704, aged 84 years. The chief of her adherents was *John Pordage*, a physician, whose writings furnish the most insane specimen of the mystical gibberish.—From the Lutheran Church sprang *Fred. Breckling*, a Holstein preacher, who was called to account for his slanders against the Lutheran Church and its ministers, and fled to Holland. There he preached for some time at Zwoll, but was then deposed for his Chiliasm. After that he lived privately, and wrote a number of unimportant mystical works (*ob.* 1711).—*Quirinus Kuhlmann* of Breslau, who travelled through all Europe and part of Asia, advocating insane schemes of a reformation and union of all religions and sciences, and finally perished at the stake in Moscow (1689).—Of greater importance was *John Gichtel* (*ob.* 1710), previously procurator of the imperial chamber at Spires, an eccentric admirer of Böhme. He desired to tear himself loose from all natural bonds, and descend into the depths of the Godhead. He had revelations and visions, and zealously opposed the doctrine of justification. His adherents, *Gichtelians*, called themselves *Angelic Brethren* (Matt. 22 : 30), and strove, in the spirit of their master, to attain to an angelic sinlessness, by tearing loose from all carnal desires, cares, and toils, and to a priesthood after the order of Melchisedec, to appease the wrath of God. (Cf. § 49.)

5. *Russian Sects.* (Cf. *A. v. Harthausen*, Studien über d. innern Zustand Russlands. Hann. 1847, I. 337, etc.)—A great number of sects arose in the Russian empire, designated by the general name of *Raskolniki* (apostates). Their origin and history is involved in much obscurity. According to their fundamental character, they form two diametrically opposite leading classes: I. The *Starowerzi*, or those holding the ancient faith. Their origin was occasioned by the liturgical reformation of the learned and powerful patriarch *Nikon*, who (1652) attempted to effect a thorough improvement of the liturgical books, which had been greatly perverted by previous ignorance. But his movement was strongly opposed by the people, who adhered to their old forms. This opposition was by no means overcome, but led to a separation of many (farmers) from the parent Church. They combine with their stiff adherence to the old liturgical forms, a contracted aversion to all new customs, and articles of luxury, introduced into society (ex. gr. think it a sin to shave the beard, to smoke tobacco, to drink tea or coffee, etc.) This sect, which is still very numerous, is in general distinguished by a simple, moral, and temperate manner of life. There are three kinds of Starowerzi: (1.) The *Jedinowerzi* (holding the same faith), who approach nearest to the orthodox Church, recognize its priesthood, and differ from it only in their religious ceremonies and social manners. (2.) The *Starovbradzi* (adherents to the old customs), who differ from the last named only by their refusal to

recognize the priests of the orthodox Church. (3.) The *Bespopowtschini* (the priestless), who have no priests, but only elders. They are split up into numerous smaller sects, some of which have adopted decidedly Gnostic elements.—II. Extremely opposite to the Starowerzi we find a number of sects of a *fundamentally Gnostic, mystic, and fanatical tendency*, rejecting all external churchism, with its ceremonies and sacraments, or utterly diluting them. Many of these sects, whose Gnosticism is embraced in fanatical forms, probably perpetuated themselves from the Middle Ages, by means of secret traditions, that period having been exceedingly fertile in Gnostic and Manichæan productions. To this sect belong the *Morelschiki* (the self-sacrificing), who submit from time to time to a "baptism by fire," by burning themselves; the *Skopsi* (eunuchs) who mutilate themselves; the *Chlistowtschini* (flagellants), who are also accused of practising immoral orgies; the *Dumb*, whom no torture can constrain to utter an audible sound, etc. Other sorts of spiritualistic Gnostic fanatics arose in the 18th century, through occidental influences. (Cf. § 45, 1.)

§ 43. PHILOSOPHERS AND FREE-THINKERS.

The scholastic philosophy of the middle ages had outlived itself even during the pre-Reformation period. But a long time elapsed before the philosophical impulse of the new era created for itself independent and appropriate forms and methods. The Italian Dominican, *Thomas Campanella*, may be regarded as an echo of the philosophical movement of the 16th century, and *Bacon* of *Verulam*, England, as the forerunner of modern philosophy, whilst *Descartes* of France must be acknowledged as its proper founder. After him we find the pinnacles of philosophical development occupied by *Spinoza*, *Locke*, and *Leibnitz*. By the side of philosophy, we see a number of *free-thinkers* starting up, and borrowing from its armory weapons of attack upon theology and the Church. They were the heralds of the universal predominance, in the following century, of that infidelity which declared the Bible and Revelation as only imaginary and deceptive sources of religious knowledge, and nature and reason to be alone reliable.

1. *Philosophy*. (Cf. *H. Ritter*, Gesch. d. chr. Philos. Bd. 6, 7.—*J. E. Erdmann*, Vers. e. Wsch. Darstell. d. Gesch. neueren Philos., Lpz., 1836, etc.) — *Thomas Campanella*, of Stilo in Calabria, entered the Dominican Order, but soon lost all taste for Aristotelian philosophy and scholastic theology, and turned to Plato, the Cabala, Astrology, magic, etc. Suspected of holding republican sentiments, he was placed

in custody by the Spanish government (1599). Seven times he endured the rack for 24 hours without confessing, and then pined for 27 years in a hard imprisonment. Pope Urban VIII. at length (1526) effected his transfer to the prison of the papal Inquisition. In 1629 the Inquisition acquitted him, and a pension was bestowed on him. But the Spaniards laid new snares for him, and he was compelled to flee to France, to his patron Richelieu. He died in 1639. His most complete philosophical work is the Philosophia rationalis. In his Atheismus triumphatus he defended the Christian Religion, in the Romish form, but so unsatisfactorily that many thought Atheismus triumphanus would have been a more appropriate title. His Monarchia Messiæ, also, seemed even to Catholics, an unfortunate apology for popery. In his Civitas solis, an imitation of Plato's Republic, he advanced communistic views. Herder, in his Andrastea, revived his memory as a poet. — *Francis Bacon of Verulam* (for a time Lord High-Chancellor of England), the great successor of Roger Bacon (I. § 104, 3), was the first prominent and successful reformer of the scholastic mode. With a most comprehensive mind, and as a prophet of science, he organized its entire sphere, and prognosticated its future development. ("De augmentis scientiarum," and "Novum organum scientiarum.") He strictly distinguished between sphere of *knowledge* (philosophy and nature), which can only be acquired by experience, and that of *faith* (theology and the Church), of which revelation is the only source of knowledge. But in spite of this distinction he uttered the sentiment: Philosophia obiter libata a Deo abducit, pleniter hausta ad Deum reducit. He earnestly insisted upon the close observance of nature, as the only way of perfecting knowledge, and rendering it available; thus he became the author of empiricism in philosophy, and the patriarch of the utilitarianism of modern times.—The honor of being the founder of modern philosophy (in the proper sense), really belongs to *René Descartes* of France (Renatus Cartesius, *ob.* 1650). The cornerstone of his system is the proposition: Cogito, ergo sum. The thinking being, in man, is the soul. Philosophy starts with doubting, and by means of definite cogitation arrives at a knowledge of what is true and certain in surrounding objects. The consciousness of imperfection to which the soul thus attains, leads to the idea of a most perfect being, to whose perfection existence is also necessary (the ontological proof). His philosophy, which, however, did not pretend to sustain any relation to Christianity or the Church, gained many adherents among the French Jansenists and Oratorians, and even penetrated into the Reformed theology of Holland, where it provoked a passionate controversy, in which Catholic (*Huetius*, etc.) as well as Reformed (Voëtius, etc.) theologians participated.—*Benedict Spinoza*, a Jewish convert in Holland (*ob.* 1677), acquired but little influence over the philosophical studies of his day, by the profound but obviously pantheistic philosophy exhibited in his "Ethica." It was reserved for modern times to

be carried away by it. But his "Tractatus theologico-politicus," in which he critically assailed the Christian idea of Revelation, and the authenticity of the Old Testament books, especially the Pentateuch, and vindicated absolute free-thinking, called forth the theologians of his day in opposition to his views, and in defence of Christianity. (Cf. *Schlüter*, die Lehre d. Sp. Münst. 1836.—*Sigwart*, d. Spinozismus hist. u. philos. erläutert, Tüb. 1839.—*C. v. Orelli*, Spinoza's Leben u. Lehre. Aarau, 1843; Spinoza's Works, in German, by *Auerbach*, Stuttg. 1841.) — In the sensualism of *John Locke* (*ob.* 1704) we have a middle term between Bacon's empiricism and Descartes' rationalism on the one hand, and English deism and French materialism on the other. His "Essay on the Human Understanding" denies all innate ideas, and strives to prove that all our ideas are the products of outward or inward experience (sensation or reflection). In this work, already, and still more in his "Reasonableness of Christianity," which professes to be an apology for Christianity, and, indeed, admits the truth of the biblical history, of miracles, and of the Messiaship of Christ, we find concealed a lurking pelagianism, as the basis of his religious contemplation, which discards the ideas of sin and an atonement, and openly reduces Christianity to the low level of a sound human understanding. — *Gottfried Wilh. Leibnitz* (a Hanoverian statesman, *ob.* 1716), opened the first period of German philosophy. The philosophy of Leibnitz is equally opposed to the Paracelsian theosophy of Böhme, the empiricism of Bacon and Locke, the pantheism of Spinoza, and the skepticism and manichæism of Bayle, and is, indeed, a Christian philosophy, though, alas! it did not attain to its full, legitimate development. But as it took up, improved, and carried out the philosophical rationalism of Descartes, it furnished a starting-point for subsequent theological rationalism. The foundation of his system (which is most fully exhibited in his works: "Essai de Théodicée" against Bayle, "Nouveau essai sur l'entendement humain" against Locke, and "Principia philosophiæ ad principem Eugenium") is *the doctrine of monads*. In opposition to the atom theory of materialism, he regarded all terrestrial phenomena as concentrations of the so-called monads (*i. e.* most simple, indivisible substances), each one of which, according to its particular place and design, was an image or reflection of the entire universe. Of these monads, emanating from God as the Monas monadum, the world was made a harmony, permanently arranged by God (harmonia præstabilita). This world must be the best that could be made, or it would not exist at all (optimism). In opposition to Bayle, who had argued against the wisdom, goodness, and justice of God, in Manichæan style, because of the existence of evil and sin, Leibnitz endeavored to show that the presence of evil in the world did not conflict with the idea of a best possible world, nor with the goodness, wisdom, etc. of God, since the very idea of a creature necessarily involved finiteness and imperfection, or, in other words, metaphysical evil, and that this rendered moral and

physical evil an unavoidable consequence, but not a consequence which disturbed the harmonia præstabilita. Against Locke he vindicated the existence of innate ideas as eternal truths; he assailed indeterminism against *Clarke*; affirmed the agreement of philosophy with Revelation, which might be *above* reason, but not *against* it; and he hoped that he could demonstrate the truth of his system with the same measure of evidence employed in mathematics. (Cf. *Ludovici*, Entw. e. hist. d. Leibnitzischen Phil. Lpz. 1737, 2 Bde.—*G. E. Guhrauer*, G. W. v. Leibnitz, e. Biogr. Bresl. 1842, 2 Thle.) (Cf. § 50, 7.)

2. *Free-thinkers.* (Cf. *J. A. Trinius*, Freidenkerlexic. Lpz. 1759.—*U. G. Thorschmidt*, author of a complete English Free-thinker library. Halle, 1765, fol., 4 vols.—*Leland*, Abr. d. vornehmst. deist. Schr. aus d. Engl. v. *H. G. Schmidt*. Hann. 1755. 3 Bde.—*G. V. Lechler*, Gesch. d. engl. Deism. Stuttg. 1841.—*L. Noack*, die Freidenker in d. Rel. Bd. 1. Die englischen Deisten. Bern, 1853.)—The pressure of the spirit of the times and of the age, towards emancipation from all positive Christianity, manifested itself openly and boldly first in politically free and ecclesiastically rent *England*. The tendency was called *Naturalism*, because it would acknowledge only a *natural* instead of revealed religion—and *Deism*, because it acknowledged only a general providence of the one God, instead of the triune God of redemption. The impossibility of revelation, inspiration, prophecies and miracles, was affirmed on philosophical grounds; their actual existence in the Bible and history was denied on critical grounds. The simple system of deism was: God, providence, freedom of the will, virtue and continuation of the soul after death. The Christian doctrines of the Trinity, original sin, satisfaction, justification, resurrection, etc., appeared absurd and irrational. Deism in England, however, only met with sympathy among educated and prominent worldlings; the people and the entire clergy adhered to positive religion. The theological refutations of the system were numerous, but their polemical power was broken by a latitudinarian spirit. The most important *English Deists* of this country were: (1.) *Edward Herbert of Cherbury*, knight and honorable statesman (*ob.* 1648). He reduced religion to five points: belief in God; obligation to honor him by an upright life; expiation of sin by sincere repentance; retribution in eternal life. (Writings: De veritate, De religione gentilium). (2.) *Thomas Hobbes* (*ob.* 1679), an acute and productive philosophico-political author, who regarded Christianity as an oriental phantom, only of importance as a support of absolute royalty and as an antidote against the revolution. The state of nature is a bellum omnium contra omnes; religion is the means by which civilization and order is restored. It belongs to the State to determine the religion which shall be established. Every one, indeed, may believe what he chooses, but, in reference to worship and churchdom, he must submit entirely to the regulations of the State, whose representative is the king. (Chief work: Leviathan, or the matter, form, and

power of a commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil, 1651). (3.) *Charles Blount* (*ob.* 1693, by suicide), a rabid opponent of all miracles as pure priestly frauds. (Oracles of Reason, Religio Laici, Great is the Diana of the Ephesians, Translation of the life of Apollonius of Zyana, by Philostratus). (4.) *Thomas Brown*, a physician (*ob.* 1682, Religio Medici).—The most celebrated of the opponents of deism of this period are: *Richard Baxter* (§ 71, 1), *Ralph Cudworth* (*ob.* 1688), a latitudinarian theologian and platonizing philosopher, who attempted to prove the chief doctrines of Christianity by means of the theory of innate ideas (his principal treatise, Systema intellectuale, was published by *Lor v. Mosheim*, in a Lat. translation, with remarks), and *Samuel Clarke* (*ob.* 1729), who himself was charged with holding Arian views of the Trinity). The pious Irishman, *Robert Boyle*, in London founded (1691) an annual stipend of £40 sterling for combating deistic and atheistic unbelief, in eight annual sermons. (Cf. § 50, 1.)

The same hostility to positive religion which inspired the English deists, manifested itself also at the same time in other countries, although in more separate and transient forms. In *Germany*, since 1672, *Mathias Knutzen* ("Hans Friederich von der vernsenft"), a travelling candidate of Holstein, endeavored, by scattering numberless tracts, to establish a sect of free-thinkers, under the name of the "conscientious" (conscientiarii). The Christian "Koran" was said to contain only lies and frauds; reason and conscience were the true Bible; neither a God, nor a hell, nor a heaven existed; priests and magistrates ought to be driven out of the world, etc. As he asserted that in Jena and the neighborhood there existed already more than 700 believers in his doctrines, the academic senate authorized the most careful and anxious investigation; the result proved his statement to be empty bragging. (Cf. *H. Rossel*, in the th. studd. u. Kritt. 1844. IV.) — In *France*, the path of a frivolous unbelief was broken by the talented but flippant sceptic *Peter Bayle* (*ob.* 1706). The Jesuits gained him, the son of a Reformed preacher, for their church; but within a year and a half afterwards he apostatized. He applied himself now to the study of Cartesian philosophy, defended Protestantism in several polemic treatises, and wrote his celebrated Dictionnaire historique et critique, in which, it is true, he avoids any open hostility to, or ridicule of, the facts of revelation, but nevertheless invites thereto by his frivolous treatment of them. (Cf. § 44, 10.)

THIRD PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Cf. *J. A. C. Einem*, vers. e. vollet. K. G. 18. Jahrb. Lpz. 1782. 3 Bde. —*J. R. Schlegel*, K. G. d. 18. Jahrb. Heilbr. 1784. 2 Bde.—*J. v. Huth*, vers. e. K. G. d. 18. Iahrb. Augsb. 1807. 2 Bde.—*F. C. Schlosser*, Gesch. d. 18. Jahrb. 4. A. Heidelb. 1853. ff. 4 Bde.—*K. R. Hagenbach*, K. G. d. 18. 19. Jahrb. 2 A. Lpz. 1856. 2 Bde.—*J. C. L. Gieseler*, K. G. d. 18. Jahrb. Herausg. v. C. R. Redepenning. Bonn, 1857. — The *Weimar* Acta hist. ecclest. or gesamm. Nachr. v. d. neuest. K. G. Weim. 1734–58. 20 Bde.; Nova acta, 1758–74. 12 Bde.; acta nostri temp. 1774–90. 13 Bde.—*Fr. Walch*, Neueste Rel. Gesch. Lemgo, 1771, ff. 9 Bde.—*G. J. Planck*, Neueste Rel Gesch. Lemgo, 1787, ff. 3 Bde. — *M. Grégoire*, Hist. des sectes réligieuses depuis le commenc. du siècle dernier. Par. 1828. 5 vols.

I. THE PROVINCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

§ 44. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

During the first half of this century already, many slights and defeats, that were hard to bear, were inflicted upon the papal hierarchy by the Roman Catholic courts. In the second half, however, dangers, which threatened even its existence, encompassed it on every side. Portugal and the Bourbon court in France, Spain, and Italy, did not rest until the papacy pronounced the sentence of death upon the Jesuits, who had become its strong support, but also its master. Soon thereupon the German archbishops threatened to emancipate themselves and the German Church from Rome, and what *they* were not able to achieve in the way of ecclesiastical progress, that a German

emperor undertook in the way of civil reforms. This danger was scarcely avoided, before the horrors of the French Revolution began, which attempted to exterminate Christianity as well as the papacy. Nevertheless, Catholicism celebrated, especially during the first decennia of this century, many victories after its fashion, through contra-reformation and conversion. Its heathen missions, however, which had been so gloriously begun, came to a sad end, and inner missions were also crippled everywhere. The Jansenist controversy entered upon a new stage at the beginning of this century, which drove the Roman Catholic Church into open semipelagianism, and the Jansenists into extreme fanaticism. Ecclesiastical theology sank gradually into complete impotency, and the Roman Catholic world contributed a quota towards unbelief, in comparison with which that of the Protestant world was only a dim twilight.

1. *The Popes of the first half of the Century.*—*Clement* XI. (1700–21) protested in vain against the Elector of Brandenburg placing a royal crown upon his head. He fell into a controversy with the Emperor *Joseph* I. about the Jus primarum precum (the right of proposal to vacant benefices, which Joseph treated as the right of nomination), and about Parma, which the pope declared to be a papal, the emperor an imperial fief. Clement even took up arms, but came off the loser. The sovereign power of the Sicilian crown in ecclesiastical matters he attempted to break by ban and interdict, but was compelled instead to support 3000 exiled priests. *Benedict* XIII. (1721–30) lived to see *John* V. of Portugal, who already under Clement XI. obtained by defiance a patriarch of Lisbon, suspend all intercourse with Rome, because the pope would not appoint the nuncio, recalled from Portugal, cardinal. He canonized Gregory VIII. in the vain hope thereby also to canonize his system, but almost all courts forbade the new saint to be acknowledged. His second successor, *Benedict* XIV. (1740–58), on the other hand, desired, from free conviction, to liberate the papistic theocratic principles from their mediæval character, and give them a proportion more adapted to the present circumstances; he also insisted upon the scientific culture of the clergy, and undertook to lessen the number of festival days, but abandoned the latter on account of violent opposition.

2. *Old and New Orders.*—The *Mechitarist-Congregation* traces its origin to the Armenian *Mekhitar*, who (1701) organized at Constantinople an association for the promotion of religious and scientific culture among his countrymen; but, being opposed by the Armenian bishop, he fled to Morea (then under Venetian rule) and connected himself with the united Armenians. The pope confirmed the congregation (1712), which, during the war with the Turks, emigrated to Venice,

and settled upon the island of *St. Lazaro*. Its members, mostly Armenians by birth, united in themselves, since then, Armenian and European learning, transplanted Roman Catholic literature to Armenia, and mediated the knowledge of Armenian literature to the occident. In modern times a celebrated Mechitarist college has been founded at Vienna, which has done great service in educating the youth and people by publishing and selling books. The order of LIGUORIANS or REDEMPTIONISTS was founded (1732) by *Alphonsus Maria de Liguori* (formerly attorney at Naples), to aid the poorest and most abandoned among the people by pastoral care and instructing the young. The chief vehicles of its efficiency were the adoration of the most holy sacrament of the altar and the worship of the most blessed virgin. The founder died in 1782, and was canonized in 1839. His numerous devotional writings found great favor in the Roman Catholic Church, and have been translated into all the languages of Europe. His Order, meanwhile, only attained to great importance after receiving into its bosom crowds of Jesuits, who had been scattered by the abolition of their Order (1773). The Jesuits especially were active in promoting the silly *worship of the heart of Jesus* by establishing brotherhoods and sisterhoods among the people; but they met with much opposition, especially from the Dominicans, who dragged the anatomy of the heart into their mocking polemics. Rome also hesitated long in acknowledging it, until finally the friend of the Jesuits, Clement XIII., to please his protégés, introduced (1765) the *Festival of the Heart of Jesus* (Feb. 6). With regard to the old Orders, the fate of *Clugny* is worthy of special mention. After the 13th century, luxuriancy and worldliness spread without resistance, on account of the prevailing love of pomp and enormous wealth of this congregation. All attempts at reformation were fruitless. In order to escape the rapacity of the neighboring lords, Clugny placed itself under royal protection, and became now a royal commandry. At the time of the Reformation, its abbots were, for the most part, from the house of the Guises. But their attempts at reform were also without permanent results; they rather caused endless divisions and collisions. The plan to unite the party of the *Reformers* with the Maurinians, which Cardinal *Richelieu* carried out (1627), as also the later attempts of Cardinal *Mazarin*, to support them by a union with the congregation of St. Vanne, failed on account of the opposition of the Cluniacensians. The abbots squandered the revenues at the court, and allowed everything to go topsy-turvy in the monasteries. When (1790) all the monasteries in France were closed, the town of Clugny purchased the monastery and its church for 100,000 fr., and reduced the size of both.

3. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. § 35, 3). — The accommodation controversy extended from the previous century also into the present. Finally the Dominicans were victorious. In 1742, all the Jesuit missionaries in *China* were compelled to swear that they would more strictly reject

all heathen customs and usages. But the rejection of native customs provoked, instead of the toleration hitherto existing, a long persecution, from which only some ruins of the church were saved. In *East India* labored at the beginning of this century the Italian Jesuit *Beschi*, a great linguist, who toiled zealously, and with incredible success, to secure the native literature for missionary purposes, and to place by its side a Christian one. Besides, the Capuchins opposed the Jesuits also here with the same arguments, with the same result as in China. Violent persecutions were provoked by the enjoined renunciation of the accommodation system, and ruined the mission. The idyllic Jesuit state in *Paraguay* was also finally (1750) destroyed by a treaty between Portugal and Spain.

4. *Contra-Reformation.* — In *Poland*, the Protestants lost (1717) the right to build new churches, and were even declared (1733) incapable of holding civil offices, and of participating in the diets. In the Protestant city of *Thorn*, the Jesuits avenged a popular riot directed against their college there, by a fearful official *massacre* (1724). In *Salzburg* the Archbishop Count Firmian attempted forcibly to convert the evangelicals, who had been tolerated up to this time as quiet and industrious subjects (1729). But their elders swore upon the host and consecrated salt (2 Chron. 13 : 5) to remain true to their faith. This "salt covenant" was interpreted as rebellion, and in spite of the intervention of Protestant princes, all the evangelicals were banished from house and home in the bitter winter of 1731. About 20,000 were gladly welcomed in Prussian Litthauen, others emigrated to America. The pope highly praised the "glorious" Archbishop (cf. *J. J. Moser*, Actenmäsziger Bericht, etc., Erl. 1732, 2 Bde.—*K. Panse*, Gesch. d. ausw. d. ev. Salzb. Lpz. 1827).—*Charles* XII. of Sweden, who, being at war with August. II. of Poland, had taken military possession of Silesia and Saxony, compelled the Emperor Joseph I. in the Old-Ranstadt treaty (1707) again solemnly to confirm to the Protestants in *Silesia* the concessions of the Westphalian peace, and to restore to them a part of the churches taken from them by force.

In *France*, the persecutions continued against the Huguenots. Their pastors (the pasteurs du désert) could perform spiritual offices only in constant danger of death; and though many of them received the martyr's crown at the hands of the hangman, there were not wanting heroic men, who filled the gaps, and those committed to their care rewarded them by faithfulness and steadfastness in faith (cf. *C. H. Coquerel*, Hist. des églises du désert. Par. 1841, 2 vols.—*Peyrat*, Hist. des pasteurs du désert. Par. 1842, 2 vols.—*G. Schilling*, die verfolg. d. prot. K. in Frkr. nach Coquerel. Stuttg. 1846).—A terrible example of the fanaticism of Rom. Cath. France is presented in the judicial murder of *Jean Calas* at Toulouse (1762). One of his sons hung himself in an attack of melancholy. The report spread that it was done by his father, to anticipate the contemplated conversion of the son.

The Dominicans canonized the suicide as a martyr of the Roman Catholic faith; the excited mob cried for vengeance, and the parliament permitted the unfortunate father to be broken upon the wheel. The remaining sons were compelled to renounce their faith, and the daughters were placed in a nunnery. Two years later *Voltaire* brought this dreadful crime again to notice in his Treatise sur la tolérance, and, by agitating public opinion, he brought to pass a revision of the trial, which placed the entire innocence of the abused family in the clearest light. *Louis* XV. granted it a sum of 30,000 livres. The fanatical accusers, the false witnesses, and the judicial murderers, were not punished. Still this event contributed towards improving in a measure the condition of the Protestants, and in 1787 *Louis* XVI. issued the *edict of Versailles*, by which a legal civil existence was guaranteed to them. Only the French Revolution brought them (already 1789, by a decree of the *National Convention*) religious freedom, and Napoleon's organic law (1802) also renewed and confirmed to them this concession.

5. *Conversions.* — Pecuniary embarrassment and the prospect of marrying a rich heiress, influenced Duke *Charles Alexander von Würtemberg*, who was then in the military service of Austria, to permit himself to be converted by the Jesuits in 1712. But when he ascended the throne, he was bound in the most solemn manner to permit the old state of things to exist, and to allow no Roman Catholic worship in the land, outside of his court-chapel. The most important of the other converts of this country are *Winckelmann* and *Stolberg*. In the case of both, although in directly opposite ways, Protestant enlightenment was blamed with their apostacy from Protestantism. Whilst *Winckelmann*, the greatest connoisseur of all times, was not led by religious, but by artistic ultra-montanism, into the bosom of the only saving church (1754), the warm heart of a *Leop. v. Stolberg* was not able longer to hold out beneath the air-pump of Protestant rationalism, and escaped to the perfumed atmosphere of the Roman Catholic Church (1800).

6. *Jansenism in its Second Stage.* (Cf. § 36, 2.) — A new measure of violence, proceeding from the papal court, which was controlled by French influence, renewed the Jansenist controversy in a much more threatening form. A priest of the Oratorium, who had been driven from Paris, *Paschasius Quesnel* (*ob.* 1740), published in 1693 an edition of the New Testament, with excellent edifying remarks of an evangelical character. Many bishops used and recommended this book, among them also the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal *Noailles*, who had it previously examined by *Bossuet*. The Jesuits, who hated the energetic and honest archbishop as greatly as the "Jansenist" book, recommended by him, obtained, through the artful confessor of the king, the Jesuit *Le Zellier*, a papal bull (1713) from Clement XI., the so-called *Constitution* "Unigenitus," in which 101 sentences, taken from

Quesnel's New Testament, were condemned as heretical. This act of papal indiscretion, by which the most palpable semipelagianism was stamped as Roman Catholic doctrine, and Augustine practically made a heretic, divided the French Church into the two parties, viz., the Constitutionalists or *Acceptants*, who accepted the constitution, and the *Appellants*, at the head of whom was *Noailles*, who formally and solemnly protested against it. The death of Louis XIV. (1715), and the regency of the Duke of Orleans, afforded the appellants free scope for a time; even the thunderbolt of excommunication hurled at them in 1718, had no effect. But *Dubois*, the favorite of the duke, strove after the cardinal's hat, and took sides against the appellants; and Louis XV., led by his former teacher, Cardinal *Fleury*, oppressed them in every way. *Noailles* was compelled (1728) to submit, and (1730) the constitution was formally registered as the law of the empire. A fanatical ascetic spirit now took possession of the extremely oppressed Jansenists. A young Jansenist clergyman, *Francis v. Paris*, died with an appellation document in his hand (1727). His followers honored him as a saint, and numerous reports of miracles, that occurred at his grave in the grave-yard of Medardus in Paris, made the same a daily place of pilgrimage for thousands of fanatics. The wild fanaticism, which manifested itself in convulsions and prophecies concerning the destruction of the State and Church, spread wider and wider, and seized also, with contagious power, many who were altogether frivolous and hitherto unbelieving men. The government had the church-yard walled up (1732), but portions of the earth from the grave of the saint also produced convulsions and worked miracles. Thousands of convulsionaires were now cast into prison, and the Archbishop *Beaumont* of Paris, in connection with many bishops, resolved (1752) to refuse the dying sacraments to all those who produced no evidence that they accepted the constitution. The grave of "St. Francis" became, meanwhile, the grave of Jansenism, for every fanaticism carries in itself the germ of death, and communicates it to every phenomenon, which it brings under its power. Nevertheless, remnants of Jansenists existed in *France* even to the Revolution, which they had prophesied; and in the *Netherlands* a Jansenist Roman Catholic Church, embracing 5000 souls in 25 congregations, independent of the pope, under the Archbishop of Utrecht and the Bishops of Harlem and Daintry, has continued to the present time. In the northern part of the Netherlands the Roman Catholic Church was abolished by the Reformation, except in Utrecht, where there remained a chapter and an archbishop in partibus. In 1704 the occupant of this position, *Peter Codde*, was charged by the Jesuits with being a Jansenist, and was deposed by the pope. The chapter, however, would not acknowledge his Jesuit successor. All later attempts at reconciliation were frustrated by the refusal of the citizens of Utrecht to receive the constitution unigenitus. (Cf. *Th. Fliedner*, Collectenreise nach Holland und England. Essen, 1831.)

7. *The Abolition of the Order of the Jesuits* (1773). (Cf. *G. v. Murr*, Gesch. d. Jes. in Portug. Nürmb. 1787, 2 Bde. [*le Bret.*] Sanunl. d. merkw. Schr. d. Aufh. d. Jes. betr. Frkf. 1773, 4 Bde. 4.—*Al. v. St. Priest*, Gesch. d. Sturzes d. Jes. deutsch v. *L. v. Moseler*, Hamm. 1845. —*Carracioli*, vie de Clem. XIV., Par. 1775.—*Aug. Theiner*, Gesch. d. Pontificats Clem. XIV. nach unedist. Staatsschr. Lpz., 1853, 2 Bde.)—The Jesuits strove continually with increasing zeal and success towards a dominion of the world, and in addition to or instead of the original absolute subjection to the interests of the papacy, the founding of an independent politico-hierarchical power seemed more and more to become the chief object in view. Their aspiration after sovereignty lost, it is true, its first support by the destruction of the Jesuit-state in Paraguay, but for that they obtained a part of the *commerce of the world*, and endeavored to control *the politics* of Europe. The Jansenist controversy also increased the hatred of the people towards them; *Pascal* exposed them before the whole educated world, the other orders of monks were from the beginning hostile to them: their participation in commerce excited the jealousy of traders, and their interference with politics finally overthrew them entirely. The government of *Portugal* took the first decided step. A rebellion in Paraguay, and an attempt upon the life of the king (Joseph Emanuel), were generally attributed to them; and the minister *Pombal*, whose plans of reform they opposed everywhere, accomplished their entire banishment from Portugal in 1759, together with the confiscation of their property. Pope *Clement* XIII. (1758–69), who was elected and ruled by the Jesuits, took them into his protection by a bull; but Portugal prohibited the bull, conveyed the papal nuncio beyond the frontiers, suspended all intercourse with Rome, and sent whole ship-loads of Jesuits to the pope. *France* followed the example of Portugal, when the General, *Lor. Ricci*, answered the demands of the king for a reformation of his order with the laconic words: Sint ut sunt, aut non sint. The whole order was held responsible for the great bankruptcy of the Jesuit *La Valette*, and it was at length (1764) banished from France as being dangerous to the State. *Spain* also, and *Naples*, and *Parma*, soon thereupon had all Jesuits arrested and carried beyond the frontiers. The new election for pope, after the death of Clement XIII., was a vital question for the Order, but the influence of the courts triumphed, and the liberal Minorite Ganganelli was elected as *Clement* XIV. (1769–74). Urged by the Bourbon courts, he finally, after long wavering and hesitation, pronounced, by the bull Dominus ac Redemtor noster (1773), the *abolition of the Order* (which now numbered 22,600 members), as an act of present necessity, but added thereto, sighing: Questa suppressione mi dara la morte. And it so happened, for in the next year he died, with all the signs of having been poisoned. All the Roman Catholic courts carried out the abolition, also Austria; after that the Spanish court had sent to the Empress *Maria Theresa* a copy

of their general confession from the confiscated papers of the Jesuits. The heretic *Frederick* II., however, still tolerated the Order for a time in Silesia, and Catharine II. in her Polish provinces. (Clement XIV. also abolished the reading of the Lord's Supper bull on Maundy Thursday, § 115.) (Cf. § 57, 1, 2.)

8. *Anti-Hierarchical Movement in Germany.* (Cf. *E. v. Münch*, Gesch. d. emser Congresses u. s. Peructation. Karlsr. 1840.—*Ph. Wolf*, Gesch. d. röm. kath. K. unter Pius VI., 1802, 7 Bde.—*Grosz-Hoffinger*, Leb. u. Regier.-Gesch, Joseph's II. Stuttg. 1835, 3 Bde.—*M. C. Paganel*, Gesch. Joseph's II., aus d. Franz. v. *Fr. Köhler*. Lpz. 1844.—*E. v. Münch*, Leop. v. Oest. als Reformator; in dess. Denkwürdigkk. zur Gesch. p. 303, sq.—*De Potter*, Leb. u. Memoiren des Scipio v. Ricci, Aus d. Fr. Stuttg. 1826, 4 Bde.)—The suffragan Bishop of Triers, *Nicholas von Hontheim*, published, at the time when Clement XIII. was contending with the Bourbon courts, a treatise (De statu ecclesiae et legit. potestati Rom. Pontificis ad reuniendos dissidentes in rel. christ. composit. Bullioni [Fref.] 1763–74, 4 vol. 4to.), in which he defended, with ability and learning, the superior authority of the general councils and the independence of the bishops against the hierarchical pretensions of the popes. The book produced a profound sensation in and beyond Germany, and the pope did not dare to harm the bold champion of the freedom of the Church. It was only his second successor, *Pius* VI. (1775–99) who had the poor satisfaction of extorting a retraction from the dying old man (1778), but he also lived to see other and more dangerous storms break loose upon the hierarchy. First, the Electors of Mayence, Triers, and Cologne, together with the Archbishop of Salzburg, provoked by the arbitrary conduct of a papal nuncio, assembled together in a spiritual congress at Elms (1786), and resolved upon the restoration of a German Roman Catholic National Church, independent of Rome, in the so-called EMSER PUNCTATION. But the German bishops found it more convenient to obey the distant pope than the near archbishops. They joined their opposition with that of the pope, and the project of the archbishops produced no results. Still more threatening to the continuance of the hierarchy was the government of the Emperor *Joseph* II. in Austria (1765–90). He had scarcely come into possession of sole authority, after the death of his mother, before he began a radical reform of ecclesiastical affairs in his kingdom. Already in 1781 he issued the edict of tolerance, by which political rights and the free exercise of religion was secured to the Protestants. The Roman Catholic Church was to be torn from Roman influence, to be placed under a sovereign episcopate, and made serviceable for the religious and moral culture of the nation, and all its institutions, which could not be used to promote this object, were to be abolished. The bishops, as well as the pope, protested in vain; the latter even, trusting in the power of his personality, undertook a journey to Vienna (1782). He was politely and solemnly received, but was

not able to change the decision of the emperor in the least. Still Joseph's undertaking, which was carried on in haste, without proper discretion and reflection, without sparing what had been historically established, and generally more from a humanitarian than religious stand-point, failed on account of the brief reign of the emperor and the reaction of all those who had suffered from it. The Grand-Duke, *Leopold von Tuscany*, Joseph's brother, also attempted, since 1786, to reform in a similar way the Church of his province, with the co-operation of the pious (Jansenist) Bishop *Scipio of Ricci* (*Synod at Pistoja*, 1786), but in this case also the hierarchy was finally triumphant. (Cf. § 57, 5.)

9. *The French Revolution.* (Cf. Abbe *Baldassari*, Gesch. der Wegführung u. Gefangenschaft Pius VI., aus d. Franz. v. *H. Steck*, Lübg. 1844.)—*Pius* VI. was to survive a still worse state of affairs. Since 1789 the horrors of the Revolution afflicted the Church no less than the State. The *National Assembly* (1789–91) did not design to interfere with the faith of the people, but only with the hierarchy, and to deliver the State out of its financial embarrassments by the possessions of the Church. All monasteries were abolished (1790) and their possessions sold. (Concerning the fate of *Clugny*, cf. above § 2, and of *La Trappe*, § 57, 2.) The clergy were to be paid by the State and elected by the people. The liberty of faith was declared to be an inalienable right of man. The National Assembly required the clergy to take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution; the pope forbade it, under the penalty of removal from office. Thus a formal schism took place; the priests, who refused to take the oath, for the most part emigrated. Avignon was united with the French State. The terroristic *National Convention* (1792–95) brought the king to the scaffold, destroyed all Christian customs, and formally abolished Christianity (cf. § 10). The *Directory* (1795–99), occupied more with foreign affairs, again, it is true, permitted Christian worship, but French armies overran Italy and avenged the opposition of the pope by proclaiming a Roman republic (1798). Pius VI. was taken as a prisoner to France, and died from the cruelties of the French, without doing anything to prejudice himself and his dignity (1799). (Cf. § 57, 1.)

10. *The Roman Catholic Contribution towards Illumination.* (Cf. *L. Noack*, d. Freidenker in d. Relig. Bd. II. Die Tranzös. Freidenker, Berne, 1854.) — The Siècle de Louis XIV., with the morality of its Jesuistic confessors, with its licentiousness, bigotry, and hypocrisy at the court, with its dragoon and Bastile polemics against all reactions of a living Christianity (among Huguenots, mystics, and Jansenists), with its Cevennes prophets and Jansenist convulsionaires, etc., called forth a free-thinking spirit in the educated *French* world, to which Catholicism, Jansenism, and Protestantism, appeared both ridiculous and absurd. This spirit was essentially different from English deism. The principle of English deism was Common-sense, the general moral

consciousness in man, advocated with the clumsy weapons of rational criticism; it still held fast to something ideal and moral in man, and had a kind of religion (providence, virtue, immortality). French Naturalism, on the other hand, was a philosophy des esprit, that peculiarly French, frivolous ingenuity, using the weapons of ridicule and wit, which denied and derided everything moral and ideal. Nevertheless, a close and causal connection existed between the two; the philosophy of Common-sense was carried over to France, and was here remodelled into a philosophy des esprit: *this* was a travesty of *that*. The birth-places of this French philosophy were the bureaux d'esprit, the clubs and salons of the metropolis, its common and widely circulating organ was the Encyclopédie, edited by *Diderot* and *D'Alembert*. Its most brilliant and influential representatives, whose numerous writings unchristianized and demoralized not only France, but also the educated and leading classes in remaining Europe, were, besides the two above-named: *Voltaire* (*ob.* 1778), *Helvetius*, *Montesquieu*, and *Rousseau* (*ob.* 1778). The physician *De la Mettrie* ("L'homme machine," etc.), and the German-French *Baron de Holbach* ("Système de la nature," etc.), reduced it to the most shameless materialism. The French Revolution ripened the fruit of this sowing. The *National Convention* formally abolished Christianity, permitted about 2000 churches to be burned and destroyed, and built a temple de la Raison, in which a whore represented the goddess of reason (1794). The Archbishop of Paris, *Gobet*, appeared with his clergy before the bar of the Convention, and declared that his previous life had been a delusion; that he now acknowledged no other religion but that of liberty. *Robespierre*, however, had the resolution passed in 1794: La peuple française reçonnait l'Etre suprême et l'immortalité de l'âme, and had a stupid Fête de l'Etre suprême celebrated. The Directory, it is true, allowed Christian worship again, but it also favored, as it was able, the deistic sect of *Theophilanthropists*, which, with its hollow phrases, soon provoked the ridicule of public opinion.

The *German* Roman Catholic Church also suffered from this spirit of illumination, which, since the middle of this century, spread through Protestant Germany. Whilst the (magnetic?) exorcisms and cures of *Pater Gassner* in Regensburg still gained many triumphs for Roman Catholicism (certainly of so doubtful a character, that the bishops, the emperor, and finally the Roman court itself, found it necessary to check the doings of the wonder-worker), *Ad. Weishaupt*, professor in Ingolstadt, instituted, with the forms of Free-masonry, the secret *Order of Illuminati* (1776), which spread the most superficial ideas of progress and human perfectibility over the whole of Germany, although it was already dissolved in 1786 by the Bavarian government, in consequence of the treason of several members. But its secondary effects existed long afterwards. The spirit of illumination also influenced Roman Catholic theology. But that the Church still possessed power to check

it, is shown by the fate of Prof. *Lorenzo Isenbiehl* of Mayence, who applied the passage, Isaiah 7 : 14, not to the mother of Christ, but to the lost bride of the prophet, and was therefor deposed and sent back to the seminary for two years on account of deficient theological knowledge (1774). When he later (1778) published a learned treatise on the same subject, he had to atone for it by imprisonment. The pope also condemned his interpretation, and Isenbiehl recanted as a good Catholic. It went still harder with a young Jesuit of *Salzbury*, named *Steinbühler*, who, on account of several satires on Roman Catholic ceremonies, was condemned to death (1781), but was afterwards pardoned, although he soon afterwards died from the cruel treatment he received.

11. *Roman Catholic Theology.*—The revocation of the edict of Nantes was the sentence of death for French Reformed theology, which was thereby deprived of all the conditions of life; but it at the same time also deprived *French Roman Catholic* theology of its stimulus and impulse. The latter could now lie peaceably on its lees, since Huguenot polemics were silenced, and Huguenot learning no longer provoked to rivalry, and resignedly commit the carrying on of polemics to the dragoons, the scaffold, and the Bastile. There was yet added to this the violent extermination of Jansenism, which deprived the French Roman Catholic Church of its noblest powers. The first half of this century has, nevertheless, a few distinguished names to show, as sporadic secondary effects of the previous brilliant epoch; in the second half, however, theology sank into absolute impotency. Nemesis did not tarry. The Huguenot opposition to the papacy and the Jansenist to Pelagianism were destroyed, but the most shameless naturalism, atheism, and materialism, with the war-cry: Écrasez l'infame, stood now victorious on the plain; and Roman Catholic theology sunk into so deep a lethargy, that it could not even attempt earnestly to combat and resist, but was compelled to surrender itself and the entire French nation to the monster. Theological learning had also greatly declined in the other Roman Catholic countries. Only Italy had a few brilliant names in the first half of this century. In Roman Catholic Germany a self-dependent activity in theology only manifested itself in the time of Joseph II., and under the tolerance which he granted an almost cynical spirit of free-thinking (especially in judging matters of a Church-historical character) developed itself among many Roman Catholic theologians of the empire (*Royks*, *Wolff*, *Dannenmayr*, *Miehl*, etc.) On the other hand, from the school of the noble mystic, *Michael Sailer* (*ob.* 1832), there went forth a Catholicism that was as hearty and warm as it was mild and irenical, which could also be rejoiced in by pious Protestants of a common faith and life, and whose brotherly spiritual communion needed not to be repelled. Sailer was removed from his office in Dillingen (1794), because he was not considered sufficiently orthodox, but he became later Prof. at Ingolstadt, and (*ob.* 1832) as Bishop of Regensburg.

Distinguished in the sphere of *Biblical Theology* are: the Oratorian *Jac. le Long* (*ob.* 1721), whose chief work, Bibliotheca Sacra, presents a very valuable historical apparatus for the study of the Bible,—especially in the essentially improved form, which has been given to it by the Protestant publishers *Börner* and *Masch* (Halle, 1778, 4 Bde. 4to.). *John Martianay* (*ob.* 1717), the learned publisher of Jerome, also wrote an admirable work on Hermeneutics, in which he lays down the principle, that the Bible is to be explained by the Bible. The Benedictine, *Augustine Calmet* (*ob.* 1757), contributed a valuable Dictionnaire hist. chronol. géogr. de la Bible and a Commentaire littéral et critique on the whole Bible, in 23 vols. 4to. His exegesis is especially valuable as regards what is essential, but its theology is superficial. The most valuable are the appended historical and critical Dissertations, which *Mosheim* had translated and accompanied with condensed remarks. The Oratorian *Houbigant* and the Italian *Bernard de Rossi* contributed much of importance for the criticism of the text of the Old Testament. In the time of Joseph II., the free-thinking, latitudinarian, supernaturalistic *John Jahn*, Prof. at Vienna, elevated the study of the Bible in the German Roman Catholic Church, by publishing a number of learned works (the most valuable of which are: Einleitung ins A. T. 4 Bde. u. Biblische Archäologie, 5 Bde.); but he was compelled to abandon his professorship, on account of unchurchly tendencies, and died in 1816, as canon at Vienna. In the sphere of *Church History*, the Italian *John Dominic Mansi* (*ob.* 1769) (Vollständigste u. beste Sammlung der Concilienacten 1759, sq. 31 vols. fol.) and *Ant. Muratori*, (*ob.* 1750), (Scriptores rerum Italic., 28 vols. fol.; Antiqu. Italic. med. aevi, 6 vols. fol.), gave proof of splendid scholarship and of unwearying industry in collecting material. There are no contributions of a dogmatic or polemic character of any importance. But amid the horrors of the French Revolution, the noble theosophist, *Louis Claude de St. Martin*, an ardent admirer of Jacob Böhme, wrote his spirited and profound works (Des erreurs et de la vérité, L'homme de désir, etc.), and the Viscount *Chateaubriand* praised the beauties of Christianity (Génie du Christianisme), and celebrated in song the Christian martyrs. (Cf. § 57, 6.)

§ 45. THE ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCH.

The oppressed condition of the orthodox Church in the Ottoman empire remained unchangeably *the same.* It developed itself more powerfully and richly in *Russia*, where it was the ruling Church. Although the Russian Church, since it possessed an independent patriarchate at Moscow (1589), was independent of the mother-church at Constantinople in regard to the form of government, it still stood in the most intimate religious connection with it, especially as the bond of a common confession had

been again lately strengthened by the confessional treatise of *Peter Mogila*. The patriarchal form of government was, meanwhile, only a temporary one in Russia, for the great Emperor *Peter* I. permitted the patriarchate to remain vacant after the death of the patriarch *Hadrian* (1702), connected ecclesiastical supremacy with the imperial power, and constituted (1721) the *holy directing Synod*, to which he transferred the supreme control of spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs; — to which also the patriarch of Constantinople gave his consent. *Theophanes Prokopowicz*, the metropolitan of Nowgorod, was the emperor's right hand in this reform of Church government.

1. Since the liturgical reformation of the Patriarch Nikon (§ 42, 5), a new and peculiar style of *Church Music* developed itself in the Russian Church, which was sung by pure and powerful male voices, without any instrumental accompaniment, a splendid foil for the rich liturgy. Russian Church music attained its perfection under *Catharine* II. Among the *Russian Theologians* the above-named *Prokopowicz* (*ob.* 1736) holds a prominent position. His dogmatic Handbook (in Lat. transl. Christ. orthod. theologia. Regiom, 1773, 5 vols.) is distinguished by learning, clearness of style, and moderation of judgment. Since the middle of this century however, a Protestantizing tendency crept in among many representatives of theological science, especially among the higher clergy, which tendency, it is true, held firmly fast to the older œcumenical synodal theology, but avoided the later dogmatic forms, or at least attached no importance to them. Already the excellent catechism of orthodox doctrines (transl. into German. Riga, 1770), which the learned *Platou* (late metropolitan of Moscow) as tutor of the Grand-Duke *Paul Petrowitsch*, published, at first for the use of his noble pupil, is not entirely free from this tendency. It appears more decidedly in the dogmatic text-book of the archimandric *Theophylactus* of Moscow (1773). It was only in modern times that it was entirely overcome and suppressed. To the *Sects* of the 17th century (§ 42, 5), there were added in the 18th a number of new ones of spiritualistic gnostic tendency, in the organization of which probably occidental influences coöperated. To these belong especially the *Malacani* (milk-eaters) and *Duchoborzens* (champions of the spirit), which again divide into a number of minor sects, and which may also have absorbed many of the older (mediæval) sects. Their doctrines are a remarkable mixture of Gnosticism, theosophy, mysticism, Protestantism, and Rationalism. The Duchoborzens especially, although belonging only to the peasantry, have a completely finished theological system of a wonderful speculative character. (Cf. *A. v. Harthausen*, referred to at § 42, 5, and *T. E. Lentz*, de Duchoborzis. Dorpati, 1829, 4to.)

II. THE PROTESTANT CHURCH.

§ 46. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH BEFORE THE ILLUMINATION.

By the founding of the University at Halle (1694), the pietistic controversy received a new impulse, and soon involved the whole German Church in a passionate strife, in which, on both sides, the right and true medium was only too often missed in establishing their own views, and those of the opponents were perverted by unwarranted inferences. *Spener* died already (1705), *Francke* (1727), *Breithaupt* (1732). Hallean pietism became, after the loss of its chiefs, continually weaker, more illiberal, unscientific, and indifferent towards purity of doctrine, more prone to fall into artificial pious feelings, more zealous and exclusive in pious phrases and methodistic forms of life. The conventicle mode of worship, originated and nourished by it, became a Pandora-box of all possible fanaticism and sectarianism (§ 49, 1). But still it produced a fermentation in theology and the Church, which worked wholesomely for many years. More than 6000 theologians from all parts of Germany, received, up to *Francke's* death, their theological education at Halle, and carried the leaven of his spirit into as many congregations and schools. In a short time, a large number of distinguished teachers of theology appeared in almost all the German Lutheran established Churches, who, being as far removed from the one-sidedness of the pietists as their opponents, practised and taught pure doctrines and pious living, without denying the orthodox stand-point, so far as it was authorized and beneficial, and derived benefit from the syncretistic as well as pietistic controversies. From *Calixtus* they learned mildness and justice towards the Reformed and Roman Catholic Church; by *Spener* they were incited to deep experimental piety, which also enriched their theological knowledge with a new stream of life; from Gottfr. Arnold's one-sidedness they learned to seek after distorted truth even among heretics and sectarians; and from *Calov* and *Loscher* they inherited a zeal for pure doctrines. The most prominent of them all are *Alb. Bengel* in Würtemberg (*ob.* 1752), and *Chr. Aug. Crusius* in Leipsic (*ob.* 1775), both stars of the first magnitude, and at the same time prophecies of a future time of blooming of Lutheran theology; a future one, for this stand-point, deepened

and ennobled in so many ways, did not at that time attain perfect development and dominion (§ 50). The deluge of illumination since the middle of this century rushed in upon the German Lutheran Church, and overflowed also the seed sown by these noble men. Nevertheless, the first five decades of this century still constitute, in spite of many excrescences, a blooming period of theological science and Christian life in the Lutheran Church.

1. *The Pietistic Controversies since the Founding of the University at Halle.* (Cf. the lit. at § 38, 3, and *Mor. v. Engelhardt*, Val. C. Löscher, 2d ed. Stuttg. 1855.) — That Pietism, which had been condemned by and excluded from the orthodox Universities of Leipsic and Wittenberg, now found a refuge at Halle, where, protected and encouraged by the civil power, it freely developed itself in practical life and in science, and from here could spread over all the provinces of Germany through crowds of students; this provoked the anger of the orthodox. The faculty of Wittenberg, with *John Deutschmann* at the head, published (1695) a controversial treatise (Christluth. Vosstellung, etc.), in which they charged Spener with holding not less than 264 errors. The faculty of Leipsic also was not silent, and *Carpzov* abused the mild and peace-loving Spener as a procella ecclesiæ. Next to Carpzov and Deutschmann, the most violent opponents of the pietists were *Sam. Schelwig* in Dantzic (*ob.* 1716), (Synopsis controverss. sub pietatis prætextu neotarum 1701), *Friedr. Mayer* in Wittenberg, Hamburg and Greifswalde (*ob.* 1712), and *John Fecht* in Rostock (*ob.* 1716). When Spener died (1705), it was most earnestly disputed whether he could be called the blessed. *Fecht* (de beatit. mort. in Dom.) denied it. Among the later champions for the palladium of pure doctrines, the learned *Valent. Ernst Löscher*, superint. at Dresden (1709–47), who at least cannot be charged with *dead* orthodoxy, was the most estimable and able. He opened the contest (1702) by publishing an anti-pietistic journal (Unschuldige Nachrichten von alten und neuen theol. Sachen), of which 31 vols. appeared to 1751. His "Vollständiger Timotheus Verinus" is, without doubt, the most concise of all the controversial treatises against Pietism (2 vols. 1718–21; the first sketch appeared already, 1711, in the Unschuldigen Nachrichten). *Franz Buddeus* of Jena carried on a mediation between Löscher and the Hallean theologians for a time, but without result. Francke and Breithaupt received (1710) an ever ready colleague and fellow-combatant in *Joachim Lange* (*ob.* 1744), (Antibarbarus orthodoxiæ dogmatico-hermeneuticus 1709–11;—die Gestalt des Kreuzreiches Christi, 1713;—Abfertig. d. Tim. Ver. 1719, etc.); who, however, was in no respect a match for his opponent Löscher. Pietism, meanwhile, penetrated the popular life more and more, and excited in many places even violent popular tumults. Many States prohibited the pietistic conventicles, others permitted

them (ex. gr. Würtemberg and Denmark). A very singular phenomenon were the *praying children* in Silesia (1707). Children of four years of age and above that assembled on the open field to sing and pray (especially for the recovery of the Churches taken possession of by the Roman Catholics). Proceeding, probably, from the imitative instinct of children, and from the impression which the open-air worship of the Swedish army made upon them, this phenomenon obtained an epidemic and contagious character, and spread over the entire country. In vain the pulpits declaimed against it, in vain the civil authorities proceeded against it; blows and confinement only increased the zeal of the children. Finally it was resolved to provide churches for their worship. Since then the excitement gradually subsided. But the matter was discussed for a long time afterwards by the orthodox and pietists, the former (ex. gr. Erdm. Neumeister) declared it to be a work of the devil; the latter (Freylinghausen, Petersen, etc.) a wonderful awakening of divine grace. (Cf. *J. G. Walch*, l. c. I., 853, sq. and *Hagenbach*, d. Kinderkreuzzug u. die betenden Kinder; in A. Knapp's Christoterpe, 1853.)

The *Orthodox* regarded the *Pietists* as a new sect, holding doctrines that were dangerous and hostile to the pure doctrines of the Lutheran Church; whilst the Pietists themselves declared, that they only wished to preserve Lutheran orthodoxy unadulterated, and to substitute a biblical, practical Christianity for its then existing rigid form and dead externality. The simple points of controversy concentrated especially around the doctrines of regeneration, of justification, of sanctification, of the Church, and of the millenium (Rev. 20 : 5, 7). (1.) *Regeneration.* The orthodox affirmed, that regeneration took place in baptism; that every baptized person was regenerated; but that the new birth required fostering, nourishment, and growth; and where these had been wanting, reawakening. The Pietists, on the other hand, identified awakening or conversion with regeneration, which was conditioned in subsequent life by the *Word of God*, mediated by spiritual and physical *conflicts of repentance*, and thereupon following *communication of grace*, and sealed by a very palpable approbation of God in the state of grace attained. A child in Christ first began to be at this sealing. Accordingly they distinguished between a theologia viatorum, viz., the churchly symbolical doctrine, and a theologia regenitorum, which has to do with the conditions of the soul after regeneration; on which account they were also charged with holding the doctrine, that a true Christian, who had attained the age of spiritual manhood, could and must be without sin already in this life. (2.) *Justification and Sanctification.* In opposition to a very common view of the doctrine of justification, which made it too external, Spener taught that living faith alone attained justification, and that it must be active in preserving it (although without any merit). A sure guarantee of attained justification existed only in a faith which gave

evidence of being alive in a pious life and active Christianity, and not already in a belief in the external, objective promise of the word of God. His opponents charged him, on this account, with confounding justification with sanctification, and with disregarding the former at the expense of the latter. And if the royal doctrine of justification was not allowed to recede into the back-ground by Spener himself, it was by many of his adherents; and an importance was attached, in a one-sided way, to practical Christianity, such as the Lutheran Church could never approve. Moreover, Spener and Francke preached against worldly dissipations and amusements, and against the dance, the theatre, card-playing (to which others in their blind zeal added even laughing, taking a walk, chewing tobacco, etc.), as inimical to earnestness and progress in sanctification, and therefore sinful; whilst the orthodox placed these things among the *adiaphora*. (3.) *The Church and Office*. Orthodoxy regarded the word, the sacraments, and the office, which it administered, as the basis and foundation of the Church; Pietism, on the contrary, conditioned the nature and existence of the Church by individual believers; according to the former, the Church begat, nourished, and fostered believers; according to the latter, believers constituted, preserved, and renewed the Church; to which end, conventicles (ecclesiolæ in ecclesia), as meeting places and propaganda of living Christianity, were the most appropriate means. Orthodoxy lay all stress upon the office and the official grace vouchsafed to it; Pietism upon the person and his faith. Spener taught, that only he, who had experienced the grace of the Gospel in his heart, *i. e.*, who was regenerated, could be a true preacher and pastor; Löscher, on the contrary, affirmed, that the ministrations of even an unconverted, though decidedly orthodox preacher, were blessed just as much as those of a converted one, because the saving power resided not in the person of the preacher, but in the word of God, which he still preached in its purity, and in the sacraments, which he administered according to their appointment. The Pietists then went so far as entirely to deny that there was any saving power in the preaching of an unconverted person. The official promise of absolution without internal sealing had no significance for them; they even regarded it as dangerous and injurious, because it lulled the conscience to sleep and made sinners secure. Hence they cherished great aversion to *private confession* and priestly *absolution*. They altogether rejected such a thing as *official* grace; true ordination was regeneration; every regenerated person, and he alone, was a true preacher. Orthodoxy demanded above all else pure doctrines and churchly confession; Pietism also declared these to be necessary, but not as being the principal things. Spener held firmly fast to the necessity of *adhesion to the symbols;* but the later pietists disputed it, because the symbols as a work of man could contain errors. Among the orthodox, on the contrary, some went so far as to affirm a freedom from all error in the symbols, which rested

not only upon an accidental, but upon an indirect, divine illumination. Spener's aversion to *coercion as to the use of the pericopes*, to *prescribed prayers*, and to exorcism, became also a matter of violent controversy; on the contrary, his *re*introduction of *confirmation* before the first participation of the Lord's Supper met with approbation and imitation also among the orthodox. (4.) *Eschatology*. Spener interpreted the biblical doctrine of the millennium to mean, that at some future time, after the overthrow of the papacy, after the conversion of the heathens and Jews, there would come a period of the most glorious and undisturbed development and formation for the Church of Christ on earth, as ante-sabbath of the eternal sabbath. His opponents stigmatized this as Chiliasm and fanaticism; and they were right, not, however, as against Spener, but as against the abuse and misrepresentation of his doctrine by many of his adherents. Connected with this finally (5.) was a controversy about *divine providence*, occasioned by the founding of the orphans' house at Halle, by *A. H. Francke*. The Pietists spoke of the origin and prosperity of this institution as a fact of direct (wonderful) divine providence; whilst Löscher, by proving the use of the ordinary means, which were contributed towards it, exhibited the entire matter as lying within the sphere of general and daily providence, without thereby, meanwhile, denying the value of the strong faith in God, and of the active love possessed by its founder, as also the significance of the divine blessing, which rested upon the undertaking.

2. *Lutheran Theology*.—The last important representative of the *Old Orthodox School* was *Val. Ernst Löscher*, who, with his rich scholarship, contributed, besides his polemics against pietism, much that was valuable to biblical philosophy and Church history (De causis linguæ hebr.; Ausführl. Hist. motuum zw. d. Luth. u. Reform.; Vollständ. Ref. Acta; Histoire d. mittl. zeiten, etc.). The *Pietistic School*, which, from principle, was more concerned about making theology fruitful for practical Christianity than about its scientific advancement, only contributed works of permanent value to devotional literature (§ 6). The learned, copious author, *Joachim Lange*, published, in 7 fol. vols., a prolix commentary on the whole Bible (Mosaisches, Biblisch-hist., Davidisch-salomonisches, Prophetisches, Evanglisches, Apostolisches, Apokalyptisches Licht und Recht). The jurist, *Christian Thomasius*, at first connected himself with the pietists, only, however, in mutual external contest against the enslavement of conscience by the orthodox; but he was soon disavowed by them as an indifferentist. To him belongs the honor of turning public opinion against prosecution for witchcraft. (Vernünftige u. christl. aber nicht scheinheil. Gedanken über alleahand Händel; — Kurze Lehrsätze vom Laster d. Zauberei mit d. Hexenprocess.)

But there came forth, out of the conflicts between the orthodox and pietistic schools, a *third school*, which cast off the errors and partiali-

ties of both, and united in itself their excellencies, in which Lutheran theology, uniting orthodoxy with free investigation, scholarship with religious fervor, penetration with depth, decided adhesion to confessions with mildness and justice, produced yet much splendid fruit. The most important theologians of this school are: *David Hollaz* in Pomerania (*ob.* 1713), (Examen theologicum acroamaticum), *Bened. Starck* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1727), (Notæ selectæ in loca dub. et diffic. V. T. et in N. T.), *Francis Buddeus* of Jena (*ob.* 1729), (Hist. ecclst. Vet. Test.; Institutiones theol. dogm. et theol. moralis, Isagoge hist. theol. ad theol. univ.), *Ernst. Sal. Cyprian* of Gotha (*ob.* 1745), Gesch. d. Papstth.; Hist. d. Augsb. Conf.); *John Christian Wolf* of Hamburg (*ob.* 1739), (Bibliotheca Hebraica; Curæ philol. et crit. in N. T.); *Eberh. Weismann* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1747), (Hist. ecclest.); *Sal. Deyling* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1755), (Observatt. ss.); *John Gottl. Carpzov* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1767), (Critica s. V. T.; Introductio ad libras can. V. T.; Apparatus antiquitt. s. Codicis); *J. Heinr. Michaelis* of Halle (*ob.* 1731), (Biblia hebr. s. variis lectionibus et brev. annott.; uberiores annott. in Hagiographos., 3 Bde. 4 vols.; his nephew, *Christian Bened. Michaelis* of Halle (*ob.* 1764), assisted him in both these works); *John George Walch* of Jena (*ob.* 1775), Einl. in d. Religionsstreitigkk. ausser d. luth. K., 5 Bde., in d. luth. K., 5 Bde., Biblioth. theol. selecta, Biblioth. patristica, Luther's Werke); *Christoph. Matthew Pfaff* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1760), (K-G., K-Recht, Dogmatik, Moral); *Lorenz von Mosheim* of Helmstädt and Göttingen (*ob.* 1755), the father of modern Church history (Institutt. hist. eccl., Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constant. M.; Dissertationes, Littenlehre, etc.); *John Alb. Bengel*, prelate at Stuttgard (*ob.* 1752), (eine Krit. Ausg. d. N. T.; Gnomon N. T., a commentary on the N. T., distinguished by pregnancy of expression and depth of comprehension; Erklärte Offb. Joh., which intimated that the dawning of the millennium could be looked for in the year 1836; Ordo temporum, etc. Cf. *J. C. Burk*, Bengel's Leben u. Wirken. Stuttg., 1831); and *Christian Aug. Crusius* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1775), (Hypomnemata ad theol. propheticum. Cf. *Fr. Delitzch*, d. bibl. proph. Theol., ihre Fortbild. durch Chr. A. Cr., etc. Lpz. 1845). — A *fourth* school of theologians was created by the application of the mathematical demonstration method of the philosopher *Christian von Wolf*, of Halle (*ob.* 1754). Wolf connected his philosophy with Leibnitz, and also endeavored to reconcile philosophy and Christianity; but under the manipulations of his dry, logical, mathematical method, the living breath of the Leibnitzian system departed; the harmonia præstabilita of the world became a machine, etc. The great evil done by his system of philosophising consisted in this, that, applied to the demonstration of Christian truth, it only proved its logical correctness without giving any insight into its nature and significance, that it only formally called the understanding into exercise, and left the soul empty and the heart cold, whereby a degeneration into natural theology, which rejected re-

velation and mysteries, was unavoidable. Consequently the polemics of the theologians, among which were not only narrow-minded pietists, like *Joach. Lange*, but also such able, calm, and enlightened men, like *Chr. A. Crusius* and *Fr. Buddeus*, were not without foundation, when they included them also in part in their accusations (which ex. gr. run into fatalism and atheism with Lange). Wolf was deposed (1723) by a government-order of Frederick William I., and was compelled to leave the Prussian States within two days, under penalty of the halter. But Frederick II. had scarcely ascended the throne before he recalled (1740) the philosopher to Halle, and heaped honors upon him. (Cf. *Tholuck*, Verm. Schr. II., p. 10, sq.)—Wolf's philosophical method introduced into theology, was first accepted by the pious and learned Prof. *Sigmund Jacob Baumgarten* in Halle (*ob.* 1757). His theology as to its contents was still based on orthodox ground (Ev. Glaubenslehre; Gesch. d. Religionsparteien; Theol. Bedenken). *J. Gust. Reinbeck*, provost in Berlin (*ob.* 1741), also belongs to the more moderate representatives of this tendency (Betrachtungen ü. d. in d. Augsb. Conf. enth. göttl. Wahrhh. 4 Bde. 4to., fortges. v. *J. G. Canz*, Bd. 5–9). The application of the mathematical method of demonstration was carried farthest by *Jak. Carpzov* of Weimar (*ob.* 1768), (Theol. revalata methodo scientifica adornata, 4 vols. 4to.). As applied to the *sermon*, the method degenerated into the most offensive insipidity. (Cf. § 50.)

3. *Theories of Canon Law.*—Church government passed, on account of the exigencies of the first century of the Protestant Church, into the hands of the princes, who, just because no one else existed for this purpose, exercised as præcipua membra ecclesiæ the jura episcopalia (§ 22, 1). This matter of exigency became in years by degrees a matter of right. Orthodox theology and the jurisprudence connected with it (especially *Benedict Carpzov* of Leipsic, *ob.* 1666) justified the change by the *Episcopal System*. This retained the mediæval distinction between spiritual and temporal authority, as two independent spheres appointed by God; but it at the same time made the prince to be the summus episcopus, in whose person, consequently, the highest spiritual authority was joined with the highest temporal authority. The deep contradictions of this system, however, appeared so glaringly in countries having mixed confessions (inasmuch as often a Reformed or even a Papist prince was the summus episcopus of the Lutheran Church of his country), that one was compelled to establish the existing right of princes on other grounds. These were found first in the *Territorial System*, according to which the prince possessed the highest spiritual authority, not as præcipuum membrum ecclesiæ, but as head of the State, which spiritual authority, therefore, was regarded not as independent by the side of civil authority, but only as *one* side of the same (Cujus regio, illius et religio). This system was already practically prepared for by the historical development of the German Reformation (Diet of Speiers a. 1526), and received a legal basis through

the Augsburg as well as the Westphalian peace. It lacked only a scientific foundation. This was given first by *Samuel Pufendorf* of Heidelberg (*ob.* 1694), in an appendix to Hobbes (§ 43, 2). It was more perfectly developed and more generally commended by *Christian Thomasius* of Halle (*ob.* 1728), and the celebrated *Justus Henning Böhmer* made it the foundation of his Jus ecclesiasticum protestantium. Thomasius' connection with the Pietists, and their indifference to creeds, obtained for it admission and favor among them. Spener himself preferred the Calvinistic Presbyterian form of government, because by it the equally authorized coöperation of the three Orders (Ministerium ecclesiasticum, Magistratus politicus, Status œconomicus) could most easily be realized. This protest by Spener against both systems was certainly not without influence in the construction of a third system, the *Collegiate System*, whose originator was the Chancellor *Pfaff* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1760). According to it, only the right of ecclesiastical sovereignty (jus *circa* supra) is incumbent on the ruler of the country as such; whilst the jura in sacra (doctrines, worship, ecclesiastical legislation and its execution, appointment to the ministry and excommunication) are incumbent as jura collegialia on the totality of all church-members. The normal constitution would therefore be this, when all together carried it into execution in a collegiate way (through synods and elections in the congregation). External circumstances, however, at the period of the Reformation, made it also necessary to transfer the collegiate rights to the princes, which is also not in itself inadmissible, provided only that the principle is held fast, that the prince administers them ex commisso, and is always accountable and responsible to those who have committed them to him. This system, which, because it in fact left everything in the old way, could only claim the honor of an old theory, and if it was to be seriously carried out, would entirely destroy the ecclesiastical organism by its undervaluing the ministerii ecclesiastici (the ministry), found its most zealous defenders among the later rationalists, on account of its democratic tendency. Practically, however, neither of the three systems were purely and consistently introduced and carried through. In most of the churches the form of government vacillated between all three.

4. *Hymnology* also bore many precious fruits during the first half of this century. We distinguish the following groups of composers of hymns: (A.) *The Pietistic School*, with a scriptural-practical and devotional tendency. The spiritual life of believers, the breaking through of grace in conversion, growth in holiness, the changing conditions, experiences, and feelings in the life of the soul, were made the objects of contemplation and description. They are for the most part no longer hymns for the congregation, for the people, for common worship, but more for individual edification, and for the closet. There are only, relatively speaking, a few hymns of this school that make an exception, and still deserve the name of church-hymns. When pietism

declined, the spiritual poetical inspiration awakened by it declined also gradually; it lost its original truth, power, and depth, and degenerated into sentimentality and spiritless trifling with figures, allegories, and phrases. Moreover, among the Hallean pietists, we must distinguish between an older (1690–1720) and a younger poetical school (1720–52), the former characterized by a sound piety in the spirit of A. H. Francke, with hymns in a simple, tender, and profound tone. I. The most distinguished of the very numerous poets of this *older school* are: *Anastasius Freylinghausen*, Francke's son-in-law and director of the orphan's house at Halle (*ob.* 1739), ("Wer ist wohl wie du"); — *Breithaupt*, *Joach. Lange*, theological Professors at Halle; — *Dan. Hermschmidt*, Prof. at Halle (*ob.* 1723), ("Lobe den Herrn, O meine Seele"); — *Christian Friedr. Richter*, physician to the orphan's house (*ob.* 1711), author of 33 excellent hymns ("Gott, den ich als die Liebe kenne," "Es gläuzet der Christen invendiges Leben"); — *Emily Julianna*, Countess of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt (*ob.* 1706), composed 587 hymns, among which also: "Wer weisz, wie nahe mir mein Ende," the authorship of which was also claimed by a cotemporary preacher, named *Pfefferkorn*; — *J. Heinrich Schröder*, pastor in Magdeburg (*ob.* 1728), ("Eins ist Noth"); — *J. Jos. Winckler*, pastor of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (*ob.* 1722), ("Ringe recht"); — *Christoph Dessler*, conrector in Nuremberg (*ob.* 1722), ("Wie wohl ist mir, s. Freund der Seelen"); — *Andr. Gotter*, aulic counsellor in Wernigerode (*ob.* 1735), ("Schaffet, schaffet, Menschenkinder"); — *Barth Crasselius*, preacher at Dusseldörf ("Dir, dir, Jehova, will ich singen"). — II. The *younger Hallean school* embraces the period of declining pietism. The superior poets of this school are: *E. H. v. Bogatzky* (*ob.* 1774), also an esteemed ascetic author; — *John Jak. Rambach*, Prof. in Giessen (*ob.* 1735), the most churchly of the poets of this school ("Groszer Mittler," etc.); — *Conrad Allendorf*, court-preacher at Köthen (*ob.* 1773), publisher of the so-called Köthnisen Lieder—a collection of spiritual love-hymns in the spirit of Solomon's Song — ("Unter Lilien jener Freuden"); — *Fried. Lehr*, deacon in Köthen (*ob.* 1744), ("Mein Jesus nimmt die Sünder au"); — *E. Gottl. Woltersdorf*, pastor in Bunzlau, founder of the orphan's house there (*ob.* 1761).

(B.) The poets of the *Orthodox Tendency*. Although the poets of this school were in part opponents of the pietists, they yet were all more or less incited to a more living apprehension of piety by the spirit which proceeded from Spener. Orthodox poets of the strictest observance were, *Val. E. Löscher* and *Erdmann Neumeister* (pastor and inspector of schools at Hamburg, *ob.* 1756), both being as zealous, and even violent in their opposition to the one-sidedness of pietism, as they were fresh and strong in their orthodoxy, as spiritual poets also not insignificant, without, however, being able to soar to the region of the genuine church-hymn, from which they were hindered especially by their aptness in teaching. *Ad. Lehmus*, otherwise a pious and spirited man,

reduced the entire doctrinal system and all the pericopes to verse. *Benj. Schmolck's* (pastor at Schweidnitz, *ob.* 1737), and *Sal. Franck's* (secretary of the consistory at Weimar, *ob.* 1725) hymns have the same devout and tender expression, that we find among the better pietists. Franck composed about 300 hymns ("So ruhest du, O meine Ruh"); Schmolck even more than 1000 (among which the baptismal hymn: "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier").—To the tendency, mediating between pietism and orthodoxy, which was represented in theology by Bengel and Crucius, belong yet several very important poets: *John Andr. Rothe*, Zinzendorf's colleague at Berthelsdorf (*ob.* 1758), author of the beautiful hymn: "Ich habe nun den Grund gefunden;" *John Mentzer*, preacher in Oberlausitz, (*ob.* 1734), ("O dasz ich tausend Zungen hätte"); and *Phil. Friedr. Hiller* of Würtemberg (*ob.* 1769), who composed more than 1000 hymns; and *Ludw. v. Pfeil*, statesman (*ob.* 1784). — In 1751, J. Jacob v. Moser collected a register of 50,000 printed hymns in the German language. (Cf. § 54, 1.)

5. *Church Music.* — The original inventive fullness of the national song (from which proceeded the old church hymn) was already exhausted in the 17th century, and finally even the taste for and pleasure in it gradually disappeared through the influence of the opera. The then existing secular national song borrowed its melodies from the opera, and in a short time mediated the same also for the spiritual song. When usually the composers of hymns, towards the end of the 17th century, following the pattern of Solomon's Song, struck the key-notes of spiritual nuptial love for the bridegroom of souls, they sought after corresponding musical sounds, and found them in the flatteringly sweet and languishing melodies of the operatic national song of that period. Pietism, otherwise so exclusive of everything worldly, followed this example in a still more unlimited degree; and, in fact, the sweet, tender, and languishing tones of the secular national song must have appeared to it to be better adapted to the peculiarity of its hymns, than the old churchly tones, and the joyful, fresh, and powerful jubilee of the rythm of the old church music. Thus, through the mighty influence of pietism, a large number of this kind of melodies (the so-called *Hallischen melodies*) were introduced to churchly use. *Anast. Freylinghausen* is to be regarded as its proper father. He not only himself composed many of the so-called *Hallischen melodies*, but he also collected the best composed by other musicians, and combined them in his book of psalms, which appeared (1704) with the most mournful of the older melodies. The ablest musicians of this tendency, in addition to him, are: *Knorr v. Rosenroth, Adam Drese, Chr. Fr. Richter*, further, *H. George Reuss*, rector in Blankenburg (*ob.* 1716), and *J. G. Hille*, cantor in Glancha about the year 1739.

The musicians of this period had already entirely lost all taste for the old choral, and the aria-style had degenerated greatly under the influence of pietism, when a master appeared, in whom was gathered

and concentrated everything grand and glorious that had been contributed by evangelical, churchly, congregational, and artistic music, a musician educated for the kingdom of heaven, like unto a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasury things new and old;—in whom also the development of church music was concluded for a whole century. This was *John Sebast. Bach*, since 1723 musical director in the Thomas-school in Leipsic (*ob.* 1750), the most perfect organist that ever lived. He returned, with unqualified predilection, to the old choral, which no one appreciated and understood more thoroughly than he. He harmonized it for the organ, unfolded his inmost being and his deepest thoughts in the richest fullness of harmony through four-voiced melodies; and made, after Hammerschmidt's manner, many old splendid chorals in the form of a dialogue in the language of Scripture, together with recitatives, duetts, and arias, echo with wonderful power in his sacred concerts. In the art of fugue, in knowledge of the mysteries of harmony, in richness of modulation, etc., he was the greatest master of all times. He advanced the aria-style to its most glorious and exalted development, and the greatest and most sublime thoughts of German Protestantism are clothed in heavenly music in his passion-oratorios. We have from him, besides, five annual church-compositions for every Sunday and festival. (Cf. *C. L. Hilgenfeldt*, J. Seb. Bach's Leben, Wirk. u. Werke. Lpz. 1850.)—Besides Bach, there was also another master of unapproachable greatness in the oratorio, *George Friedr. Handel* of Halle, who, however, lived from 1710 to his death (1759) mostly in England. He labored for the opera for more than 25 years, and only turned to the oratorio in his later years. Whilst his operas have long since been forgotten, he will be distinguished in this department for all time. His most perfect oratorio is the "Messiah;" Herder called it a Christian epopee in sounds. Of his other great oratorios are to be mentioned: "Samson," "Judas Maccabee," "Joshua," and "Jephtha." (Cf. § 81, 2.)

6. *Christian Life and Devotional Literature.*—Pietism poured a mighty religious stream into the national life, and sustained it by zealous preaching, pastoral care, devotional meetings, and an almost exuberant devotional literature. Orthodoxy, also, which had been enriched by pietism, manifested a not less efficient and still more sterling activity through the ministry, word, and pen. *August. Hermann Francke* (*ob.* 1727) founded, with seven florins in his hand, but with strong faith in his heart, the orphan's house at Halle; *Woltersdorf* proved himself to be Francke's successor in faith and love, by founding the orphan's house at Bunzlau; the Baron *von Constein* (*ob.* 1719) devoted his wealth to founding the Bible institution at Halle, from which millions of Bibles have been already sent forth, etc. The newly awakened zeal for missions gives evidence of the stirring religious life and interest in the Lutheran church. The most important of the many ascetic authors are: *J. Anast. Freylinghausen* (Grundlegung der Theo-

logie), *John Porst*, provost at Berlin (*ob.* 1728), (Göttl. Führung d. Seelen; Wachsthum d. Wiedergebornen; an excellent hymn-book); *George Nitsch* of Gotha (*ob.* 1729), (Theol. Sendschreiben); *John Jacob Rambach* of Giessen (*ob.* 1735), distinguished both as a learned theologian and as a spiritual poet and pulpit orator (Passionsbetrachtungen, etc.); *Benj. Schmolck* of Schweidnitz (*ob.* 1737), (Communionbuch; Morgen-und Abendsegur, etc.); *Dav. Hollaz*, son of the dogmatist (Evang. Gnadenordnung); *George Conrad Rieger* of Stutgärd (*ob.* 1743), (Herzenspostille, etc.); *Phil. Steinmetz*, Abbot of Klosterbergen (*ob.* 1763), (Sendschreiben; Sammlung auserlesener materien zum Bau des Reiches Gottes, etc.). Among those who were not theologians, the following are especially distinguished as ascetic authors: the Silesian nobleman *Charles Henry von Bogatzky* of Halle (*ob.* 1774), a man who was unweariedly laborious in promoting the kingdom of God in every way (Güldenes Schatzkastlein, Tägliches Hausbuch der Kinder Gottes, Communionbuch, etc.), and *John Jacob von Moser*, a celebrated statesman and publicist, a man of the most solid and approved piety (although the Moravian congregation at Ebersdorf excluded him from the Lord's Supper), died in 1785, at Stutgärd, after a life filled with persecutions and troubles (having been imprisoned for six years in the fortress of Hohentwiel). — How great also the need for solid and instructive edification was, is shown by the many popular expositions of the Bible, the best of which are the *Pfaffische Bibelwerk* (Tübg. 1730), the *Hirschberger Bibel* (1756), by Liebich und *Burg*, the Synopsis biblioth. exeg. or kurzgef. Auszug d. Auslegung, etc. (Lpz. 1741, 6 Bde. 4to.), by *Christoph Starke*, and the comprehensive *Hallesche Bibel* by *S. J. Baumgarten, Jacob Brucker, Romanus Zeller*, etc. (Lpz. 1748, sq. 19 Bde. 4to.)

7. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. *A. H.* and *C. A. Francke*, Berichte d. Dän. miss. in Ostind. Halle, 1708–72.—*St. Schulz*, Leitungen des Höchsten, etc. Halle, 1771, sq. 5 Bde.—*J. F. Fenger*, Gesch. d. tranquebar'schen mission. aus d. Dän. v. C. Francke. Grimma, 1845.—*K. Graul*, Ausbr. u. Entwickl. d. chr. K. unter d. Tamulen; in the hist. theol. Ztschr., 1850, III. — *J. H. Brauer*, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Heidenbek. H. II.: Zeigenbalg. Alt. 1837. — *J. C. G. Schmidt*, kurzgef. Lebensbeschr. ev. miss. Bd. I. and III. Lpz. 1839.—*R. Vormbaum*, ev. missionsgesch. in Biographien, Bd. II. Düsseld. 1852. — *H. Egede*, Ausf. nachr. v. d. grönländ. miss. Hamb., 1740. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, H. Egede; in s. christl. Biogr. Bd. I. Lpz. 1850.) — The revival of practical Christianity, which proceeded from pietism, contributed greatly also to the extension of Heathen missions. Frederick IV. of Denmark founded the mission at Tranquebar for his *East India* possessions, for which *Francke* sent to him two very excellent and zealous laborers, *Henry Plützschau* and *Barth. Ziegenbalg*. The latter translated the New Testament into the Tamul language (*ob.* 1719). This Danish East Indian mission extended its labors also into the English possessions.

The orphan's house at Halle contributed to it quite a number of excellent missionaries, the most prominent of whom was *Christian Friederich Schwarz* (*ob.* 1798), the patriarch of Lutheran missions, who labored almost 50 years as a faithful missionary. In the last quarter of this century, however, the zeal for this mission expired under the influence of rationalism; the connection with the orphan's house was dissolved, and the rich Lutheran harvest was gathered almost entirely into the garners of the Anglican church. The Hallean Prof. *Callenberg* founded (1728) a special institute at Halle for the conversion of the *Jews*, under whose auspices *Stephen Schulz* travelled over Europe, Asia, and Africa, to preach the Gospel to the Jews. Already in the 11th century the Gospel had been carried to *Greenland*, since which time, however, the church there had fallen into forgetfulness, and, as it now appears, had disappeared without any trace. This negligence of Christendom pressed heavily upon the heart of the preacher *Hans Egede*, in Norway; he did not rest until he, supported by a Danish-Norwegian commercial enterprise, could tread upon the icy land with his family in 1721. He labored unweariedly amid incredible hardships and privations, and at the beginning with but little success; and he also remained alone behind when the commercial enterprise was abandoned. In 1733 he had the unexpected joy of being joined by three Moravian missionaries, *Christian David*, and the brothers *Stach*. But, alas! this joy was only too soon embittered by the pride of the newcomers, who wished to model everything after their peculiar Moravian principles, and slandered and avoided the brave *Egede*, who could not submit to their demands, as an unholy and unconverted man; whilst he was justly offended at their confusion of justification and sanctification, at their contempt for pure doctrines, and their special, unscriptural notions and phrases, disposed as he also was, to overlook their want of theological education. He repaid their hostility with the most self-denying care when they were attacked by a contagious disease. In 1736, having transferred the prosecution of his work to his son *Paul*, he returned to Denmark, and labored since then in Copenhagen as superintendant of a Greenlandish missionary seminary (*ob.* 1758). (Cf. § 51, 5.)

§ 47. THE MORAVIANS.

Cf. *N. L. v. Zinzendorf*, Πεδὶ ἑαυτοῦ od. naturelle Reflexiones uber sich selbst. 1749. — *A. G. Spangenberg*, Leben d. Grafen v. Z. Barby, 1772, 8 Bde. — *J. W. Verbeek*, des Grafen v. Z. Leb. u. Char. Gnadau, 1845.—*L. C. v. Schrautenbach* (a younger contemporary of Z., not belonging to the denomination, but closely related to it), Erinner. an. d. Gr. Z. (1781). Berlin, 1828, and more thorough; Der G. v. Z. u. d. Brüdergem. sr. zeit; herausg. v. *F. W. Kölbing*. Gnadau, 1851. — *Barnhagen von Ense*, Leb. d. Gr. v. z. in d. Biogr. Denkmalen, Bd. V., Berlin, 1830.—*Fr. Pilgram*, Leb. u. Wirk. d. Gr. N. L. v. Z., aus (röm.)

Kath-Glaubensprincipien betrachtet. Lpz., 1857. — *Jer. Risler*, Leb. Spangenberg's, Barby, 1794. — *K. F. Ledderhose*, Leb. Sp's. Heidlb., 1846. — (*Zinzendorf*), Büdingische Samml. einiger in d. K. G. einschlagender Schriften. Büd. 1742, ff. 3 Bde.—*A. G. Spangenberg*, kurzgef. hist. Nachr. v. d. gegenw. Verf. d. ev. Brüderunit. 5. A. Gnadau, 1833. *Dav. Cranz*, alte u. neue Brüderhist. Barby, 1774, continued (Bd. 2–4) by *J. K. Hegner*, 1791, ff. (*Kölbing*), *Die Gedenktage* der erneuerten Brüdergem. Gnadau, 1821.—*C. V. Lynar*, Nachr. v. d. Urspr. u. Fortg. d. Brüdernuit. Halle, 1781. — *F. Litiz*, Blicke in d. Gegenw. u. Vergangenh. d. ev. Brüdergem. Lpz., 1846. — *E. W. Cröger*, Gesch. d. erneuerten Brüderkirche. Gnadau, 1852, ff. 3 Bde. — *J. F. Schröder*, d. Gr. v. z. u. Herrnh. od. Gesch. d. Brüderunität. Nordh. 1857. — *A. Bengel*, Ahrisz d. s. g. Brüdergem. Stuttg. 1751, 2 Thle.—*J. G. Walch*, theol. Bedenk. v. d. Beschaffenh. d. herrnhutiscen Secti. Frkf. 1747.—*J. Ph. Fresenius*, bewährlt Nachr. v. herrnhutischen Sachen. 2. A. Lpz. 1746, ff. 4 Bde.—*S. J. Baumgarten*, theol. Bedenk. 1741, ff. — *N. L. v. Zinzendorf*, die gegenw. Gestalt d. Kreuzreiches Christi. Lpz. 1745, 4to. — *A. G. Spangenberg*, apol. Schluszschrift, worinnen über tausend Beschuldigg. nach d. Wahrh. beantw. werden. Lpz. 1752, 2 Bde. 4 *Dess.*, Declaration ü. d. Beschuldigg. etc. Lpz. 1751, 4to.—*Max. Göbel*, Gesch. d. Inspirationsgemeinden, IV. Der herrnhutische Periodus 1730–43; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1855, I. — *A. Christiani*, d. Gr. Zinzend. u. d. Sattler Rock; in d. Mittheill. für. d. ev. K. Russl., 1855, V.

The talented *Count Zinzendorf*, captivated already as a boy, glowing with burning love towards the Saviour, by the idea of a spiritual fraternity of the friends of Jesus, obtained an opportunity to realize this idea in a way peculiar to himself, by the arrival of several Moravian exiles upon his estates. Upon Hutberg he cast the *mustard-seed* of his youthful dreams into fruitful ground, and it soon grew up to a stately tree under the unwearying culture of the noble gardener, and its vigorous sprouts were not only transplanted to all the Protestant countries of Europe, but also to all other parts of the world. The communion which he founded was called the "*renewed fraternity*," but in fact it was not a *renewed*, but a *new* fraternity, the most faithful copy of his altogether original peculiarity, which for a time ran into unheard-of *extravagances*. That the communion did not perish by these extravagances, that its fraternization with fanatics and persons professing to be inspired, its sectarian establishment of a special covenant with the Saviour, and the not too humble imagination of their Philadelphian position in the kingdom of God, did not plunge it into bottomless fanaticism, and that it was able

to preserve itself upright upon the slippery and dangerous ground of its marriage-mystery, is a phenomenon that stands alone in Church History, and testifies stronger than everything else, how deeply and firmly the originator and the communion were rooted in the Gospel. The count himself laid aside many of his extravagances, and what remained were eradicated so far as they were not connected with the fundamental idea of the special covenant by his successor, the prudent and circumspect *Spangenberg*. He succeeded, not indeed in abolishing the sectarian character of the fraternity, but in modifying and concealing it. A great advantage to the fraternity in this view, was the contrast of its faithful adhesion to the foundation of salvation, with the general apostacy from faith which prevailed everywhere in the Church. In this period of general apostacy it preserved the faith of many pious souls, and afforded them a welcome refuge, with rich spiritual nourishment and care. But with the resuscitation of religious life in the 19th century, it lost more and more its significance for Europe, on account of its adhesion to its old one-sidedness, its continuing indifference to science, and aversion to conflict. In *one* respect, however, its efficiency is greatly felt, even to the present day,—that is, its heathen missions, and its widely ramified system of education also deserves special acknowledgment.

1. The *Founder of the Moravians, Nicholas Louis Count von Zinzendorf* and *Pottendorf*, was born in the year 1700, at Dresden. Spener was among his sponsors. As his father died early, and his mother married a second time, his pious, pietistically-inclined grandmother, a woman of *Gersdorf*, undertook the training of the boy, who was endowed with rich gifts of the head and heart. With her he learned, already in his tenderest youth, to seek his happiness in the most intimate personal communion with the Lord. But her training was directed only towards nourishing his religious feelings, and neglected to confine them within the limits of wholesome discipline, which was doubly necessary for his bold, rich, and aspiring spirit. At this time already the tendency of his whole life fixed itself. When 10 years old he entered the grammar-school at Halle under the direction of *A. H. Francke*, where the pietistic fundamental idea of the necessity of an ecclesiola in ecclesia, took root in his soul. Already in his 15th year he sought to realize it by founding a *mustard-seed order* (Matt. 13 : 13) among his fellow-pupils. Having completed his preparatory studies, his uncle and guardian, who began to have scruples about his pietistic extravagances, sent him to orthodox Wittenberg to study law. Here he at first found a kind of satisfaction, a morsel of martyr-happiness,

in swimming, as a rigid pietist, against the orthodox stream. Nevertheless, his residence at Wittenberg exerted a wholesome influence on him, for it liberated him insensibly from the narrow-mindedness of Hallean pietism, which, at all events, did not accord with the universal tendency of his spirit. The fundamental idea of pietism (ecclesiola in ecclesia) he, meanwhile, held fast; but it assumed in his spirit a form so grand and comprehensive, such as pietism was not able to produce. His efforts to bring to pass a personal conference, and if possible a union between the Hallean and Wittenberg leaders, were fruitless. In 1719 he left Wittenberg, and during a two years' tour came into personal contact with the most distinguished Christian men of all confessions and sects (in Paris with Noailles and the Jansenists). After his return home (1721), he entered the civil service of Saxony, in obedience to the desire of his relatives. But a religious genius such as Zinzendorf could find no satisfaction in such service, and soon an opportunity was afforded him to realize the plan which ruled all his thoughts and feelings.

2. *The Founding of the Moravians* (1722–27). — Already the Smalcaldian, and much more the Thirty-years' war, inflicted unspeakable calamities and persecution upon the *Bohemian* and *Moravian Brethren*. Many of them sought a refuge for their faith and life in emigration to Poland and Prussia (among them also Bishop John Amas *Comenius*, *ob.* 1671). Those that remained were exposed to the most wicked oppression, even after the Westphalian peace. They could only serve God after the faith of their fathers in their houses secretly and in constant danger of death; externally and publicly they must belong to the Romish Church. Thus gradually the light of the Gospel went out in the dwellings of their descendants, and the remembrance of the faith and the Church of their fathers was preserved only in a tradition which continually faded more and more. A Moravian carpenter, *Christian David*, born and educated in the Roman Catholic Church, but awakened on his travels through evangelical preaching, rekindled, at the beginning of the 18th century, the dying flame in several families. They emigrated under David's guidance, and sought a refuge upon the estates of Count Zinzendorf in Lausatia (1722). The count was absent at the time, but his steward, with the approbation of the count's grandmother, allowed them to settle on Hutberg near Berthelsdorf. Uttering the words of Ps. 84 : 4, Christian David struck the axe into the tree, which was cut down to build the first house. Soon the village of *Herrnhut* sprung up, and became the centre of the society, which Zinzendorf now made every effort to establish. Gradually other Moravian exiles gathered in; but a much greater number of religiously awakened people of all nations flocked thither, Pietists, Separatists, Calvinists, Schwenkfeldians, etc. Zinzendorf did not contemplate a separation from the Lutheran Church. The colonists were placed in the parish of the excellent preacher *Rothe* of Berthelsdorf (§ 46, 4). It was no

easy matter to organize such a mixed crowd; and only the glowing enthusiasm of Zinzendorf for the idea of a collection of souls, his eminent talent for organization, the wonderful elasticity and tenacity of his will, the extraordinary prudence, circumspection, and wisdom of his understanding, were able to hold the diverse elements together, and to avoid an open rupture amid the constantly occurring dissensions. The Moravians demanded the re-establishment of the old Moravian constitution and discipline; and of the other elements, each one desired that to be placed in the foreground, which was the most important to it. All only sympathized with each other in the aversion to holding fast simply to the Lutheran Church and its preacher Rothe. Thus the count saw himself compelled to create a new and separate society of unity. The old Moravian constitution did not specially commend itself to him, but the lot decided in favor of it, and the consideration of being able to appear as the continuation of an ante-reformatory martyr-church, had also its weight. Thus then Zinzendorf formed a constitution with old Moravian forms and names, but pervaded throughout with a new spirit, and ruled by quite other tendencies. The Moravians did not venture to condemn the difference; the most able among them, who perhaps discovered it, were silenced by prominent positions; individual discontents left Herrnhut. On the basis of this constitution, chartered by Zinzendorf, the colony now constituted itself, Aug. 13, 1727, under the name of *Renewed Moravian Church.*

3. *The Progress of the Church to Zinzendorf's Death* (1727–60).—Immediately after the organization of the Church or Society, it began to manifest an astonishing activity in propagating itself, the life and soul of which Zinzendorf was, and remained until his death. New congregations were organized in Germany, Holland, England, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and North America; members of the society were sent to Protestant countries to form smaller societies among the disaspora within the established churches, but with Moravian spirit and forms, thus for instance with special success in Livland and Esthland since 1729. Zinzendorf was examined (1734) at Tübingen as a candidate for the ministry, and received (1737) from the hand of *Jablonsky,* court-preacher at Berlin, who was at the same time Bishop of the Moravians, episcopal ordination, which the same had given already two years before to another member of the fraternity, *David Nitschmann* (a wheelwright by trade); as also generally increasing importance was attached to episcopal succession in proportion as the connection with England became more intimate. Meanwhile, the movements of the society attracted the greatest attention. The government of Saxony sent (1736) a commission to Herrnhut, of which *Val. E. Löscher* was a member. Although this commission made, upon the whole, a favorable report, nevertheless the originator of the society was banished from the country. This exile continued for ten years. Zinzendorf, like all religious fugitives then, fled to Wetteraw. He settled with his little

congregation at Ronneburg near Büdingen, established flourishing congregations at Marienborn and Herrnhaag, and made extensive journeys in Europe and America. This period of exile is the period of the greatest outward extension, but also (especially the years 1742–50) the period of the greatest internal dangers. The historians of the society designate these years as the *sifting-period*. At the same time a real flood of controversial treatises and lampoons began to break upon the society and its founders, partly in an earnest and dignified tone, with a sharply penetrating criticism from the side of most honorable, worthy, and learned representatives of Lutheran theology (*John Phil. Fresenius*, *S. J. Baumgarten*, *J. G. Walch*, Abbot *Steinmetz*, *Alb. Bengel*, et al.), partly in a coarse, offensive, and scandalous manner, ex. gr. by *J. Leonh. Fröreisen* (Abschilderung des Mahomet's und des Zinzendorf's als zeines heutigen Affen. Strasb. 1747, etc.), the latter being done especially also by members who had withdrawn from the society, concerning whom we may presuppose the most exact knowledge of the internal condition of the society, but also the strongest disposition to misrepresent and ridicule it. (Cf. ex. gr. *B. Alex. Volck*, town-clerk of Büdingen, das entdeckte Geheimnisz d. Bosh. d. herrnh. Secte. Frkf. 1749, ff., and *H. Joach. Bothe*, tailor in Berlin, Zuverl. Nachr. des entd. herrnh. Ehegeheimnisses. Berl. 1751, 2 Bde.) It is, however, nevertheless true, that the count and his society at this time gave only too much matter and occasion for misrepresentation, perversion, and slander, by extravagances and peculiarities of the most obnoxious and dangerous kind. To *this* period belongs, first of all, the celebrated fiction of the *special covenant*—the Pandora-box of all other errors — and the bold political stratagem (1741) by which Zinzendorf made *Leonhard Dober* to "succeed" the *Lord Jesus* in the office of chief-elder. To *this* period belong also the greatest literary fruitfulness of the count, together with the development of his peculiar theological views, modes of speech, and doctrines; the composition and public use in worship of the notorious, later expelled, spiritual hymns, with their indescribably foolish trifling, and their partly blasphemous, partly obscene images and analogies; further, the mountebank laudation of his society, the not always honest proselytism, the introduction and practice of a very questionable and shameless matrimonial discipline; finally, the so-called *elegancies* (*i. e.* excepting joyful festivities, whose centre was the cultus of the "Seitenhöhlchens," with illuminated or transparent representations and tasteless emblems or decorations of the same, etc.), such as the "*mite-societies*" for preparing these elegancies, towards which especially the congregation at Herrnhaag, the model for all the others, contributed the non-plus-ultra of silly insipidity. Even the pietistic party, whose theory of repentance and conversion was certainly and justly offensive to the society, opposed it on account of its blessed resting in the favor of its Saviour, which inclined to Antinomism. (Cf. *K. H. v. Bogatzky*, Aufr. Declaration ü. e. gegen

ihn herausgek. herrnhutische Schrift. mit e. Vorr. v. Abt. Steinmetz. Halle, 1751.—*G. Terstegen*, Warnungsschreiben wider die Leichtsinnigk. sc. der Herrnhuter, im weg d. Wahrh. St. V.). The controversial treatises of inspired fanatics in Wetteraw, with whom Zinzendorf formerly fraternized, but had now completely broken, brought things to light, of which those without had no idea, and which greatly compromised Zinzendorf's sincerity and integrity (§ 49, 2).—All this opposition, odious as it for the most part was, produced meanwhile a salutary effect. The count became gradually more careful as to himself, more cautious in his addresses, more discreet in his conduct, removed several of the worst excrescences in doctrine and practice, and exterminated also in great part the fanatical element. In 1747, finally, the government of Saxony revoked the edict of exile against the founder of the society; and as it two years later explicitly accepted the Augsburg Confession, it attained formal recognition in Saxony. At the same time it was recognized in England by an act of parliament (1749) as a church entitled to equal privileges with that of the Anglican Episcopal, with pure episcopal succession. Zinzendorf managed all the important matters of the society until his death, and it adhered to him with child-like confidence, and was a faithful copy of his character, inheriting not only his fervor, but also his extravagances in forms of expression, of doctrine, and of life. He died (1760) in the perfect enjoyment of that happiness which his glowing love to the Saviour had prepared for him.

4. *Zinzendorf's Plan and Labors.*—The pietistic idea of the necessity of an ecclesiola in ecclesia gave him the first impulse to the work of his life. But the weakness of this tendency could not remain concealed to his sharp and penetrating spirit. With clear vision he looked through the little, narrow-minded doings of Pietism, which never could accomplish anything rightly with its establishment of institutions, its unscriptural methods of piety, and theories of conversion and sealing. Zinzendorf, therefore, desired not a conventicle, but a society; not an ideal, invisible, but a real, visible Church; not a narrow-minded methodism, but a free, rich dominion of the Christian spirit. He did not aim at first at the conversion of the world, nor at the reformation of the Church, but at the collection and conservation of souls belonging to the Saviour. But he hoped to build a reservoir, into which all the rivulets of the water of life would flow together, and from which he would be able to water the whole world. And as he succeeded so well in forming a society, and it had progressed so rapidly, he was perfectly convinced that it was the Philadelphia of Revelations (3 : 7 ff.), that with it had begun the *Philadelphian period* of Church History, concerning which all the prophets and apostles had prophesied. His plan was designed originally for all Christendom, and he took steps to realize it in this form. To build a bridge between the Roman Catholic Church and his society, he published (1727) a small *Christian-Catholic* hymn and prayer-book, mostly taken from Angelus Silesius' "Holy Delight

of the Soul," and sketched a letter to the pope (published later by Walch), with which he intended to send this book to him. Zinzendorf did not positively deny the whole matter, and pronounced the letter to be a pasquil; but Spangenberg admitted that the count had sketched it, but never sent it off. He also endeavored to interest the Greek Church in his society by writing to the patriarch and to the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, whereby he brought the Greek descent of the Moravian brethren to bear. Practically, however, his collection of souls was confined within the limits of the Protestant Church, and within these limits contributions were made to it from *all* confessions, sects, and communions. He was personally attached sincerely to the Lutheran Church and its characteristic doctrines. But in a society which was in principle designed to be the rendezvous of the pious out of all nations, doctrine and creed could not be the uniting and cementing bond. It could only form a communion *of love*, not *of faith*. The inmost kernel of Lutheranism, reconciliation by the blood of Christ, was preserved, and even made to be the proper living element of the society, though only as the blessed *feeling* of his blood. But this continued to be the properly *Lutheran fund* in the society, which also, when it was divided into confessional tropes (into the Moravian, Lutheran, and Reformed trope), remained in all the common basis. This division first took place in 1744, and was occasioned by the founding of the new congregations at Marienborn and Herrnhaag in Wetteraw, in which the Reformed element was predominant. The uniting head of the three divisions was the count himself, who, in this capacity, bore the title *Ordinarius*. But this matter of division was also only something external, and introduced no confessional precision into the society; it was consequently also of no duration. The later adhesion to the *Augsburg Confession* (1749) was only an act of policy, which obtained civil recognition, otherwise it was without any effect. The society remained, as it had been before, without and indifferent to any confession. As now Zinzendorf's society rejected the unity of confession as a principle of communion, and as no permanent communion can be based on a mere feeling of love, consequently nothing remained to the founder but to make the *Constitution* the bond of unity instead of the confession. The forms of this constitution were borrowed, from external considerations, from the *Old Moravian* Church-discipline, but not Bradacz's, but Zinzendorf's spirit filled and ruled them. The old Moravian constitution was an episcopal-clerical one, and started from the idea of the Church; the new one was essentially Presbyterian, and started from the idea of the congregation, and that a congregation of saints. Moravian bishops are only titular ones; they have no dioceses, no church government, nor ban. All this resides in the power of the Unity-elders, among whom the lay-element is decidedly predominant. Further, Moravians have no pastors, but only preaching brethren; the care of souls is assigned to the elders and their assistants. In addition

to that half-Lutheran and this pseudo-Moravian element, the society had also as basis a *Donatist element*. This consisted already in the fundamental idea of a collection and communion of only true children of God, and found its completion as well as its dogmatic establishment in the conclusion of a *Special covenant* with the Saviour on Sept. 16, 1741, in London. The "Gedenktage" (p. 241, ff.) report the following concerning it: *Leonhard Dober* had filled the office of a General-elder for several years. But it was observed at a synod held in London that he had not the proper talents for this office. He now asked to be dismissed. In the anxiety to refill the office, "it occurred to all at the same time, to accept the Saviour for it." They looked after the watch-word of the day, and found Isaiah 45 : 11 (a passage not correctly translated by Luther). "Instantly we all resolved to accept no other than him as General-elder, and he gave us to understand that He approved (How?). We asked for permission; we obtained it. (How?). The question *was not*, whether the Saviour was generally the shepherd and bishop of our souls; but our purpose and concern was: that he should make a *special covenant* with his insignificant people, and receive us as his *special possession*, take care of all our concerns, specially watch over us, personally unite himself with each member of the society, and do everything in perfection that our hitherto elder had done among us in weakness." In a circular addressed to "the Church of the Lamb," Zinzendorf announced the unheard-of favor which had been bestowed upon them; — and, as is customary on the accession of a new king to the throne, a letter of grace proclaimed "a universal forgiveness of sins, committed either against the society or its members," and offered "all apostates, except one, whom the Lord according to his wonderful and inscrutable counsel had excluded," restoration to the society. In America, the congregation at Philadelphia issued a proclamation to all Christians, which begins with the words: To-day a visible Church of the Lord is finally seen and recognized here; we constitute the body of the Lord; hither to us, all ye who belong to the Lord!

Among the numberless *extravagances* perpetrated by Zinzendorf and the society, during the so-called *sifting-period*, which, however, Zinzendorf himself partly abandoned later, the following are the most remarkable and obnoxious: (1.) *The doctrine of the maternal office of the Holy Ghost.* Zinzendorf viewed the Holy Trinity as "man, wife, and child" ("papa, mamma, and their little flame, brother lambkin"). The Holy Ghost fills the position of mother (God the Father's eternal wife, heart-mamma); his maternal office is exercised in a three-fold way: at the eternal generation of the Son of God, at the conception of the man Jesus, at the regeneration of believers. (2.) *The doctrine of the paternal office of Jesus Christ* (according to Isaiah 9 : 6.) The creation of the world was accomplished alone and exclusively by the Son (the "blessed potter" according to Gen. 2 : 7), therefore Christ is our special father, our direct father. The father of our Lord Jesus

Christ is only "what the world calls a father-in-law, a grandfather." (3.) Concerning the earthly life of our Saviour, Zinzendorf, in order to make prominent and clear the depth of his humiliation, loved to use the most disrespectful expressions (journeyman-carpenter, journeyman, he hung upon the cross as a gallows-bird, etc.). (4.) He spoke equally disrespectfully also of the "miserable fisherman's, shepherd's, and visitator stylo, of the classical obscurity and rabbinical shoulder-mimology of the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, he pronounced his society to be a living Bible. (5.) The theory and practice of the *marriage-mystery*, according to Eph. 5 : 32. The society and every single soul in it is the spiritual bride of Christ, and to make the intimate character of this relation clear, marriage-life is depicted even to obscenity, and applied to the spiritual marriage with Christ, especially in the hymns. But Christ is also the proper husband in corporeal matrimony. The begetting of children is a work of Christ (belongs to his paternal office); earthly husbands are only "his procurators, in whose favor he has resigned it;" they are the vice-christs, vice-men of the wives. Marriage is a real sacrament, sanctified thereto by the circumcision of Christ and the opening of his side with the spear. The blood of Christ shed thereby is the oil of matrimony, and the begetting of children is a holy, divine work, that should be performed by true Christians without any sensation of fleshly lust, and consequently also without shame. The "dog-principiis tolerated" by the apostle (1 Cor. 7 : 9), which are now only practised by negroes and islanders, must be denied admission into the society. To this end the contraction of marriage and the copula carnalis were placed under the special supervision of the stewards of the society; and the latter was done for a time by the newly married amidst the singing and prayer of the society assembled in an adjoining room.

Zinzendorf, almost apotheosized by his adherents, has not met with a proper judgment, either as to his greatness or his weakness, from his opponents. His *greatness* lay in his heart glowing with love to the Saviour ("I have only *one* passion, that is He, only He"), in the universal love, with which he gladly embraced all believers, in order to gather them beneath the cross. This greatness, which he possessed, is not even acknowledged by his most estimable opponents, among whom *Bengel* is by far the most important. His *weakness* consisted almost less in the various extravagances of which he was guilty, than in the fact that he regarded himself as being called to establish a society. But apart from this, his *labors* bear the stamp of grandeur, on account of the great self-sacrifice, unwearied energy, and self-denying faithfulness with which he performed them. He devoted his whole life, soul, heart, and wealth, to his self-chosen calling. The advantages, also, which birth, position, and high secular culture offered him, he knew how to make subservient to his mission. He was personally persuaded of his divine calling, and as he was not accustomed to bow

to the written Word of God, but interpreted it according to his subjective canon: "It appears so to me," and made only this (together with the lot) the rule of his life and labors, it is easily explicable how he, in spite of great spiritual illumination and a rich fund of Christian sense, could fall into fanatical errors. And from this relation to his calling, the advancement of which by all imaginable means he had always and only in view, is explained also single impurities in his life (especially want of strict truthfulness, where it might appear to be injurious to his cause). Very much of what was crooked and perverse in his character must also be attributed to the distracted age in which he lived. Zinzendorf's writings, of which there are more than 100, are marked by originality, genial thoughts, and peculiar phrases. Among his more than 2000 hymns, many of them improvised in the act of worship, of which *Alb. Knapp* published (Stuttg. 1845) 700 of the best, there are many possessing great fervor and sweetness, some of really poetic merit, a few also ("Jesu, geh voran," "Du unser anserwähltes Haupt"), which have found their way into the hymn-books of the evangelical Church. The largest portion of them are mere rhymes, a repertorium of theological and spiritual extravagances.

5. *The Moravians since Spangenberg's Labors.*—The society owes its present form to the prudent, wise, and temperate bishop, *Aug. Gottlieb Spangenberg* (*ob.* 1792), who, after Zinzendorf's death, obtained a superior influence, and is justly regarded as its second founder. It received from him the measured forms which yet characterizes it. The constitution was revised and perfected at the synod of Marienborn (1764). Zinzendorf's monarchical position was changed into the conference of unity-elders, and Spangenberg removed the yet remaining excrescences of fanaticism. But the *fundamental error of a special covenant* remained untouched, and still constituted the fundamental presupposition of everything that the society as such thought, taught, wrote, did, and accomplished, — and it continues to celebrate on the 16th Sept., "the blessed experience of the elder's office of Jesus," as its proper birth-day and special Whitsuntide. In the statutes of the evang. Brodr.-Unit. Gnadau (1819, § 5), it defines itself in distinction from the existing churches as a "society of *true* children of God, as a family of God, which has Jesus for its head,"—in the Hist. Nachricht. v. d. Verfass. d. Brdr.-Unit. Gnadau, 1823, § 4, as "a collection of *living* members of the invisible body of Jesus Christ," and in its "Litanei am Ostermorgen" (Gesangb. Nr. 210), in immediate connection with the creed of universal Christendom is placed as fourth, specially Moravian credo: "*I believe*, that our brethren N. N. and our sisters N. N. (N. B. Here persons who have died at the place since the previous Easter are thought of *by name*) have gone to the upper congregation, and have entered into the joy of their Lord." However, the synod of 1848 made a change in *this* article of faith, but not so great as to abandon the principle. But it is certain that the society

did not, in a public way, cause the consciousness of its special election to appear so prominently in the foreground. This considerate and purified Moravianism received, in Spangenberg's Idea Fidei fratrum, a *dogmatic* expression, which was connected with the Lutheran doctrine, but not the less thoroughly penetrated by the above-mentioned fundamental presupposition. Only a few new societies were established after Zinzendorf's death, and none of these were of much importance. Rather before this event, the flourishing congregations in Wetteraw were destroyed and scattered (1750) by the ruler of the country, Count von Isenburg-Büdingen (because they refused to take the oath of allegiance). The *labors among the Diaspora* in *Livland* and *Esthland*, after the first attempt to establish the society there (1729–43), had ended in the banishment of the Moravians, were more successful in the second half of this century, and assumed a form here as nowhere else in a national church. They organized here formally a church within the church, whose members, sustained by the conviction that they had been added to "the little band" of the elect by the infallible voice of the Lord in the lot, gave infinite trouble to the orthodox clergymen of the country, especially of Livland, who saw the destructive character of this nuisance, and testified against it from the Word of God. This testimony manifested its conquering power here also, and Moravianism began to reform (1857) not only too late, but also in too lukewarm a manner, to save its institutions in Livland from the certain destruction which impended over them. (Cf. *Th. Harnack*, d. luth. K. Livland's u. d. herrnhut. Brüdergemeine, in der kirchl. Zeitschr. v. Kleifoth u. Mejer 1855, V. VI. 1857, IX. X.)

With regard to the *doctrinal peculiarity* of the Moravians, the first thing to be made prominent is, that *freedom from all creeds* is a principle. The acceptance of the Augustana, in 1749, was not a real appropriation of them; and how merely external the relation of the society to them still is, is shown by the synodic indulgence of 1848. Consequently, it is difficult to say what the doctrines of the Moravians are. If we confine ourselves to Spangenberg's Idea Fidei, and to the sermons and devotional works, then their doctrinal views do not by any means appear to be either un-Lutheran or anti-Lutheran, but rather such as contain neither the extensive fulness nor the intensive wealth of the Lutheran doctrines,—and *Bengel's* sharp criticism: that the Moravians pluck off the leaves from the entire tree of wholesome doctrines, expose that which is most hidden, and even divide this in half, is even yet perfectly true. First of all they repudiate *science* (according to a wrong interpretation and application of Eph. 3 : 19) as unnecessary to the appropriation of redemption, and seek to apprehend and preserve salvation by direct *faith* and *love*. As regards the objects of faith, the *Son* (the God-man) is regarded as the exclusive agent by whom salvation is applied and accomplished, so that the relations of the Father and the Holy Ghost to redemption are entirely

ignored. Further, entire redemption is again attributed, in a one-sided way, to the sufferings and death of the Son; and the other not less essential side of the same, which is grounded in his life and resurrection, is left out of view, or rather its fruits are likewise traced to his atoning death. Consequently not only justification, but also sanctification, are attributed exclusively to the death of Christ, and this is apprehended not so much as a legal satisfaction (without, however, expressly denying this directly), as a divine manifestation of love, which awakens reciprocal love. Redemption is viewed as emanating solely from the sufferings and death of Christ, and as in this aspect the justice of God comes less into view than His grace and love, so also the Gospel is made prominent to the almost entire exclusion of the law (almost to Antinomianism). Sermon and doctrine should be directed towards exciting pious feelings of love, and thus promote a certain religious *sentimentality*. The weak side of the society is, accordingly, its *inability* to religiously develop the *whole* man with all his capacities and powers, and to make the entire fulness of the gospel contribute to this end; — its strong side, on the other hand, is its *inwardness*, and even this is unsound, because it is penetrated with the idea of a special covenant with the Lord.

The peculiarity of their *worship* also contributed towards exciting pious feeling, including pleasant sacred music, affecting melodies, rich liturgical service, *love-feasts* (agapæ, with tea, rusk, and the singing of chorals), *feet-washing*, and the *fraternal kiss* at the communion, etc. The daily watch-words (from the O. T.) and doctrinal texts (from the N. T.) are designed to control and direct the feelings and meditations of each day, and are regarded as being a kind of oracle both for the congregation and for private life. Already in 1734 the society possessed a hymn-book of its own, with 972 hymns. The most of these hymns proceeded from the society itself, and are a faithful copy of its condition at that time. It contained, besides, the Bohemian and Moravian hymns translated by *M. Weiss*, and also many old choice hymns of the evangelical church; the latter, however, were most miserably mutilated and abbreviated. By degrees (to 1749) twelve appendices and four additions were made to it, so that the number of hymns increased to 2357. The one-sidedness of the emotional tendency degenerated, especially in these additions, and most of all in the twelfth, to the most offensive caricature, in the insipid, and more than childish trifling with the blood and wounds of Christ, etc. Zinzendorf himself discovered this degeneracy in time, struck off the twelve appendices in 1751, and prepared in London a new revised hymn-book (the so-called *London* hymn-book). Under Spangenberg's superintendence of the society, *Christian Gregor* (at that time music-director, later Bishop, *ob.* 1801) undertook the publication of the hymn-book yet in use. Without possessing poetical talent, he yet did good service by retouching and abbreviating the hymns then in use. He retained 542 of Zinzen-

dorf's hymns, and added not less than 308 of his own pious rhymes. This "Neue Gesangbuch der Brüdergemeinen" appeared in 1778; in 1784, a book of chorals, likewise prepared by Gregor, was added to it. Zinzendorf is the chief religious poet of the society. The count's only, early deceased (1752) son, *Christian Renatus* (commonly called *Christel*) bequeathed to the society a number of hymns (among which is: "Die wir uns allhier beisamen finden"). The other numerous religious poets are of no importance. Worthy of special mention is Spangenberg's hymn: "Heil'ge Einfalt! Gnadenwunder!"—The *Melodies* were of the Hallean type, but strayed even more than these into the sentimental, emotional, and unchurchly, until in 1784 *Gregor*, by his new choral-book, brought this tendency within the limits of the renewed spirit of the society.

The *Christian Practical Life* of the society, after it had come out of its sifting period, purified through Spangenberg's efforts, manifested itself in "an almost monkish contraction of civil and social life," with stereotyped phrases and peculiar usages, even as to clothing (the caps of the wives, widows, and maidens). Characteristic of the society is further the blessed, quietistic feeling of favor in personal communion with the Saviour, the peace, which avoided all conflict and controversy, the prudent, measured cutting-out of the whole life, etc. The separatism, conditioned by the special covenant, gave for a time an apparent justification to the unbelief that reigned in the Protestant Church. Since the revival of Christian life in the Church, this separatism has also, at least in its external relations, receded into the background, but has not by any means entirely disappeared. The society still regards itself as being the preferred and favored people of the Lord.

Finally, with regard to the *Form of Church Government*, Christ himself is the *chief elder* of the Church, who governs it by means of the lot. The leaders of the society at least hold fast to the use of the lot, in spite of the opposition which has arisen in the society within several decades. With it the special covenant would lose all significance, and the existence of the society outside of the Church all justification. The lot is used in marriages, in filling ecclesiastical offices, in sending forth missionaries, in receiving into the society, etc. Nevertheless, the society has permitted a relaxation of the practice in marriages, inasmuch as it is only used with consent of the candidates of matrimony, and the result is not regarded as binding, which, in fact, involves a contradiction and an abandonment of the principle. The administration of the affairs of the society resides in the Unity-elders' conference (with three departments, one for ecclesiastical and educational affairs, another for economical affairs, and a third for missions). From time to time *General Synods* are also convoked, possessing legislative authority. The society is divided into separate bands, the married, the widowed, the unmarried brethren, the maidens and children, with special stewards, living for the most part also in separate houses, and holding special

religious services in addition to those that are general. The ecclesiastical officers are divided into bishops, presbyters, deacons, deaconesses, and acolytes.

6. *Heathen Missions.* (Cf. *D. Cranz*, Hist. v. Grönl. Barby, 1762, 2 Thle. — *G. A. Oldendorp*, Gesch. d. Miss. d. ev. Br. auf den Caraib, Inseln. Barby, 1777, 2 Bde.—*G. H. Loskiel*, Gesch. d. Miss. d. ev. Br. unter d. Indianern in Nordamerika, Barby, 1789. — *F. L. Kölbing*, Gesch. d. Miss. in Grönl. u. Labrador. Gnadau, 1831, 2 Bde.) — Zeal for missions was early kindled in Zinzendorf's heart by meeting with a West Indian negro at Copenhagen. He laid the subject before his young society, and already in 1732 the first Moravian missionaries, *Leonh. Dober* and *Dav. Nitschmann*, were sent to St. Thomas; and in the next following years the missions of the society were extended in every direction over Greenland (§ 46, 7), North America, almost all the West India islands, South America, Kapland (among the Hottentots), East India, Labrador (among the Esquimaux), etc. The missionary labors of the Moravians constitute the most beneficent and honorable portion of their history. Their mode of missionary operations was chiefly adapted to uncivilized nations, and *only* to such. In East India ex. gr. they were not able to accomplish anything. The society did not lack self-sacrificing missionaries, of whom nothing was demanded but love to the Saviour and devotion to their calling. They were for the most part pious, enlightened mechanics, who brought practical adaptedness to their new calling, which was of great importance, simply preached the cross, and cared for the bodily and spiritual welfare of those committed to them, with maternal solicitude. The Moravian guardianship of souls is here transfigured into a real patriarchal relationship. The brightest example of such a missionary patriarch was *Dav. Zeisberger*, who labored for 63 years (*ob.* 1808) among the North American Indians. In contrast with the enormous expenditure of money by Protestant missions, it is to be remarked with honor, that the Moravian missions were able to accomplish the greatest results with the least pecuniary means.

† § 48. THE REFORMED CHURCH AND METHODISM.

What Pietism and Moravianism was to the Lutheran Church, that Methodism was to the *Reformed* Church of England, from which it proceeded almost at the same time. In the Dutch and German Reformed Churches, *Coccejanism* (§ 40, 3), which was still in favor in the first decades of the 18th century, made its influence felt. After that the rigidly Calvinistic system had been softened by it, the antithesis between Calvinistic orthodoxy and *Arminian* heterodoxy lost its sharpness, and Arminian tendencies were felt more and more in Reformed theology. The sharp-

ness of the antithesis between Calvinism and Lutheranism was also moderated on both sides, although the *Union movements*, made from time to time, failed on account of Lutheran opposition.

1. *Methodism.* (Cf. *J. Hampson*, Life of J. Wesley, 2 vols.—*J. Rob. Southey*, Life of J. Wesley, 2 vols.—*H. Moore*, the Life of the Rev. J. Wesley. Lond. 1824, 2 vols.—*R. Watson*, Life of J. Wesley.—*G. Whitfield's* Leben, nach. d. Engl. herausg. v. *A. Tholuck*. Lpz. 1834. Leben *J. Fletcher's* mit vorw. v. *A. Tholuck*. Lpz. 1838.—*J. H. Burkhard*, Vollst. Gesch. d. Methodisten. Nürnb. 1795, 2 Bde.—*Th. Jackson*, Hist. of the Rise and Progress of Methodism.—*J. Taylor*, Wesley and Methodism. Lond. 1851.—*S. L. Jacoby*, Handb. d. Methodism, 2 A. Brem. 1855.—*J. W. Baum*, d. Methodismus. Zürich, 1838.)—The living power of the gospel was paralyzed in the English episcopal Church by the formalism of scholastic learning, and by the mechanism of a style of worship rich in forms. A reaction was produced by *John Wesley*, a young man of deep religious earnestness and glowing zeal to save souls. While pursuing his studies at Oxford, he formed a society with several friends, the object of which was to promote pious living and labors (1729). These united friends were now already called, in ridicule, *Methodists*, because they were charged, not unjustly, with practising piety in a methodical way. Wesley, by friendly intercourse with several Moravians, grew in Christian experience and in living faith. In 1732, he found a worthy co-laborer in *George Whitfield*, a young man, possessing like zeal with Wesley for his own salvation as well as for that of his fellow-men, and still greater talents. Both now labored with ceaseless activity to awaken and quicken the religious life of the people, not only in England, but also in America. After his return from America (1738), Wesley organized a comprehensive religious union, which, under the direction of a conference, sent local and travelling preachers into all the world. The Methodists did not desire to separate from the Episcopal Church; they rather wished to work in it as a spiritual leaven. Whitfield also returned to England in 1739. Both preached now powerfully and unceasingly, for the most part in the open air, often in the presence of 20,000 to 30,000 hearers, and were subjected to much insult and ridicule; but also called many hardened sinners, mostly from the lower classes, to repentance and faith. (Whitfield alone preached about 18,000 sermons in 34 years). The most distinguished of their co-laborers is *John Fletcher* (*ob.* 1785). Wesley founded a seminary at Kingswood to educate Methodist preachers. The connection with the Moravians was soon broken up, because the Methodist mode of salvation was directed (in glaring contrast with the quiet and emotional mode of the Moravians) towards an arousing of the secure sinner by all the terrors of the law and all the horrors of hell, as also towards producing a conflict of repentance with

a final violent conversion. But an irreconcilable rupture took place already (1741) among the leaders, concerning the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination, which caused a separation of the Methodists into *Arminian Wesleyans* and *Calvinistic Whitfieldians*, the former being the most numerous. Whitfield died in 1770, Wesley in 1791. The Methodists were, in various ways, in spite of all their extravagances, a wholesome salt for the Protestant Church of England and America, and remained such during the entire period of reigning unbelief down to the present time; when, however, their one-sidedness, over against the newly awakened life of the Church, ran frequently into the most extreme and glaring perversity. (Cf. § 55, 12.) Methodism also inherited from its founder a zeal for missions as a Christian duty, and has labored to promote them with wonderful energy, perseverance, and self-sacrifice.

2. *The Endeavors after Union.*—The Brandenburg dynasty made constant effort (§ 34, 2) to prepare the way for a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the country. *Frederick* I. (III.) established in 1703 a Collegium caritativum to this end under the presidency of the Reformed court-preacher *Ursinus*, in which the Reformed Church was also represented by Jablonsky, formerly Moravian bishop, and the Lutheran by cathedral-preacher *Winkler* of Magdeburg and the provost *Lütkens* of Cologne on the Spree. *Spener*, who did not wish a forced, but a spontaneous union, refused to participate in the movement; *Lütkens* withdrew displeased after a few sessions; and when *Winkler* published a plan of union (Arcanum regium), which surrendered the Lutheran Church into the hands of the Reformed king, there arose so great a storm against the project (*Val. E. Löscher* of Dresden also opposed it), that it had to be abandoned. But already in the following year the king took the plan up again, but in another form, namely: Jablonsky, with a commission from the king, entered upon negotiations with England concerning the introduction of the Anglican form of Church government into Prussia, in order to build a bridge by it for the union with the Lutheran Church. But this plan failed also (cf. Darleg. der im vor. Jahrh. wegen Einf. d. engl. K. Verf. in Pr. gepflog. unterhh. Lpz. 1842).—Equally fruitless were the union efforts which were made by the Chancellor *Chr. Matth. Pfaff* of Tübingen (Nubes testium pro moderato et pacifico de reb. theol. judicio, etc. Genev., 1719, 4to.), and by Prof. *J. Alf. Turretin* of Geneva, *Cyprian* of Gotha (Abgedrung. Unterr. von kirchl. Verein d. Prot. Frkf. 1722), and even *Weissmann* of Tübingen and *Mosheim* of Helmstedt opposed them. But several decades later even a Lutheran theologian, *Christopher Aug. Heumann* of Göttingen, undertook to prove "that the doctrine of the Reformed Church on the Lord's Supper was the correct one." The treatise was published after his death (Göttg. 1764), and there was no Löscher or Cyprian living to refute it.

3. *Theological Literature.*—Arminian theology can point to the bril-

liant names of *John Clericus* (*ob.* 1736), (biblical criticism, hermeneutics, exegesis, Church History) and *John Jacob Wetstein*. The latter was deacon at Basle, but was deposed (1730) on account of heterodox views, and (*ob.* 1754) as Prof. of the Remonstrant gymnasium at Amsterdam. His critical edition of the N. T. (Amsterdam, 1751, 2 Bde., fol.) gained for him imperishable renown. *Alb. Schultens* of Leyden (*ob.* 1750) extended the science of philology by the comparison of kindred dialects, especially of the Arabic. He also wrote commentaries on Job and the Proverbs. Of the Coccejanian interpreters of the Scriptures are to be named *Fr. Ad. Lampe* of Bremen (*ob.* 1729), (Ev. Joh. 3 Bde., 4to.; Geheimnisz d. Gnadenbundes, 6 Bde., etc.) and *J. Mark* of Leyden (*ob.* 1731), (kl. Proph.) *Hadr. Reland* of Utrecht (*ob.* 1718) contributed much of importance to biblical antiquity (Palestina ex vett. monum. illustr., Antiquitt. ss.) Prominent among the anti-deistic apologists are the Englishmen *J. Leland* (*ob.* 1766) and *Th. Stackhouse* (*ob.*1752), (Biblical History), and the Frenchman *Jak. Saurin* (*ob.*1720), (Biblical History);—among the systematic theologians, *J. F. Stapper* of Berne (*ob.* 1775) (Institutt. theol. polem., 5 vols.; Grundlegung d. wahr. Rel., 12 vols.; Sittenlehre, 6 vols.); and *Dan. Wittenbach* of Marburg (*ob.* 1779) (Theol. elenchthicæ initia; Tentamen theolog. dogm., with the application of the Wolfian method); among the Church historians, *J. Alf. Turretin* of Geneva (*ob.* 1737) and *Herm. Venema* of Franeker (*ob.* 1787.)—Finally, mention is yet to be made of an unparalleled phenomenon in the Reformed Church, namely, a mystic, and that one of the noblest and most pious that ever lived: *Gerh. Tersteegen*, ribbon-weaver at Mühlheim on the Ruhr (*ob.* 1769), (he was not able to complete his preparation for a learned calling). He is also distinguished as a sacred poet ("Gott ist gegenwärtig"). He was a patriarchal hermit, to whom anxious souls came from far and near to receive spiritual counsel, comfort, and refreshment; and he was withal a child in humility and simplicity. Without being a separatist, he regarded the Church with indifference and neglect. The most popular of his numerous writings are: Geistl. Blumengärtlein, Geistl. Brosamen, Harfenspiel d. Kinder Zions, Der Frommen Lotterie, Geistl. Briefe, Weg d. Wahsh., Lebensbeschr. heiliger Seelen (R. Cath. mystics), 3 Bde., 4to. (Cf. *K. Barthel*, G. Terst's Leben, in the Bielefelder Sonntagsbibl. V. 6.) (Cf. § 50.)

§ 49. NEW SECTS AND FANATICS.

The same phenomenon, which appeared everywhere in the 16th century, viz., the Reformation having attached to it, as a caricature, fanatics and ultraists of all kinds,—repeated itself in the religious agitations which Pietism caused in the beginning of the 18th century. Even as Pietism gathered believers and the

awakened into small bands, which as ecclesiolæ in ecclesia were to be centres of life in the dead mass and alarm-voices for the sleeping; so also through the same excitant, a host of Separatists were produced, who denounced the Church as Babel, her means of grace as impure, and her preaching empty and hypocritical babbling. They derived their spiritual nourishment from the writings of Böhme, Gichtel, Guyon, Poiret, and other theosophists. Their most important rendezvous was Wetteraw, where the princely house of Sayn-Wittgenstein-Berleburg afforded a refuge for all exiled Pietists. Count *Casimir* formed his court and civil officers out of these, although he belonged to the National Reformed Church. Nevertheless, there was scarcely a section in Protestant Germany, in Switzerland, and in the Netherlands, where kindred phenomena did not appear. In *Swedenborgianism*, a new phenomenon appeared, independently of the pietistic movement. The *Baptists* and *Quakers*, among the older fanatical sects, furnished new off-shoots; while on the other side Dort orthodoxy also ran, in some of its forms, into sectarianism.

1. *Fanatics and Separatists in Germany.* (Cf. *Max. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens in d. rhein. westph. K. Bd. II. Kobl. 1852.—*F. W. Barthold*, d. Erweckten im prot. Deutschl., bes. d. frommen Grafenhöfe; in Raumer's hist. Taschenb. 1852–53.—*F. W. Winkel*, Aus. d. Leb. Casimir's, Gr. v. Sayn Wittgenst. Frkf. 1842.—*The same*, Casimir u. d. rel. Leb. sr. Zeit. In the Sonntagsbibl. IV. 1. Bielef. 1851).—*Rosamond Juliana von Asseburg*, a young lady generally esteemed on account of her piety, in the neighborhood of Magdeburg, declared that from her seventh year she had received visions and revelations, chiefly concerning the millennium. She found in Dr. *John Wilh. Petersen*, superintendent at Lüneburg, a zealous adherent, who, especially after his marriage with *Joh. Elenore v. Merlau*, also pretended to have received divine revelations, promulgated by speaking and writing the most fantastic Chiliasm in connection with the heresy of the restoration of all things. He was deposed from his office in 1692, and died in 1727. *Henry Horch*, Prof. of theology at Herborn, and author of the mystic and prophetic Bible (Marb. 1712, 4to.), was a similar phenomenon in the Reformed Church. The most prominent among the itinerant apostles of a fanatical separatism are, the preacher *Tuchfeldt* of Magdeburg, the wig-maker *John Tennhardt* (as chancery-clerk of the heavenly majesty), the spur-maker *Rosenbach*, and the journeyman *Ernst Christoph. Hochmann*. The latter, a man of imposing appearance and captivating eloquence, labored for a long time at Mühlheim on the Ruhr, and was also highly esteemed by Tersteegen. Having

been expelled from here, he found a last refuge at Schwarzenau in Berleburg. In Würtemberg the pious court-preacher *Hedinger* of Stutgärd (*ob.* 1703) was the father of Pietism and Separatism (cf. his life by *A. Knapp*, in the Christoterpe). The most important of his adherents were the learned preacher *Eberh. Ludw. Gruber* and the saddler *John Frederick Rock*. Being banished from Würtemberg, they emigrated to Wetteraw, the former following the occupation of a farmer, the latter that of court-saddler (1706). Here *they* and a multitude of other separatists, for whom the Wittgenstein count had provided a refuge, lived several years as anchorites, restricted to self-communion and to communion with this or that brother in prayer, without baptism, the Lord's Supper, and public worship. Count Casimir's court in particular was the rendezvous of saints from all nations. The most important of these were the count's physician in ordinary, *Dr. Carl*, the French mystic *Marsay*, the exile from Strasburg *John Frederick Haug*, learned in oriental languages, and later *Dippel*. Out of this circle proceeded a multitude of mystic, separatistic writings, especially the Berleburg Bible (7 vols. fol. 1726–42), of which *Haug* was the chief author. It renews interpretation according to the threefold sense, violently combats the orthodox doctrine of justification, confessional books, the clergy, the dead church, and contains many deep glimpses and profound observations, but also many trivialities and monstrosities. Its mysticism lacks originality, and is compiled from the theosophic writings of all centuries, from Origen to modern times. (Cf. *F. W. Winkel*, in d. bonner Monatsschr. 1851, I.)

2. *The Inspiration-Congregations in Wetteraw.* (Cf. *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. wahr. Insp. Gemd.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1854, II. III., 1855, I. III.)—Several of the chief Sevenna-prophets fled to England (1705) after the unfortunate issue of the Camisardian war. At first they met with much sympathy, but were afterwards excommunicated and placed in the pillory. They now went to the Netherlands, and wandered thence through Germany. They awakened at Halle the gift of inspiration, among others in three students, the brothers *Pott*, and these were the persons who transferred it to Wetteraw (1714). The chiefs of the Separatists there, *Gruber* and *Rock*, at first stoutly opposed the Inspiration-phenomenon, but they also were overpowered, and soon became the most powerful of the "instruments". Prayer associations were now formed, grand love-feasts were held, and an ecclesia ambulatoria was established by itinerant brethren, who carried spiritual nourishment to the scattered quiet ones in the country, and the children of the prophets were gathered from all lands. The utterances, which took place in an ecstatic state, were exhortations to repentance, to prayer, to imitation of Christ, revelations of the divine will in regard to the affairs of the society, and announcement of the approaching judgment of God over the degenerate world and church, although without fanatical, sensual Chiliasm. Apart from contempt for the

sacraments, the doctrines of the church were not essentially perverted. Nevertheless, already in 1715 a division took place between those who were *truly*, and those who, by their unbridled and impure utterances, were regarded as *falsely* inspired. Those who were truly inspired formed a church organization, and excluded from it all who would not submit to its discipline (1716). Hereby they lost many "instruments", and those who proved themselves to be genuine also gradually grew dumb. Only Rock possessed the gift of inspiration after 1719, and he continued to claim it to his death (1749). Gruber died in 1728, and with him a pillar of the societies fell. Rock was now the only support. A new epoch of their history begins with their contact with Moravianism. *Zinzendorf* formed a connection with them in 1730 through a deputation, and then he personally visited them in Berleburg. Rock's deep Christian character made a powerful impression on him. It is true, he was offended at his contempt for baptism and the Lord's Supper, and at the convulsive form of his utterances; but this did not withhold him from yielding to the high spirit of this powerful man, from pressing his companionship upon him, and from inviting him, the notorious blasphemer of baptism, to the sponsorship of his newborn daughter. In 1732 Rock visited Herrnhut. He took sides, in an utterance, with the fraternity against the Lutheran clergyman *Rothe* of Berthelsdorf, and departed after a love-feast, at which their souls flowed together in a renewed eternal brotherhood. But Zinzendorf had only the interests of *his* society in view; his crooked and ambiguous relation to those professing to be inspired drove him to many inconsistencies, which offended Rock's straightforward and open disposition, and estranged him. The establishment of a flourishing Moravian congregation in Wetteraw, which was chiefly composed of proselytes, completed the rupture. Rock denounced the "Hutberger" as Babel-cobblers. Zinzendorf, on the other hand, condemned *him* as a false prophet. When the Moravians were driven from Wetteraw in 1750 (§ 47, 5), the inspired ones took possession of their property and splendid buildings. With Rock's death, however, the spirit of prophecy ceased entirely. The societies declined more and more from that time, both internally and externally, until the revival of religious life in the 19th century, when they also were revived. "Instruments" again made their appearance, and those who were awakened by them were newly organized. The refusal of governments to tolerate them, however, compelled the greater part of them to emigrate to America.

3. *John Conrad Dippel*, theologian, physician, and alchymist, discoverer of Prussian-blue and of the Oleum Dippelii, occupied a peculiar position among the Separatists of this period. He was at first an orthodox opponent of Pietism, then aroused by Gottfr. Arnold he became a champion of Pietism, and advanced to Separatism. Since 1697 he appeared under the name *Christianus Democritus* (orthodoxia orthodoxorum, oder die verkehrte Wahrh. u. d. wahrh. Lügen d. s. g. Lu-

theraner: Papismus Protestantium vapulans od. d. gestäupte Papstth. an d. blinden Verfechtern blinden Menschensatz.; Fatum fatuum, *i. e.* foolish necessity, etc.) in a mocking spirit as the opponent of all externally orthodox Christianity, mixing mysticism and rationalism in a remarkable manner, and yet not without Christian depth and experience. Persecuted, banished, and imprisoned everywhere, he roamed over Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and finally found a permanent refuge at the court of Casimir in Berleburg (1729–34). Here he came into contact with the inspired ones, who offered everything to gain him; but he declared that he would rather submit to the devil than to the Spirit of God. He was most intimately associated with Zinzendorf for a time, but later he also assailed him with the bitterest sarcasm. He died in 1734, at the castle of Wittgenstein. His writings are collected under the title: Eröffneter Weg zum Frieden mit Gott und aller Creaturen. Berleb. 1747, 3 Bde. 4to. (Cf. *W. Klose* in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1851, III. and *K. Buchner* in Raumer's histor. Taschenbuch, 1857.)

4. *Hypocritical and Criminal Separatistic Sects.* — Whilst the Separatists and the inspired ones of this period preserved their moral life pure in general, some of their societies degenerated into the most scandalous debauchery. The most shameless of all was the *Buttlar Sect*, founded by *Eva von Buttlar*, at Allendorf in Hessia, 1702. Having been expelled from here within 6 weeks, the sect carried on its criminal proceedings at many other places, whither it emigrated. *Eva* was honored as the door of Paradise, as the New Jerusalem, as the Mother of us all, as the Sophia come down from heaven, the new Eve and the incarnation of the Holy Spirit. God the Father was incarnate in the candidate *Winter*, and God the Son in her youthful paramour *Appenfeller*. Marriage was declared to be sinful; sensual lust must be put to death in spiritual communion, then carnal communion is also holy. Eva lived in the most shameful harlotry with all the men of the sect; likewise the other women belonging to it, in whom the ovary had been crushed in Satanic foresight. At Sasmannshausen in Wittgenstein, where their secret worship had been watched, they were threatened with punishment, but escaped. In Cologne they connected themselves with the Roman Catholic Church. At Lüde, near Pyrmont, their criminal madness reached its highest point. *Winter* was condemned to death, but had his punishment commuted to scourging (1706). Eva escaped the same punishment by flight, and carried on her scandalous conduct for some years longer, but with more prudence. (Cf. *E. F. Keller*, in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1845, IV. and *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens II. 778 ff.). — Of a similar character was the *Bordelum Sect*, founded by the licentiate *David Bär*, at Bordelum near Flensburg, about 1739, and the *Brüggeler Sect* at Brüggelu, in the canton of Berne, where the two brothers *Kohler* announced themselves to be the two witnesses mentioned in Rev. ii. (1748).—The sect of the *Zionites* at Rons-

dorf in the duchy of Berg also belongs here. *Elias Eller*, overseer of a manufactory at Elberfield, being religiously excited by reading all kinds of mystic and theological writings, married in 1725 an elderly, rich widow; but he soon found greater pleasure in a pretty young maiden, *Anna von Buchel*, whom he drove into prophetic ecstasy by fanatical excitement. She prophesied the approaching dawn of the millennium. Eller appointed her the mother of Zion (Rev. 12 : 1 ff.) and himself father of Zion, while he assigned his wife the part of the whore of Babylon. When the latter had been tormented to death by jealousy and confinement, he married Buchel, and founded, with his adherents, *Ronsdorf* (1737), as the new Zion. The colony obtained the privileges of a town, and Eller became burgomaster. When Anna died (1744), Eller gave to the faithful a new mother of Zion, and became more insane in his deception and tyranny. At length, after long infatuation, the eyes of the Reformed preacher *Schleiermacher* (the grandfather of the celebrated Frederick Daniel S.) were opened. He escaped, by flight to the Netherlands, the fate of another apostle, who, at Eller's instigation, had been condemned to death as a sorcerer at Dusseldorf. Eller was able to ward off every complaint against himself by bribery at the court. The sect was led for a time after his death (1750) by his step-son. (Cf. *F. W. Krug*, krit. Gesch. d. Schwarmerei in Groszherzogth. Berg. Elbf. 1851, p. 64, ff.)

5. *Swedenborgianism.* (Cf. *J. A. Möhler*, ü. d. Lehre Sw.'s; in the tübg. Quartalschr. 1830, IV.—*J. G. Vaihinger*, d. Swedenborgianism, nebst d. Katech. d. neuen K. Tübg. 1843.—*C. F. Nanz*, E. Sw. d. nord. Seher. Schw. Hall. 2. Q. 1850.—*Imm. Tafel*, Samml. v. Urkunden et Tübg. 1839, ff. 3 Abth.—*The same*, Vergleich. Darstell. d. Lehrgegens. d. Kath. u. Prot., zugleich Darstell. d. Unterscheidungslehre Sw.'s. Tübg. 1835.)—*Immanuel von Swedenborg*, son of the Lutheran bishop of West Gothland, *Jesper Swedberg* (cf. Rudelbach's chr. Biogr. I. 293, ff.), and councillor in the Bergwerks college at Stockholm, was a man of comprehensive learning in the natural sciences, and of speculative talents. After long investigation into the mysteries of nature, he fell into magnetic ecstatic states, in which, sometimes transported to heaven, sometimes to hell, he had intercourse with spirits. In 1743 he came to the conviction that he was called by such revelations to reform degenerate Christianity to a *Church of the New Jerusalem* as the completion of all churchdom. The apocalyptic revelations, which he imagined he received, he designated as a new gospel. After his death (1772) his writings were collected and published by his disciples; and in 1788 they formed themselves into congregations in Sweden and England. The new church began in the 19th century to spread in a threatening manner. In addition to Sweden, England, and North America, it also has many warm and zealous adherents in Germany, chiefly in Würtemberg. Here already since 1765 the prelate *Oetinger* called attention to Swedenborg's revelations, and took up many of their

elements into his own profound theosophy. Lately the procurator *Ludw. Hofacker*, and especially the librarian *Tafel*, have been active in propagating the new church, partly by their own writings, and partly by publishing and translating Swedenborg's works. A general conference of the church in Great Britain and Ireland published a confession of faith and a catechism in 1828. Swedenborg's *religious* system was a speculative mysticism with a physical foundation and rationalizing tendency. For him the object of religion is the opening of an intimate correspondence between the spirit and human world, and the penetrating into the mysteries of connection between both. The Bible (although with the exclusion of the Apostolic Epistles as mere explanatory treatises), above all the Apocalypse, was the word of God for him, although he despised the letter, and only acknowledged the validity of the spirit or inner sense. There is not one of the fundamental orthodox doctrines which he either did not reject or rationalize. He rejected the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity in the strongest terms. According to him, God is only *one* person, and this *one* Godhead is Christ, who manifests himself in a three-fold form: the Father is the principle of the manifesting God, the Son the form, the Spirit the activity of the manifested God. The design of the manifestation of Christ is the union of the human and divine; redemption is nothing more than the fighting with and overcoming hellish spirits. Angels and devils are the spirits of departed men, either in a state of bliss or of despair. There is no resurrection of the dead, but the spiritual form of the body continues to exist after death. The second coming of Christ is not to be personal and visible, but spiritual by means of the revelation of the spiritual sense of the Scriptures, whereby the church of the New Jerusalem is founded.

6. *New Baptistic Sects.*—In 1708 there were also Anabaptists (*Tunkers*) in Wetteraw, but, finding little sympathy and much difficulty in the way of their progress here, they for the most part emigrated in 1714 to North America, and founded several colonies here (Germantown and Ephrata), which yet number about 40,000 souls. From the Baptists, who emigrated from England, proceeded the *Christians* (now about 300,000 souls), who, rejecting every Christian party-name (almost like 1 Cor. 1 : 12), also reduced the Christian faith to a minimum. The Baptists, since the middle of the 18th century, also emigrated to *Scotland*, where the brothers *Haldane* founded the baptistic sect of the *Haldanites* ("Apostolic Church"), who likewise distinguished themselves by great indifference towards doctrines and the ministry, but also by great energy in practical life.

7. *New Quaker Sects.* — The *Jumpers*, who appeared in Cornwallis about 1760, were in principle at least related to the Quakers. Appealing to David's dancing before the ark of the covenant, they professed to give evidence of being possessed by the Spirit by convulsive leaping and dancing, connected with a kind of barking (whence they are also

called *Barkers*). The sect emigrated to North America, where there still are some adherents. A somewhat similar sect are the *Shakers*. Its founder was *Anna Lee* (*ob.* 1782). She professed to be the bride of the Lamb, but died without giving birth to the promised Messiah. Nevertheless, this sect exists to the present day in several villages on the Hudson river. Its adherents live in celibacy and community of goods. They derive their name from the manner in which they move their bodies at their meetings, which often extends to exhaustive dancing and jumping, which is regarded as a symbol partly of trembling at the anger of God, partly of joy on account of salvation through Christ.

8. In contrast with the general apostacy from the rigid orthodoxy of Dort in the Netherlands, was the increase of the sect of the *Hebrews*, which traced its origin (about 1730) to a certain *Mirgam Vos* and a licentiate *Verschooren*, and run the doctrine of predestination to the affirmation, that an elect person could *not* sin, but a non-elect one could *only* sin. They derived their name from the circumstance, that they declared it to be the indispensable duty of all true Christians to read the word of God in the original languages. Another sect, that of the *Hattemists*, adherents of the Dutch preacher *Pontiaan van Hattem*, who was deposed in 1740, are said to have drawn from the doctrine of predestination the conclusion, that sin, because it was predestined by God, was only sin in the imagination of men, and that Christ delivered men from this imagination (Acta ecclst. Weim. IV. 1060 ff.)

§ 50. THE THEOLOGY AND LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD OF ILLUMINATION.

Cf. *L. Noack*, die Freidenker in d. Relig. Bd. III. Die Deutsche Aufkläning. Berne, 1855.—*F. Bialloblotzky* and *F. Sander*, das Aufkommen u. Sinken d. Rationalism. in Deutschl.; nach d. Engl. d. *E. B. Pusey* bearb. Elbf. 1829.—*Chr. G. Ficker*, krit. Gesch. d. Rationalism. in Deutschl.; nach d. Franz. d. *Amand Saintes* bearb. Lpz. 1847.—*K. F. A. Kahnis*, d. innere Gang d. deutsch. Protestsm. seit der Mitte d. vor Jahrh. Lpz. 1854.—*A. Tholuck*, Abrisz e. Gesch. d. Umwälz., die s. 1750, auf. d. Gebiete d. *Theol.* in Deutschl. stattgef.; in his miscellaneous works Bd. II. Hamb. 1839.—*J. A. H. Tittmann*, pragm. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Rel. in d. prot. K. seit 1750. Lpz. 1824.—*K. F. Stäudlin*, Gesch. d. Rationalism. u. Supranaturalism. Göttg. 1826.

Since the middle of this century, English deistic unbelief having already outlived itself, illumination under the name of *Rationalism* crept into the Protestant theology of the continent, especially of *Germany*. There proceeded, it is true, out of the agitation of the pietistic controversies, a theology (§ 46) which, overcoming as well the rigid objectivism of orthodoxy as the

weak subjectivism of Pietism, saving, however, from the former, a firm basis and wholesome moderation, from the latter religious inwardness and freedom, was in itself able and worthy to inherit and control the future of the church. But this inheritance, to the possession of which it seemed to be called, was taken from it by the theology of illumination. It was yet too immature and unfinished, its representatives and champions were too few and scattered, to be able to resist successfully as a solid phalanx the storm of illumination. The storm came from abroad, but it was invested with the mighty power of the spirit of the age, and it found a dissolution and agitation going on within, which brought sympathies and allies to it from all sides, and promoted the transition of the one extreme into the other. *Arminian* Pelagianism, possessing brilliant learning (Clericus, Wetstein), English *Deism*, circulated by translations and refutations, and French *Naturalism*, introduced by a great and generally admired king, were the assailing powers from without. The *Free-Mason Lodges also*, which had been transplanted to Germany from England in 1733, mightily opposed illumination in their endeavor to realize a moral, practical, universal religion. Within it was especially the *Wolfian philosophy*, *popular philosophy*, and *Pietism*, with its step-brother *Separatism*, which directly made the ground productive for the growth of Rationalism. Orthodoxism, on account of the secondary effects, which survived it, can also be reckoned among the accessories. *German Rationalism*, however, is essentially different from Deism and Naturalism in this, that it does not, like these, altogether reject the Bible and the Church, but, rather adhering to both, supposes that it has presented their unperishable substance in its rational religion, purified from accommodation and the ideas of the age; and it has, therefore, retained the Bible as an indispensable record of religion, and the Church as a wholesome institution of religion. Nevertheless, Rationalism, during the whole period of its dominion, was opposed by a Supranaturalism, that held fast to revealed religion. It was a dilution of the old faith of the Church, effected by the water of illumination. The reaction which it caused was consequently from the beginning weak and feeble. The power of the vulgar Rationalism of that day, meanwhile, lay not in itself, but in the allies which it had in the hollowness and superficiality of the spirit of the age. Because now the philosophy and especially the national literature of the Germans

began to wage a successful warfare against this superficiality, they in a certain degree obtained the significance of a schoolmaster to Christ, although they were in themselves for the most part indifferent, even hostile to Christianity.

1. *The English Deists.* (Cf. § 43, 2.) — Deism entered upon a new stage of its development with *Locke's Philosophy* (§ 43, 1). It was henceforth the basis of its reasoning. The most important Deists of this period are: *John Toland*, an Irishman, first a Roman Catholic, then Arminian (*ob.* 1722), (Christianity not mysterious; Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity, etc.); the Earl of *Shaftesbury* (*ob.* 1713), (Characteristics of men, manners, opinions, times); *Anthony Collins*, justice of the peace in the county of Essex, and as such highly esteemed (*ob.* 1729), (Priestcraft in perfection, or a detection of the fraud, etc., A discourse of free-thinking, et al.); *Thomas Woolston*, fellow of Cambridge (*ob.* 1733, in prison), (A discourse on the miracles of our Saviour); *Bernh. v. Mandeville* from Dort, physician in London (*ob.* 1733), (Free thoughts on Religion); *Matthew Tindal*, professor of law at Oxford (*ob.* 1733), (Christianity as old as the Creation); *Thomas Morgan*, Nonconformist preacher, deposed as an Arian, then physician (*ob.* 1743), (The moral philosopher); *Thomas Chubb*, glove-maker and tallow-chandler at Salisbury (*ob.* 1747), popularizing compiler, (The true gospel of Jesus Christ); *Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke*, high civil officer, charged with high-treason and pardoned (*ob.* 1751), (Philosophical works). — Deism never found favor among the people, and an attempt was not once made to organize a congregation. The following of the numerous opponents of Deism are worthy of special mention: *Thomas Sherlock*, Bishop of London (*ob.* 1761); *Edward Chandler*, Bishop of Durham (*ob.* 1750); *John Leland*, Presbyterian preacher in Dublin (*ob.* 1766); *William Warburton*, Bishop of Gloucester (*ob.* 1779); *Nath. Lardner*, Dissenter preacher (*ob.* 1768). —The celebrated historian and skeptic, *David Hume*, librarian in Edinburg (*ob.* 1776), may yet be added to the Deists as an opponent of positive Christianity (Treatise upon human nature; Essays, moral, political, and literary; Enquiry concerning the human understanding; Natural history of religion; Dialogues concerning natural religion).

2. *The Forerunners of German Illumination.* — We have already learned to know *Knutzen* (§ 43, 2) and *Dippel* (§ 49, 3) as such. In their footsteps walked *John Christian Edelmann*, a vagabondizing licentiate of theology of Weissenfels (*ob.* 1767), who, since 1735, hawked about a multitude of fanatical works, written in rude and low, but powerful language, full of glowing wrath and scoffing wit against all positive Christianity. He passed from one Christian sect to another, but found in none what he sought. In 1741 he accepted an invitation from *Zinzendorf*, who at the same time furnished him with travelling

money, and lived for a time in his family. Then he connected himself with the Berleburg Separatists ("because they recognized the abomination of baptism and the Lord's Supper"), and assisted on the commentary, although *Haug* had to greatly change his elaborations, in order to use them. This, and his contempt for prayer, ruptured the bond of union. After that he wandered over the whole of Germany. He regarded himself as being a favorite of providence, at least as a second Luther. He pronounced Christianity to be the most irrational and absurd of all religions; Church history a conglomerate of immorality, lies, hypocrisy, and fanaticism; the prophets and apostles bedlamites; and Christ was not even an example and teacher. The world needs only *one* salvation, viz., salvation from Christianity. Providence, virtue, and immortality (the latter established by manifestation of spirits), are the only objects of religion. His writings made a great noise (Unschuldige Wahrheiten; Bereitete Schläge auf der Narren Rücken; Moses mit aufgedecktem Angesicht von zwei ungleichen Brüdern, Lichtlieb und Blindlieb, beschauet; Christus and Belial, et al.), and called forth an incredible number of counter-treatises, of which *Trinius* mentions not less than 166 in the Freidenker lexicon. (Cf. *J. H. Pratje*, Hist. Nachr. v. J. Chr. Edelmann, 2. A. Hamb. 1755. Edelmann's Selbst-biographie, herausg. v. *C. W. Klose*. Berl. 1840, and also Ev. K. Z. 1851, No. 31, ff.) To the forerunners of illumination belongs also the private tutor *Lorenz Schmidt* of Wertheim in Baden, a pupil of the philosopher *Wolf* (§ 46, 2), (*ob.* 1749). He is the author of the notorious *Wertheim translation of the Bible* (First part, containing the laws of the Israelites, Werth. 1735), which paraphrases the language of the Bible, and thereby eviscerates all positive Christianity. His book was confiscated by the supreme court of the empire, and he was punished with severe imprisonment.

3. *Illumination in Germany since* 1750. — Hostility to all positive Christianity spread from England and France also over Germany. The writings of the English Deists were translated and refuted, but mostly in so weak a manner, that the refutation accomplished the opposite of what it designed. Whilst English Deism with its apparent profoundness found favor with the learned, the poison of frivolous French Naturalism tainted the higher classes. Prussia's great king, *Frederick* II. (1740–86), who surrounded himself with French free-thinkers (Voltaire, D'Argens, Le Mettrie, etc.), contributed largely to the spread of unbelief. He desired, that in his states every one should become happy according to his own fashion, in which desire he was also in earnest, although his personal aversion to churchly and pietistic piety often misled him to act unjustly and severely, as ex. gr. when he inflicted upon the "grumbler" *Francke* in Halle, who opposed the visiting of theatres by theological students, the punishment of himself visiting the theatre, and of obtaining the attestation of the director of the theatre that he had done so. Under the name of *German popular phi-*

losophy (*Mendelssohn, Garve, Eberhard, Platner, Steinbart*, etc.), which proceeded from the Wolfian philosophy emptied of its Christian contents, a bold, superficial, and self-sufficient reasoning of the common human understanding gave itself airs. *Basedow* became the reformer of pedagogy in the sense of illumination (Philanthropia in Dessau, pädagogisches Elementarwerk), and created quite a furor for a time by the charlatan trumpeting of his contributions; although Herder declared, that he would not commit calves, to say nothing of human beings, to the training of the *distinguished* pedagogue. Basedow's most distinguished pupils and co-laborers were *Salzmann* in Schnepfenthal near Gothe, and *Campe* in Braunschweig. The "*Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*" (106 Bde. 1765–92), published by the bookseller *Nicolai* in Berlin, assumed the position of a literary inquisitorial tribunal against everything noble and profound, that the period was still able to produce, and branded it as superstition and Jesuitism. Illumination made itself felt in theology under the name of Rationalism. Pietistic *Halle* cast its skin, and in connection with *Berlin* stood at the head of the illuminatory movement. Soon numerous heralds of the new light sprung up also in the other universities, and rationalizing pastors arose in all sections of Germany, who only preached about a moral reformation of man; also, it is true, on Christmas, about the advantage of feeding cattle in the stable, and on Easter about the tokens of apparent death, or about the advantages of early rising. The old liturgies were mutilated or supplanted, and all the superficiality and insipidity of the period were called into requisition to eliminate the old faith out of the churchly hymn-books, and to smuggle in, in the place of the old choice hymns, the weakest hymns of moral reformation. *Wilh. Abraham Teller*, provost of Berlin, declared publicly, that he was willing to recognize the Jews as genuine Christians, on the basis of their faith in God, virtue, and immortality. *K. Friedr. Bahrdt*, after having been removed from various spiritual and academical offices on account of his immoral conduct, and proscribed by the theologians, gave the people as tavern-keeper in Halle the benefit of his wisdom, and died from a disgraceful disease (1792). The Prussian government, under *Frederick William* II., attempted in vain to secure to the church its old legal basis by the *edict concerning religion of* 1788, by which the severest punishment was threatened every departure in doctrine and preaching from the orthodox confessions: it accomplished nothing, with all its rigor, against the reigning spirit of the age (only *one* deposition, that of the preacher *Schulz* at Gielsdorf near Berlin, an old insolent rationalist, could be carried into effect), and *Frederick William* III. (1797–1840) suspended the edict at his accession to the throne.

4. *Transition Theology.*—It was four men, especially, who, although still adhering to the faith in a divine revelation, nevertheless prepared the way for the admission of Rationalism into theology: viz., *Ernesti* of Leipsic in exegesis of the New Testament, *Michaelis* of Göttingen

in exegesis of the Old Testament, *Semler* of Halle in biblical and historical criticism, *Töllner* of Frankfürt-on-the-Oder in dogmatic theology. *John Aug. Ernesti* (*ob.* 1781), since 1734 rector of the Thomas-school, since 1742 Prof. of the University of Leipsic, and there the rival and antipode of his colleague *Chr. Aug. Crusius*, was originally a classical philologist, and remained such also as professor of theology. His Institutio interpretes N. T. (1761) laid it down as a fundamental law of exegesis, that the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was to be conducted entirely in the same manner as the interpretation of a profane author. But it holds good also with regard to classical literature, that a full and complete understanding of an author can only be obtained in so far as the interpreter possesses, in addition to the necessary knowledge of the language, history, and age, also *the same* spirit in which the author thought and wrote. And because Ernesti lacked the conviction of this necessity, his biblical hermeneutics was rationalistic, and *he* the father of rationalistic exegesis, strongly as he adhered still to the idea of inspiration as also to orthodox doctrines. What Ernesti was in regard to the N. T., that *John David Michaelis* (son of the pious and orthodox Chr. Bened. M.), since 1750 Prof. at Göttingen (*ob.* 1791), became in regard to the O. T. He acknowledged openly, that he never perceived anything of the testimonium Sp. s. internum; and he based his demonstration of the divinity of the Scriptures alone upon external evidences, such as the miracles, prophesies, authenticity, etc., a web which unbelief tore to pieces with ease. No one was a greater master than he in the art of substituting his own empty, superficial, and conceited spirit for that of the sacred authors, and then to explain it at great length. His "Mosaisches Recht," 6 Bde., is classic in this view. He left behind 82 works, some very voluminous (among which are: Einl. ins N. T.; Webers. des A. T. mit Anm. für Ungelehrte, 13 Bde. 4to. Orient. und exeg. Biblioth., 24 Bde.; Einl. ins A. T., etc.) *John Sal. Semler*, a pupil of Baumgarten, and since 1751 Prof. at Halle (*ob.* 1791), was a forerunner of Rationalism in a still greater and more comprehensive measure than Ernesti and Michaelis. Growing up under the influence of Hallean Pietism, and consequently possessing a kind of religion of habit, which he called his private religion, and of which he could never rid himself, endowed with uncommon understanding and acuteness, but without any depth of spirit, he acquired an immense mass of chaotic knowledge, and undermined, without wishing to touch Christianity, the pillars of orthodox theology, by arbitrarily disputing the genuineness of the biblical writings ("Abhandlung von der freien Unters. d. Kanons"); by laying down a theory of inspiration and accommodation, which allowed error, mistake, and well-meant delusion in the Scriptures; by an interpretation which disposed of everything disagreeable in the New Testament as "Jewish notions" (ex. gr. De dæmoniacis); by a critical treatment of church and dogmatic history which permitted the doctrine of the

church to appear as a result of misconception, want of judgment, and violence, etc. The number of his writings amounts to 151. He sowed the wind and reaped a whirlwind, at which he himself trembled. Therefore he opposed perseveringly the appointment of Bahrdt to Halle, and earnestly combated the *Wolfenbuttler Fragments*, written by *Reimarus*, Prof. at Hamburg (*ob.* 1765), discovered and published (1774 and 1778) in the Wolfenbüttler library as manuscript by *Lessing*, which attributed the introduction of Christianity to bold deception. But Semler could not resist the storm, and he died broken-hearted, just when it reached its height. (Cf. *H. Schmid*, die Theologie Semler's. Erlg. 1858.)—*John Gottl. Töllner*, since 1756 Prof. at Frankfürt-on-the-Oder (*ob.* 1774), was by no means equal to the beforenamed in learning, influence, and authority; nevertheless, he is worthy of a place beside them, in so far as he first opened the way for the introduction of Rationalism into dogmatic theology. He also still adhered to the idea of revelation, miracle, and prophecy, but he also contributed the "proof, that God leads men to happiness already by the revelation of nature;" the revelation of Scripture is only a more certain and perfect means thereto. He investigated further "the divine inspiration of the Scriptures," and found that the sacred authors thought and wrote without any special divine aid, and God was thereby active only in a way not to be more particularly defined. Finally, he investigated "the active obedience of Jesus Christ," and in doing so he gives an example of how orthodox dogmas are to be reconciled.

5. *Rationalistic Theology.*—From the schools formed by these men, especially from Semler's, went forth crowds of Rationalists, who within the last seventy years occupied almost all the professors' chairs and pulpits in Protestant Germany. At their head stands *Charles Fred. Bahrdt* (since 1779 at Halle, *ob.* 1792), who, at first an author of orthodox text-books, then sinking deeper and deeper through vanity, want of principle, and immorality, and walking in Edelmann's footsteps, first struck the shamelessly bold key (Die neuesten Offenbaremgen Gotts, 4 Bde.; Briefe über die Bebel im volkston, 5 Thle.; Kirchen-und Ketzeralmanach; Selbstbragaophie, etc., altogether 102 works), which certainly the preacher *Charles Venturini* of Horndorf in Braunschweig (*ob.* 1807) was able to excel (Natürl. Gesch. d. groszen Proph. von Nazareth, 3 Bde.) Similar to them was the orientalist *J. Will. Fred. Hezel*, since 1802 Prof. at Dorpat, at the same also rum-distiller, millwright, and inventor of building clay-walls by stamping the layers (*ob.* 1829), (54 works, among which: Die Bibel mit vollst. erkl. Anm., 12 Bde.) In contrast with these, however, the majority of the Rationalists endeavored to obtain a reputation for respectability in life, doctrines, and literary productions. Within the last ninety years the Kantian philosophy exerted an important and, relatively, also an ennobling influence on rationalistic theology. *J. Jacob Griesbach* (of Jena, 1812) contributed much of importance in the sphere of the

criticism of the text of the New Testament. The introduction to the N. T. was prepared by *Charles Alex. v. Hänlein* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1829). *Will. Abr. Teller* of Berlin contributed a dictionary of the N. T. (5 A. 1792), which inaugurated the superficial mode of treating the ideas of the N. T. (ex. gr. sanctification, reformation, regeneration, resolution to lead a different life). Following his example, *J. Benj. Koppe* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1791), (N. T. græce c. perpet. illustr. continued by *H. Heinrichs* and *Jul. Pott*, 6 Bde.) and *J. George Rosenmüller* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1815), (Scholia in N. T., 6 Bde.), interpreted the N. T. with incredible superficiality. In the same spirit, *J. Chr. Schluze* of Giessen, (*ob.* 1806), (Scholia in V. Y.), and *Lorenz Bauer* of Heidelberg (*ob.* 1806) (Forts. der Scholia v. Schalze, Einl. ins A. T., Theol. d. A. T., Mythol. d. A. u. N. T., Moral d. A. T., Hebr. Allerthümer, etc.), labored in the sphere of the Old Testament. The contributions of *J. Gottfr. Eichhorn* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1827), Einl. ins A. T., 5 Bde.; Repertorium für bibl. u. morgenl. Lit.; Bibl. Urgesch. fortges. v. *J. Ph. Gabler*) and *Leonh. Bertholdt* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1822), (Einl. ins A. T., Comm. z. Daniel; Dogmengesch.), are more profound and respectable. The rationalistic stand-point was represented in Church History by *H. Ph. Conrad Henke* of Helmstedt (*ob.* 1807), and the Würtemberg minister of state, *L. Tim. v. Spittler* (*ob.* 1810). Rationalistic doctrines of faith and morals were spread less in learned and scientific, than in popular and practical works. *Sam. Steinbart* of Frankfürt-on-the-Oder (*ob.* 1809), wrote and defended his "System der reinen Philos. od. Glückseligkeitslehre des Christenthums;" and *John Aug. Eberhard*, Prof. of philosophy at Halle (*ob.* 1809), apotheosized Socrates and classic heathenism ("Neue Apologie des Socrates," 2 Bde.), in the spirit of the popular philosophy. The acute *John Henry Tieftrunk*, Prof. of philosophy at Halle (*ob.* 1837), on the other hand, introduced Kantian philosophy with its rigid categories into theology (Einzig möglicher Zweck Jesu; Censur d. christl. prot. Lehrbegr., 3 Bde.; Die Mündigk in d. Rel., 2 Bde.). *Jerusalem* of Wolfenbüttel (*ob.* 1789), *Zollikoffer*, Ref. preacher in Leipsic (*ob.* 1784), *Spalding*, provost at Berlin (*ob.* 1804), (Werth der Gefühle im Christth.; Nutzbarkeit d. Predigtamtes), *Fr. Ad. Sach* of Berlin (*ob.* 1817), *Marezoll* of Jena (*ob.* 1828), *Löffler* of Gotha (*ob.* 1816), *J. G. Rosenmüller* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1815), *Tobler* of Zürich (*ob.* 1808), *Aug. Herm. Niemeyer* (A. H. Francke's great-grandson), Chancellor in Halle (*ob.* 1828), (Charakteristik d. Bibel., 5 Bde.; Gumdsätze d. Erzich., 3 Bde.; Lehrb. d. Rel. für gelehrte Sehnlen. 18 A. 1843), *Hufnagel* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1830), *Jonath. Schuderoff* of Ronneburg (*ob.* 1843), (kirchenreckl. Schriften, bes. zur. Vertheichgung des Collegialsystems), etc., contributed towards the spread of Rationalism by sermons and by popular doctrinal and devotional works. (Cf. § 56, 2.)

6. A theological tendency, abandoning the old orthodoxy, without, however, resigning itself to Rationalism, maintained itself in the most

various gradations between both, under the name of *Supranaturalism*, which desired still to preserve faith in a supernatural revelation. This faith was certainly of a very weak kind among many so-called supranaturalists; a revelation remained, which scarcely revealed anything that was not already known to reason. But in addition to these, a not insignificant number of worthy men also labored, who were really in earnest to save the essential truths of salvation; but it is characteristic of almost all of them, that, although belonging to the Lutheran church, they approximated in principle at least to the Reformed church in their views and apprehensions of Scripture and of the Church. The most influential and able fosterer of Supranaturalism during this period was the university of Tübingen. The series of spiritless supranaturalistic dogmatists is opened by *Morus* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1792), (Epitome theol. christ.) *Less* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1797), *Döderlein* of Jena (*ob.* 1792), *Seiler* of Erlangen, and *Nösselt* of Halle (*ob.* 1807), became less and less spirited; the latter can even be numbered among the Rationalists. The ablest and most worthy representatives of Supranaturalism, who most powerfully and successfully resisted the current of the age, are *Gottl. Christian Storr* of Tübingen (*ob.* 1805), (Comm. z. Hebräerbr.; Zweck d. evang. Gesch.; Apologie d. Offb. Joh.; Doctrinas christ. pars theoretica, translated by *C. C. Halt;* Lehrb. d. chr. Dogmatik. 1813. He also had a controversy with the Königsberg philosopher; Annott. quædam theol. ad philos. Cantii doctrinam 1793—by which he gained his high esteem); *G. Christian Knapp* of Halle (*ob.* 1825), (Vorless. u. d. chr. Glaubensl., published by Thilo; Scripta varii argumenti, etc.), and *Francis Volkmar Reinhard*, Prof. at Wittenberg, chief court-preacher at Dresden (*ob.* 1812), the most eloquent preacher of this age (System d. chr. moral, 5 Bde.; Versuch ü. d. Plan Jesu; Predigten, 35 Bde.; Geständnisse; Vorless. ü. d. Dogmatik). In a sermon on the anniversary of the Reformation in 1800, *Reinhard* professed his adhesion to the Lutheran doctrine of justification, with such decision, that all Germany was agitated by it, especially as a ministerial decree held this sermon up as a model for all the preachers of Saxony. Worthy of all honor as *Apologists* are the great mathematician *Leonh. Euler* of St. Petersburg (*ob.* 1783), (Rettung der Offenbarung gegen die Einwürfe der Freigeister), the not less great physiologist *Albr. Haller* of Zürich (*ob.* 1777), (Briefe ü. d. wicht. Wahrhh. d. Offenb., Briefe ü. einige Einwürfe noch lebender Freigeister). More comprehensive and thorough were the contributions of the theologians *Theod. Christopher Lilienthal* of Königsberg (*ob.* 1782), (Die gute Sache der göttl. Offb., 16 Bde., against the attacks of Deists); *John Fred. Klenker* of Kiel (*ob.* 1827), (Neue Prüfung u. Erklär. d. vorzügl. Beweire für d. Wahrh. d. Christth., 3 Bde.; Ausf. Unters. d. Gründe für die Echth. u. Glaubwürdigk. d. schriftl. Urk. d. Christth., 5 Bde.; Bibl. Sympathien, od. Betrachtt. ü. d. Berichte d. Evangelisten, etc.), and *Dan. Joach. Köppen*, preacher in Mecklenburg (Die Bibel. e. Werk d. göttl. Weish.).

The zealous preacher, who was abused beyond all measure, *John Melch. Götze*, chief pastor of Hamburg (*ob.* 1786), a *Löscher* redivivus, contended for the palladium of Lutheran orthodoxy against his rationalistic colleagues, against the theatre as a school for the German people, against Barth, Basedow, and consorts, against the Wolfenbüttler fragments, against Werther's Sorrows, etc. His polemics were not without passion and malice, and in spite of all his learning he was by no means a match for an opponent like *Lessing*. But he was not a blockhead, pettifogger, and fanatic; this is evident from the intimate friendship which existed between him and Lessing for many years, before the occurrence of the controversy. Worthy of special mention as authors in the sphere of *Biblical History* are: the excellent superintendent *John Jacob Hess* of Zürich (*ob.* 1828), (Gesch. d. Israel, vor d. Zeiten Jesu, 12 Bde.; Lebensgesch. Jesu, 3 Bde.; Lehre Jesu, 2 Bde.; Gesch. d. Apostel, 3 Bde.; Vom Reiche Gottes, 2 Bde.; Kern d. Lehre vom R. Gs.; Briefe ü. d. Offenb. Joh.); *J. Conr. Pfenninger*, deacon at Zürich (*ob.* 1792), (Jüdische Briefe, e. Messiade in Prosa, 12 Bde.); *Magn. Fred. Roos*, prelate of Würtemberg (*ob.* 1804), (Einl. in d. bibl. Gesch. bis auf Abraham; Fuszstapfen d. Glaubens Abr. in d. Gesch. d. Patr. u. Proph.) *Lavater* and *Herder* also are to be named here. Supranaturalism was represented in the sphere of *Church History* by the industrious *John Matth. Schröckh* of Wittenberg (*ob.* 1808); the profound *Christ. Will. Francis Walch* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1784), (Vollst. Hist. d. Päpste; Hist. d. K. Versammll.; Hist. d. Ketzereien, 11 Bde.; Neueste Rel. Gesch. 9 Bde.); the Kantian *Charles Fred. Stäudlin* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1826), (Universalgesch. d. K.; Gesch. d. Sittenlehre Jesu, 4 Bde.; Gesch. d. theol. Wissch. s. 1500; K. G. v. Groszbrit., 2 Bde.; many historical monographs on the oath, prayer, conscience, marriage, friendship, the drama, etc.), and the "Reverend" *Gottl. Jacob Planck* of Göttingen, *ob.* 1833 (82 years old), a leading representative of "pragmatic" historiography (Gesch. d. Entsteh., d. Veränderungen u. d. Bildung unseres prot. Lehrbegr., 6 Bde.; Gesch. d. Entst. u. Ausbild. d. chr. kirchl. Gesellschaftsverf., 5 Bde.; Gesch. d. Christth. in d. Per. sr. Einführung, 2 Bde., etc.) The Würtemberg prelate *Fred. Christopher Oetinger* (*ob.* 1782), the magus of the South, occupied a quite peculiar position (Theol. ex idea vitæ deducta; Etwas Ganges vom Evangelio, on Isaiah 40 ff.; Biblisch-emblemat. Wörterbuch zum N. T., opposed to that by Zeller; Selbstbiogr., published by *Hamberger*, Stuttg., 1845, etc.). He was a disciple of *Bengel*, deeply learned, like him, in the Scriptures, but also an admirer of Jacob Böhme, and even not opposed to Swedenborg's ghost-seeing revelations. But notwithstanding all this, he is still deeply rooted in Lutheran orthodoxy with his biblical realism and his theosophy, which acknowledges corporeity as the end of the ways of God, and the first representative of a theology of the future, which, it is true, in its development might need thorough purifying and close sifting, but yet might

be adapted to represent, in its fundamental idea, the basis for the final true reconciliation of Idealism and Realism. (Cf. *C. A. Auberlen*, die Theosophie Oettinger's nach ihren Grundzügen. Tübg. 1848.) (Cf. § 56, 3.)

7. *German Philosophy.* (Cf. *Erdmann*, s. c. § 163, 1.—*H. M. Chalybäus*, hist. Entw. d. spec. Phil. v. Kant. bis Hegel. 3 A. Dresd. 1843.—*K. Biedermann*, d. deutsche Phil. von Kant bis auf unsere Zeit. Lpz. 1842, 2 Bde.—*C. Fortlage*, Genet. Gesch. d. Phil. seit Kant. Lpz. 1852.) —As Locke fills the interval between Bacon and Deism and Materialism, so does *Christian v. Wolf* (§ 46, 2) constitute the centre and transition from Leibnitz to popular philosophy. *Immanuel Kant* of Königsberg (*ob.* 1804), saved philosophy from the superficial self-sufficiency and quackery of the latter, and led it upon the arena of a mental conflict, which is unparalleled in power, energy, extent, and continuance. Kant's philosophy ("Kritik der reinen Vernunft," "Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der bloszen Vernunft"), stood altogether outside of Christianity, and upon the same ground with theological Rationalism. Nevertheless, by digging deep into this ground, it brought out much superior ore, of whose existence vulgar Rationalism had no idea, and became, without wishing or knowing it, a schoolmaster to Christ in manifold ways. Kant demonstrated the impossibility of a knowledge of supersensuous things by means of the pure reason, but acknowledged the ideas of God, freedom, and immortality, as postulates of the practical reason (conscience) and as the principle of all religion, whose contents was alone the moral law; Christianity and the Bible, when they have become the foundations of national culture, are to be retained, but must be made efficient by moral interpretation. Whilst he thus, on the one hand, approached the sympathies of Rationalism, he also, on the other, powerfully opposed its superficiality and self-sufficiency, as it came to him in the form of popular philosophy. His sharp criticism of pure reason, his deep knowledge of human weakness and depravity revealed in his doctrine of the *radical evil*, his *categorical imperative* of the moral law, were well adapted to produce in profound minds a despair of themselves, a disgust with the hollowness of the age, and a want which Christianity alone could fully satisfy.—*Fr. H. Jacobi* (*ob.* 1819), in his heart a Christian, in his understanding a heathen, led religion from the limits of abstract reason back into the depths of the soul, and thus awakened a positive longing.—*John Gottl. Fichte* (*ob.* 1814) transformed Kantianism, which he at first unconditionally embraced, into an *idealistic "theory of the sciences,"* in which only the Ego appears as real,—but the Non-ego attains reality through the Ego, and thus the world and nature are only important as the reflex of the spirit. But when, having reached atheism, he was expelled from his position at Jena, a spiritual revolution took place in him, which led him away from the brink of atheism upon the way of mysticism nearer to Christianity. In his "Anweisung zum seligen

Leben" (1806), he frees religion from the mere service of morality, and seeks the blessedness of life in the loving surrender of the whole soul to the All-Spirit, the fullest expression of which he found in St. John's gospel. On the other hand, Pauline Christianity, with its fundamental doctrines of sin and atonement, appeared to him as a degeneration, and Christ himself as the most perfect representative of the incarnation of God, which is repeated in all ages and in every pious person. — Already in the last years of this century, *Schelling* came forward with his philosophy of identity, which became one of the most powerful agencies in creating a new age. (Cf. § 53, 1.)

8. *German National Literature.* (Cf. *H. Gelzer,* d. deutsche poet. Liter. seit Klopstock u. Lessing, nach ihren ethischen u. rel. Gesichtspunkten. 2. A. Lpz. 1848, f.)—When the loud tones of the evangelical hymn were about to expire in *Gellert's* (*ob.* 1789) pious hymns, *Klopstock* appeared (*ob.* 1803) to praise the Messiah in a new song. But the pathos of his odes had no effect, and his Messiade, as mistaken in form as in contents, had the fate of only being praised and not read. *Lessing* (*ob.* 1781) did not wish to have the impure water of orthodoxy cast away, until there was better, in order that it might not be necessary to bathe the child in the dung-water of the new-fashioned theology. He could only see a patchwork of bunglers and half-philosophers in the new system, not in the old one; he rather declared, that he knew of nothing in the world, on which human acuteness had been more exercised, than on it. It vexed him, that it was imagined possible to suspend the weight of an eternity upon the thin thread of external evidences; and therefore it was a pleasure to him to throw the Wolfenbüttler fragments at the heads of the theologians, and to cover the chief pastor *Götze,* who was offended at it, with ridicule and mockery ("Antigötze"). In his "Nathun" he permits, in an almost perfidious way, Christianity to be represented by a stupid zealot;—as the proper solution of the problem, the thought gleams through, that in the end all three of the rings were spurious. In another work he presents revelation from the stand-point of a gradual, progressive "training of the human race," which lost its significance as soon as it reached its end; and in confidential conversations with Jacobi he professed his belief in Spinoza's Ἓν καὶ Πᾶν. *Wieland* (*ob.* 1813) was soon transformed from a youthful zealot for orthodoxy to a refined voluptuary by the popular philosophy. *Herder* (*ob.* 1803), with his enthusiasm for the infinitely deep and sublimely *poetic* contents of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament, exposed at least the lifelessness and insipidity of the customary treatment of the Old Testament. *Goethe* (*ob.* 1832) hated thoroughly the vandalism of Neology, took pleasure in the "confessions of a beautiful soul," had, in his early youth, some sympathy for the Moravians, but believed, in the ripeness of his manhood, that he did not need Christianity. *Schiller* (*ob.* 1805), enthusiastic for everything that was noble, beautiful, and good, never-

theless disregarded Christianity, and insinuated Kantian Rationalism clothed with poetic beauty into the hearts of the German people. His sorrow on account of the destruction of the mythology of old Hellas, was not only in glaring contrast with Christianity, but also and rather with the poverty of Deism, which had banished the living God of Christianity, and supplied his place with the dead laws of nature. And even if he was earnest in supposing that he was able from religious feeling to profess no religion, still he unconsciously paid homage to Christianity in many Christian views. *Jacobi's* mental philosophy also had its poetical interpreters in *Jean Paul* (*ob.* 1825) and *Hebel* (*ob.* 1826), in whom the same disunion exists between the pious mind, which felt itself irresistibly drawn towards Christianity, and the cold understanding, which turned away from faith and towards the reigning unbelief. *J. H. Voss*, possessing a coarse Dutch rustic constitution, delineates in his Louisa the ideal of a rationalistic rural pastor, and persecuted with inquisitorial severity the blockheads and bondmen.—But by the side of these worldlings, and as much respected by them as they were insulted and slandered by the heroes of the "deutschen Bibliothek," stood two genuine sons of Luther, the *Wandsbecker Messenger* (*Matth. Claudius*, *ob.* 1815, cf. *W. Herbst*, M. Cl. d. Wandsb. Bote. Gotha, 1857), and *Hamann* (*ob.* 1788), the Magnus of the North of whom Jean Paul says, that his commas are planetary, his periods solar systems (cf. *C. H. Gildemeister*, J. G. Ham. d. Mag. d. Nord., Leb. u. Schriften, 3 Bde. Gotha, 1857), and two noble sons of the Reformed Church, the laborious *Lavater* (*ob.* 1801), and the prayerful *Jung-Stilling* (*ob.* 1817). Besides these, we must not forget the celebrated historian *John Von Müller* (*ob.* 1809), who recognized Christ as the centre of all ages in a way more profound than any historian before him. (Cf. § 53, 3.)

§ 51. ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE DURING THE PERIOD OF ILLUMINATION.

The old church faith, meanwhile, had still during this period of reigning unbelief its ten thousand who had not bowed their knees before the Baal of the spirit of the age. A *Lavater* and *Stilling*, a *Claudius* and *Hamann*, are not by far the only, though the most brilliant and best known names of the faithful sons of the Church. A high place of honor among them is also occupied by the preacher *John Fred. Oberlin* of Waldbach (Ban de la Roche) (*ob.* 1826), who is scarcely sufficiently honored by being called a saint of the Protestant Church. "*Father Oberlin*," by official labors extending through 60 years, elevated his morally and spiritually depraved and temporally poor congregation to a condition of industrial prosperity, noble civilization, and pure

churchly piety, and transformed the barren, waste Steinthal into a patriarchal Paradise. Among the supranaturalistic theologians there were also many who adhered in their hearts to the old faith, even though they also in their science clothed it with garments of the new fashion. The flower of the German people was still rooted in biblical and churchly Christianity. Where the pulpit permitted it to die out, there they derived rich spiritual nourishment from the writings of the fathers, and where the modern vandalism of Illumination had mutilated and diluted the churchly hymn-books, there the old choice hymns still lived in the hearts of the mothers and fathers, and resounded with power at family worship, and a *Hippel* exemplified in his "Lebenslaüfen" their wonderful power in the life, loving, and suffering of a Christian. The *Moravian Church* became often a haven of safety for the educated, who were more exposed to danger. The common danger also united pious Roman Catholics and pious Protestants in the love of a common Saviour. Thus in Münster a circle of the noblest souls of the Roman Catholic Church was formed around the noble princess *Galizin* and her able minister Fürstenberg, in which also ex. gr. a *Hamann* with his genuine Lutheran spirit found the most intimate communion and the warmest reception. *Pestalozzi* (*ob.* 1827) appeared already in 1775 in Switzerland to rescue the science of teaching from the superficiality of Basedow, reforming the national school in a spirit that was genuinely national, and at least not hostile to Christianity.

1. *The Dilution of the Hymn-Books and Sacred Poetry.* — It was *Klopstock* who opened the way for the unparalleled hymn-book vandalism of this period, by remodelling 29 old church hymns (1758). He, as also his immediate successors, *Cramer* and *J. Ad. Schlegel*, only wished to improve the form, *i. e.*, modernize them, which, however, could not be done without diluting their contents. Their numberless successors among the champions of Illumination only made the more thorough havoc both with contents and form. General superintendents, consistorial counsellors, and court-preachers, rivalled each other in preparing and introducing new hymn-books, with diluted old and still more watery new hymns. Every town had its own and peculiarly amended hymn-book. Meanwhile, to the honor of the German people of this period, especially of Würtemberg, it must be said, that they with reluctance permitted the old treasure of their hymn-books to be taken from them, and the new fabrications to be forced upon them. Only a few voices from the educated classes, as ex. gr. the poet *Schubert*, were raised against the nuisance, but they were unheard. — As

poor as the spirit of Illumination was in faith and in poetry, so rich was it, nevertheless, in the production of so-called sacred hymns. These are almost entirely of a moral character, and where a well-meant hymn of faith appears, it bears not the least comparison with the hymns of the 16th and 17th centuries. Abstraction, dogmatic tone, and pathos, are the substitutes for the sublimity, inwardness, freshness, and nationality of the old hymns. The hymns of the noble and pious *Gellert* are by far the best contributed by this period. *Klopstock* repudiated Gellert's doctrinal tone, and sought to awaken and stir up religious feeling. On the other hand, he lacked nationality, of which Gellert possessed at least a minimum. Among the sacred poets who inherited his spirit, *Lavater* is the most able and Christian. (Cf. § 54, 8.)

2. *Sacred Music.* — Sacred music sunk also with the hymns of this period to the lowest degree of its existence. The old chorals were recast into modern forms, by which they altogether lost their ancient power and beauty. A multitude of new, unnational, and difficult melodies, in a dry pedantic style, appeared; the last trace of the old rhythm disappeared, and tedious, heavy monotony gained the ascendency, by which all sublimity and freshness was lost. Preludes and interludes of a secular character were introduced as substitutes. An operatic overture generally introduced the people into the church; a march or a waltz dismissed them from it. The church ceased to foster and to produce music; the theatre and concert-hall took its place. The operatic supplanted all taste for the oratoric style. Cantata of a thoroughly secular and effeminate spirit were composed for festival occasions. A proper church style in music no longer existed, on which account also *Winterfeld* closes his history of evangelical sacred music with *Seb. Bach*. It was almost worse with the *Roman Catholic* mass-music. Palestrina's earnest and elevated school had almost entirely disappeared in the polite operatic style, and a greater nuisance was and is still made of the organ than in the Protestant churches. (Cf. § 54, 8.)

3. *Religious Parties within the Church.*—From the secondary effects of Spener's Pietism, enriched by Oetinger's theosophy, proceeded in Würtemberg the party of the *Michelians*. Its founder was a layman, *Michael Hahn*, a butcher (*ob.* 1819). His writings are full of deep views of the Divine economy of salvation (among which especially s. Briefe von d. ersten Offenb. Gottes durch die ganze Schöpfung bis an das Ziel aller Dinge). The doctrine of a double fall (whence resulted a great disregard, but not rejection of marriage), of the restoration of all things; further and especially the disregarding of justification in favor of sanctification, of Christ for us in favor of Christ in us, the urging of uninterrupted repentance, etc., was peculiar to him. The latter was enhanced by the extreme contrast of the *Pregizerians* (with preacher Pregizer of Haiterbach at their head), who, laying all stress

upon baptism and justification, certain in the faith of their happiness, and not needing self-tormenting repentance, impressed upon their life and worship the character of great cheerfulness and joyfulness. Both parties, having spread over the whole of Würtemberg, still exist, but have approached each other very nearly in common opposition to the destructive tendencies of modern times. They had besides a common ground in their Chiliasm and in the doctrine of restoration. (Cf. *Haug*, d. Secte d. Michelianer; in d. Studien d. ev. Geistlichk. Würtb. XI. I.—*Grüneisen*, Gesch. d. rel. Gemeinschaften in Würtemb.; in the hist. theol. Ztschr. 1841, 1.)—The party of the *Collenbuschians* in Berg stood also in a certain connection with Oetinger's theosophy and other Würtemberg elements. *Sam. Collenbusch*, practising physician at Wichlinghausen (*ob.* 1803), who, being offended by the orthodox doctrines of original sin as original guilt, of the wrath of God and of the representative satisfaction of Christ, formed a doctrinal system, in which Christ, laying aside his divine attributes, took upon himself with human flesh also the susceptibility of sinning, the sufferings of Christ were derived from the wrath of Satan, and have only the significance of the sufferings of trial and of steadfastness, and redemption consists in the fact, that Christ bore Satan's wrath *for us* and sends his Spirit *into us* to work sanctification. The most important of the theological adherents of the pious physician are both the *Hasenkamps* and the excellent *Gottfr. Menken*, Reformed preacher in Bremen (*ob.* 1831), (Homilien über die Gesch. d. Elias und zu Hebr. 11; Anleitung zum eigenen Unterricht in d. Wahrhh. d. h. Schrift). (Cf. *F. W. Krug*, Gesch. der Schwärmerei, etc., Elberf. 1851, p. 205, ff., and *M. Göbel*, Gesch. d. chr. Lebens, Bd. II.)

4. German Illumination found, *outside of Germany*, but little favor at first. It spread soonest and most in the *Netherlands*, then in *Denmark* and *Norway*, and but little in *Sweden*. In Amsterdam a part of the Lutheran congregation tore itself loose, when a neological preacher was forced upon it (1791), and organized itself independently as the "*Restored Lutheran Church*," or the "*Old Light*." It still numbers seven Dutch congregations, with 12,000 members. In 1797 several members of the Wallonian (French Reformed) congregation at Delft in the Netherlands formed a religious society under the name *Christo sacrum*, which wished to adopt all the Christian confessions, and to unite all in a true Church of Christ upon the foundation of faith common to all. The confessional doctrinal differences were to be regarded as unessential, and left to private conviction, on which account also a separation from the old churches was not regarded as necessary. But, although the new congregation at first made some progress, and the government formally guaranteed it religious freedom in 1802, it soon declined for want of internal strength and under the power of growing unbelief, and exists now only in several weak and needy remnants.—In *Norway* a powerful religious excitement was created by the peasant

Nielsen Hauge, who, since 1795, preached the gospel there. In *England* the Dissenters, especially the Methodists, exerted a wholesome influence on the national church. Here in the person of *W. Cowper* (*ob.* 1800) we meet with a noble sacred poet of high lyrical endowments, whose life and poetry, however, are consumed by melancholy, caused by the bugbears of predestinarian despair and methodistic care of his soul.

5. *Protestant Union and Missionary Labors.* (Cf. *Jul. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. ev. Miss. Hamb. 1845, 2 Bde.)—In order to establish propaganda to realize the grand thought of union effort for Christian, practical ends, the Augsburg senior *John Urlsperger* travelled over England, Holland, and Germany. But his zeal was first crowned with permanent success in *Basle* by establishing the *German Society of Christianity* ("Deutsche Gesellsch. zur Beförder. christl. Wahrh. u. Gottselijkeit") 1780. Soon a number of branch societies were formed in Switzerland and South Germany. A periodical: "Sammlungen für Liebhaber christl. Wahrheit und Gottseligkeit" became the organ of the society (1784), which drew within the province of its labors all possible Christian objects (Bible and tract distribution, care of the poor and sick, itinerant preaching, circulating libraries, evangelization of Roman Catholics, missions among the Jews, Turks, and Heathen, etc.). Gradually some of the branches grew strong enough to be independent, ex. gr. 1804, the Basle Bible Society, 1816, the Missionary Society, 1820, the Beuggen Institution for neglected children and the education of charity-school teachers; further, a union for the friends of Israel, a tract-union, a deaf and dumb-asylum, etc., whereby a dissolution of the society was prepared for in a way not to be regretted.—In the last decade of this century, a feeling for united labor for Christian objects was also awakened in *England*, and first of all for *Heathen Missions*. This took place in the year 1795, when a large number of Christians of all parties, mostly Dissenters, united to *found the general London Missionary Society*, and already in the following year the first missionary ship sailed to the South Sea islands under Captain *Wilson*, with 18 missionaries on board. They labored, almost hopelessly, but perseveringly, for 16 years, until finally King Pomare II. of Tahiti became the first of the converts. A victory over a heathen reaction-party (1815) secured full dominion for Christianity. The example of the London Missionary Society led to imitation in other quarters; thus arose in 1796 two Scotch, and in 1797 a Netherland Missionary Society, and in 1800 in London the *Episcopal Missionary Society* for the English possessions in Africa, Asia, etc. In the same year *Jänicke* of Berlin founded his mission institute. The Danish Lutheran (§ 47, 7) and the Moravian missions (§ 47, 6) carried on, meanwhile, their missionary operations vigorously, especially the latter. (Cf. § 54, 9, 10.)

FOURTH PERIOD

OF

CHURCH HISTORY

IN ITS MODERN GERMANIC FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Cf. *K. R. Hagenbach*, K. G. d. 18 u. 19 Jahrh. 2. A. Lpz. 1856. Bd. II.—*J. C. L. Gieseler*, K. G. d. neuesten Zeit. Herausg. v. C. R. Redepennig, Bonn 1855.—*F. A. Scharpff* (kath.), Vorless. üb d. neueste K. G. Freib. 1852. — *B. Gams* (kath.), Gesch. d. K. Christi im 19. Jahrh. Innsbr. 1853, ff., 2 Bde.—*Jul. Wiggers*, kirchl. Statistic. Hamb. 1842, f. 2 Bde.—*Ders.* d. kirchl. Bewegung in Deutschl. Rost. 1848.—*K. Netz*, die Kirchen d. europ. Abendl. Frkf. 1847, Bd. I. — *D. Schenkel*, die rel. Zeitkämpfe. Hamb. 1847. — *G. Fr. Rheinwald*, Acta hist. ecclst. Seculi XIX. Hamb. 1836–38, 3 Bde.—*K. Matthes*, allg. kirchl. Chronik. I–IV. Lpz. 1855–58.

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

§ 52. REVIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS AGITATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The horrors of the French Revolution demonstrated what must become of the modern world without God and Christianity; the reign of the new divine scourge lifted the eyes and hearts of the people to Him, from whom alone help was yet to be hoped for; the wars for liberty in their enthusiasm ("with God for king and fatherland") did place their trust in this help, and the double victory (1813 and 1815) gloriously justified this trust. Princes and people were filled with thankfulness to God. *Alexander* I., *Francis* I., and *Frederick William* III. (being at the same time representatives of the three principal churches) formed,

after the Congress of Vienna had established the political relations, the *Holy Alliance* (1815), which had for its object the cultivation and preservation of Christian brotherly love among the nations as the branches of one family, and among the princes as the fathers of the same. "To make Christianity the highest law of national life, in spite of all confessional dissensions," was the declared object of the Holy Alliance, which was joined by all the princes of Europe, excepting the Pope, the Sultan, and the King of England, but which, nevertheless, soon became antiquated as a political idyll. *Alexander* II., at his accession to the throne (1855), first again recognized in this idyll an eternally true ideal of Christian rulers.—A religious fermentation had also been produced among the people; but what six decades had levelled to the ground could not rise again in a night. Old and new, and partly very heterogeneous elements, were commingling and fermenting in the national spiritual life, in poetry and philosophy, in theology and the church. Within thirty years a decided clarification has taken place, and the antitheses have manifested themselves purely and independently. The restitution of the papacy in 1814 already awakened a new enthusiasm for ultramontane Roman Catholicism, as also the jubilee of the Reformation in 1817 for Protestantism; whilst the theological and practical principles of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, which had been repressed, the former in Supranaturalism, the latter in Pietism, by a premature union, which regarded them as no longer existing, were likewise agitated anew. A powerful effort was also made by the old sects to obtain a wider influence, and new sects full of powerful errors appeared. Thus the ecclesiastical and religious principles were drawn out sharper and increased, and over against the church and Christianity a naked and bold anti-Christianity asserted itself in Socialism and Communism, in political, religious, and scientific Libertinism; whilst pauperism and proletarianism, a fruit chiefly of the largely multiplied manufactories, increased in a terrible way. In 1848 the igniting spark fell upon this accumulated mass of powder, and in a short time Western Europe was enveloped in the flames of political revolution. The two years of reaction (1849–50) succeeded in mastering this wild conflagration. But the fire still smouldered beneath the ashes. May God grant, that in a night, when the watchmen may sleep, another whirlwind may not kindle it anew! Within the sphere of religious life agitation existed

in every direction. Pantheism, Materialism, and Atheism devastated science and practical life, even to the lowest strata of the people. Old and new sects increased in a threatening manner. Ultramontanism bent its bow more tightly. The Protestant Union became in every direction a *concordia discors*, and even Lutheranism, which sundered itself from it, concealed a dangerous dissension in its bosom. The prophecies of Scripture alone opened a view, through all confusions and anxieties, to the final issue of all history, for which, whether it be near or far off, even the complications of the present must prepare the way.

§ 53. THE GENERAL BASIS OF THE CULTURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN ITS CONNECTIONS WITH THEOLOGY AND THE CHURCH.

Philosophy exerted an important influence upon the religious development of this period, both as regards science and practical life. Whilst Rationalism in its philosophical development was not able to go beyond Kant, the other theological tendencies were more or less directed by the philosophy of this period. In addition to philosophy, *Belles Lettres*, which was also in manifold ways affected by philosophy, exerted a powerful influence upon the religious views of the educated classes. The *exact sciences* also were brought into a closer relation to Christianity, partly friendly and partly hostile. But, generally, a Christian tendency made itself felt more decidedly than ever in the sciences; and it appears as characteristic that, whilst formerly the Christian convictions of the learned had little or no influence in the formation of these sciences, now the endeavors of many educated Christian men were directed towards penetrating them with the Christian principle and permitting it to remodel them.

1. *German Philosophy.* (Cf. § 50, 7.)—*Fries* (*ob.* 1843) also acquired importance for the development of Protestant theology, by the influence which his philosophy exerted upon several distinguished theologians (De Wette, Hase). His philosophy started from Kantian Rationalism, which it regarded as standing in need of being made more profound and thorough, and which it sought to do in a method nearly similar to Jacobi's. *Schelling's* philosophy of identity, on the other hand, started from Fichte's idealism, and, in its progress, assumed the form of essentially pantheistic *Natural Philosophy.* He learned from Fichte that the world was null and void without the spirit, but he inverted the relation. Whilst Fichte allowed reality to the world (the Non-ego)

only in so far as man apprehended and penetrated it with his spirit, and this first gave it real existence, according to Schelling the spirit is nothing else than the life of nature itself, and consequently identical with it, or rather both are the opposite poles of the same phenomenon. The spirit still slumbers and dreams in the lower grades of natural life, but in man it has attained to self-consciousness. The total life of nature, or the soul of the world, is God. Man is a reflection of God and a microcosm. God reaches objective reality and the unfolding of his self-consciousness in the development or history of the world; Christianity is a turning-point in the history of the world; its fundamental doctrines of revelation, Trinity, incarnation, and reconciliation are regarded as prescient attempts to solve the enigma of the world. Schelling's living, poetic view of the world penetrated all the sciences and gave them a new and unprecedented inspiration. But it was an abomination to the reigning rationalistic theology. It returned its hatred with ridicule and contempt. It introduced a new and fresh element of life among the younger generation of theologians. As Schelling was connected with Fichte, so was *Hegel* with Schelling, whose pantheistic Natural Philosophy he transformed into pantheistic *Mental* Philosophy. According to this philosophy, divine revelation as an unfolding of the divine self-consciousness from non-existence to existence, *i. e.* from mere self-existence to real-existence, manifests itself not so much in the life of nature, as rather in the thinking and acting of the human spirit. Judaism, heathenism, and Christianity are the three progressive stages of the development of this process of revelation; Judaism is far inferior to classic heathenism, but in Christianity we have the perfect religion, of course only in the lower form of *conception*, which it is the mission of philosophy to convert into *knowledge*. It at least again brought Protestant orthodox doctrines into formal repute. When *Marheineke* again constructed Lutheran orthodoxy in its entire dialectic perfection into a speculative system of dogmatics, upon the basis of this philosophy; when, further, the talented and profound jurist *Göschel* united it with a refreshing Pietism, then the illusion was entertained for a time that the long-sought-for reconciliation of philosophy and theology had been finally discovered in this philosophy. (The berliner Jahrbücher were for a long time its organ.) But the condition of things changed immediately after the Master's death (1831). Hegel's school was divided into an orthodox and a numerically larger (or "young Hegelian") one; the former advancing the churchly tendency of the Master; the latter despising Christianity as an antiquated form of conception, and running his philosophical views into the most open self-deification and self-worship of the human spirit (Anthropotheism). *David Strauss*, *Bruno Bauer*, and *Louis Feuerbach* introduced this tendency into theology, whilst *Arnold Ruge* endeavored to introduce and make it felt in the social, æsthetic, and political relations of life. The organ of this tendency was since 1837 the "Halleschen (later

German) Jahrbücher." When these were suppressed in 1843 by the State, the *Young-Hegelians*, in order to obtain a strong support, connected themselves with the Rationalists (now friends of light), whom but a short time before they ridiculed as the "antediluvian theologians". In the revolution of 1848, Ruge, with some of his companions, affiliated with the communistic Republicans. *Schelling*, who had been silent for almost three decades, and had meanwhile transformed his former Pantheism into Christian Gnosticism, occupied (1841) Hegel's chair in Berlin as his declared opponent, but was able to produce only a transient excitement among the younger generation of theologians with his dualistic doctrine of potencies, which was announced as the finally attained understanding of Christianity. He died upon a journey to Switzerland (1854), after his brilliant career at Berlin had come and gone like a meteor. His son has commenced to erect to him a worthy monument by publishing his collected works.

The hegemony of Hegelian philosophy was ruined by the division of the schools and by the radicalism of its adherents; and Schelling, in the second stadium of his philosophical development, was not able to found a peculiar school. On the other hand, quite a series of younger philosophers appeared, who, starting from Hegelian dialectics, purposed to free philosophy from the ban of Pantheism, and instead of it to substitute a speculative Theism, which made itself felt as Christian philosophy, and came in fact into a closer relation to historical Christianity, by acknowledging its positive contents. At the head of these most honorable men stood *Fichte's son;* besides him, *Weisse*, *Braniss*, *Chalybäus*, *Fischer*, *Ulrici*, *Wirth*, etc. Its organ is the "Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Philosophische Kritik," published by Fichte, Jr. But important as the philosophical power of these men is, they still have not been able to obtain the influence in German science which Schelling and Hegel possessed in so large a degree. — *Herbart*, Kant's successor at Königsberg (*ob.* 1841 at Göttingen), challenged the entire new philosophy from Fichte the father to Fichte the son, by declaring that the metaphysical God lay altogether beyond the horizon of philosophy, which he would confine to the limits of empiricism. His Realism was the sharpest antithesis of Hegelian Idealism. His philosophy, abstractedly considered, stands indifferent to Christianity, but is not incapable of being brought into a friendly relation to it, as *Taute's* philosophy of religion has demonstrated. Nevertheless, Herbart's philosophy also was not able to exert a great influence on practical life and science. The tendency of the present age, which is more decidedly in the direction of practical interests, is not more favorable to the cultivation of philosophy.

2. *The Exact Sciences.* — *Schelling's* profound views became hereby so very significant, that they were not confined to the *philosophical* movements of the age, but also breathed a new life into the other sciences. This influence was most widely exerted upon the natural

✱ = predominance

sciences. There was not wanting, it is true, a certain wavering and mistiness, to which *mesmeric* magnetism especially contributed largely, but the turbid fermentation was gradually clarified, and the Christian views separated themselves from their pantheistic appendages. The genial *Henry Steffens* (*ob.* 1845), and in a much greater measure the profound and judicious *G. H. v. Schubert*, taught how to fathom and understand the book of nature as the reflection and supplement of the divine revelation in the Holy Scriptures. A congenial spirit of the latter was the Frankfürt senator *Fr. v. Meyer*, who contributed less, it is true, for and through his special science, but on that account more for and through deep Christian apprehension of the divine mysteries in nature and history. *Hegel's* philosophy also appeared at first to deepen and enrich, in a Christian way, the other sciences; at least it presents in *Göschel* a thinker, who in a Christian spirit transfigures jurisprudence, and confirms Christianity in a legal way. For the rest, however, *Hegel's* philosophy, in its application to the other departments of knowledge, brought into sway an abstruse, dialectical tendency; its disciples of the extreme left wing wished to construct all the sciences *à priori* from abstract ideas, and at the same time to eradicate from them the last reminiscences of a Christian spirit.

If we consider the sciences singly, and their relation to Christianity, it is the *Natural Sciences*, above all others, which here come into view. Their great and glorious names, which history praises as their proper founders (*Copernicus*, *ob.* 1543, *Kepler*, *ob.* 1630, *Newton*, *ob.* 1727, *Haller*, *ob.* 1777, *Davy*, *ob.* 1829, *Cuvier*, *ob.* 1832, etc.), have also a glorious and native sound for the Christian ear. All of them, and many others of the great masters of natural philosophy, professed their faith with heart and lips in Christian truth, which, in their opinion, was not the least endangered by their brilliant discoveries. It was otherwise with the theologians. Even a *Schleiermacher* (Sendschriften an Lücke in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1829) apprehended the foreseen destruction of all Christian views of the world through the irresistible results of natural philosophy; and *Bretschneider* (Sendschriften an einem Staatsmann, 1830) proclaimed to the world without pity, that what Schleiermacher had only feared, had already fully taken place. A natural philosopher (*K. v. Raumer*) proved to them, however, that there was yet no ground at all either for rationalistic rejoicing or for Christian fear, and convicted the superficial babbler *Ballenstedt*, a rationalistic rural pastor of the purest water ("Die Urwelt," 1819), of the most colossal ignorance. But the condition of things was soon advanced to a new stage. The investigation of nature, awakening from the intoxication of Schelling's natural philosophy, pronounced all speculation to be contraband and pure empiricism, and the prudent investigation of the actual to be the only admissible, the only useful object of its pursuit. This was well meant, and also honestly and judiciously carried out by the majority of natural philosophers. But whilst

they committed the spirit in and above nature to the investigation of theologians and philosophers, as not belonging to the province of empirical investigation of nature, those young in the natural sciences, here also effecting the emancipation of the flesh from the spirit, declared that the spirit was not at all present, because it could not be discovered by the dissecting knife. *Charles Vogt*, formerly regent of the empire of the year 1849, asserted in all earnestness, that thought was only a secretion of the brain, in the same way as urine was a secretion of the kidneys; and *Moleschott* declared all life to be a mere change of matter, and recognized no other destination of man after death than to be manure for the ground. The rabble of science and of life shouted its approbation of them, but men of true science (*Rud. Wagner*, *Andr. Wagner*, *Liebig*, and many others), chastised the irrational and unscientific spirit as it deserved, and openly and firmly professed their adhesion to Christian truth. The celebrated discoverer of electro-magnetism, *Oerstedt*, had earlier already sought "the spirit in nature;" but of course the spirit which he found was not the spirit of the Bible and of the Church. The grand-master of German Natural Philosophy, *Al. v. Humboldt*, also acknowledged the system of the world to be a Κόσμος full of grand harmony in the whole and in the parts; but he also discovered no Christian ideas and views in God's great book of nature.—*Medicine* stood and stands on the same level with the natural sciences. Only a *De Valenti* ("Medicina pastoralis") perceived, with Protestant soberness, in the Christian faith a vehicle of medical science; whilst a *Ringseis* in München pronounced even the entire Romish papacy with the adoration of saints and worship of the host to be a conditio sine qua non of all medicine. The physicians also, who believed in magnetism, stood for the most part personally and with their science in intimate relation to Christianity (ex. gr. *Passavant*, *Ennemoser*, etc.) — Magnetic *Somnambulism*, the Würtemberg ghost-seeing, the North American *Spirit-rappings*, and the universal *Table-moving* and *Table-writing*, have, in spite of the wrath of many natural philosophers, who saw therein only refined fraud or obstinate self-deception, and of many earnest Christians, who warned against Satan's deception and arts, found crowds of believers, who gave ear to the new revelation with rapture.

Of all the sciences, no one was so thoroughly pervaded by the Christian spirit as *Jurisprudence*. A large number of excellent jurists, who are reckoned among the most distinguished notabilities of this science, and who were always ready to give evidence of their zeal for the Church and Christianity in practical life as well as in science, adorned many German professorships and tribunals, or filled high civil offices. As examples we need only mention the names of *Fr. v. Meyer*, *Göschel*, *Stahl*, *Bethmann-Hollweg*, *Savigny*, *Puchta*, *Thibaut*, *Bickell*, *Jacobson*, *Richter*, *Mühler*, *Göschen*, *Wasserschleben*, *Huschke*, *Mejer*, *Scheuerl*, etc., and the Roman Catholics *Walter*, *Philipps*, et. al.—*Historiography*,

after it had surmounted the superficial pragmatism of the rationalistic period, and objectivity had again acquired its rights, also followed the Christian and churchly factors of history with love and recognition. Protestant historical inquiry especially manifested throughout an almost boundless readiness to acknowledge and admire the grand phenomena of mediæval Roman Catholicism, even with the denial of the Protestant consciousness; and proceeded from the apotheosis of a Boniface, Gregory VII., and Innocent III., to the defamation of the Reformation as a revolution (John Voigt, H. Leo, C. A. Menzel, Hurter, Gfrörer, etc.) Ultramontane historiography accepted such admissions, but by no means thought of recompensing like with like, but only intensified its old method of wickedly and perfidiously slandering everything Protestant (*Riffel*, *Döllinger*, etc.), and of making history instead of impartially investigating. *Geography*, which was first raised to a science by *Charles Ritter*, paid to Christianity the tribute of its recognition, which it also deserved from this quarter. Finally, ancient classic *Philology* also, in several important representatives, illumined ancient classic heathenism and its religion with the Christian spirit, and endeavored to interpret it in the sense of the apostle (Acts 14 : 16; 17 : 27; Rom. 1 : 19, ff.) *Creuzer* prepared the way thereto by a deeper apprehension of ancient heathen mythology. *Görres* walked in his footsteps, whose pupil *Lepp* (das Heidenth. u. dessen Bedentung für d. Christth. 1853, 3 Bde.) exposes without reserve the deep internal connection of Roman Catholicism with heathenism by proving that ancient heathen mythology and mysteriosophy are only a latent Catholicism. On the other hand, the Protestants *Nägelsbach* (Homerische und nachhomerische Theologie) and *Lübker* (Sophokleische Theologie) fathomed, with like depth and discretion, the religious life of the ancient world in its relation to Christian truth.

3. *National Literature.* (Cf. *J. V. Eichendorff* (Roman Catholic), über die ethische u. rel. Bedent. der neuern romant. Poesie in Deutschl. Lpz. 1847. — *K. Barthel*, d. deutsche Nationallit. d. Neuzeit. 4. A. Braunschw. 1855. — *J. A. Mor. Brühl* (Roman Catholic), Gesch. d. kath. Lit. Deutschl. vom 17. Jahrh. biz zur Gegenw. Lpz. 1854.) — As already Schiller's poetry introduced Kantian philosophy, clothed in poetic garb, into the national life, so did also the other phases of philosophical development find their poetical representatives. It is true, *Goethe* was too rich and independent a genius to be led captive by a philosophical school; nevertheless his views of life, and especially his views of nature, were related in many ways with Schelling's philosophy. His religion was a Spinozian Pantheism. The *Romantic School* connected itself more decidedly and regardlessly with Schelling. His Natural Philosophy is the ground out of which it grew, and out of which it received as well its proclivity to Pantheism as to Roman Catholicism (for the philosophy of identity is related, in principle, to Roman Catholicism, in so far as the latter also, only in a different

way [§ 20], likes to identify or confound the divine and the human). The antithesis between *romantic* and *classic* was in itself considered not *that* between *Christian* and *heathen*, and referred generally less to the religious contents than to the poetic form. Romanticism desired to liberate art and poetry from the bondage of strict, antique classic form, and to lead it back to genuine German forms. It was thereby directed to the rich fulness of the middle ages, whose contents it then sought to naturalize *with* the form in modern times. But since the mediæval view of the world was decidedly Christian, and the representatives of the classic school had in great part lapsed into the heathenism of illumination, the above-named antithesis had a certain justification. Romanticism, it is true, manifested a great religious inwardness (especially in *Novalis* and *La Motte Fouqué*), and became the sworn enemy of rationalistic Illumination, which it pursued in all its hiding-places, exposed and made ridiculous (*Tieck's* Zerbino); nevertheless, in its contest with the prudery of Rationalism, it ran into frivolity (*Fr. Schlegel's* Lucinde),—and the direct repristination of the mediæval forms and views, which had fallen *behind* the progress of the world, was ever an unnatural thing, which could not be atoned for by the superabundance of imagination, and which avenged itself on many, even the better and nobler ones (ex. gr. *Fr. Schlegel*,—to say nothing of the starved form of a *Zach. Werner*), by apostacy from Protestantism to Roman Catholicism. The twilight of Romanticism was fundamentally opposed to Hegelian philosophy, and its disciples of the left wing almost succeeded in stamping even the expression "romantic" as a term of abuse for Jesuitism and obscurantism of all kinds. On the other hand, the dissolute and destructive tendency which, after Hegel's death, mastered his school, contributed its part towards creating a later anti-Christian and revolutionary poetry. Closely connected with the Romantic School, for which the way was broken in Schlegel's Lucinde, was the *School of young Germany*, with its gospel of the rehabilitation of the flesh. Its leader was the gifted poet *H. Heine*. The pantheistic deification of Schelling's and the self-deification of Hegel's school received their expression in *Leop. Schefer's* "Laienbrevier" and Weltpriester, as also in *Sallet's* "Laienevangelium;" whilst the sympathies of the young Hegelians for the communistic spirit of the age were heralded by *Herwegh's* and later also by *Freiligrath's* poems.

Purer and clearer than in the Romantic School was the Christian element in the noble national poets *Mar. Arndt* and *Max. v. Schenkendorf*, who, being led to faith in the living God of the Bible by the distressed state of the fatherland and the enthusiasm of the war for liberty, sought to sing this same faith with fresh and inspired notes into the hearts of the German people. *Uhland's* sweet lyric poetry connected itself, through the enthusiasm for national interests of the present with the patriotic poets, and through the longing with which he penetrated into the rich mine of the German past, with the Roman-

tists, but excelled them far in clearness and sterling worth. Without being or wishing to be a specifically Christian poet, his rich and clear tenderness of heart, nevertheless, made the soil of German national life receptive for the Christian religion. The same is true also of *Rückert's* poems, which transplanted the fragrant flowers of Oriental poesy into the German garden. The Christian consecration of poetic genius appears still more decidedly in the noble and lovely lyric poet *Emanuel Geibel*, the greatest and most Christian of the secular poets of the present age.—Connected with those named was a long series of *specifically Christian poets*. The most important of these are: *Alb. Knapp, C. A. Döring, Ph. Spitta, K. B. Garve, J. Friedr. v. Meyer, J. Pet. Lange, Henry Möwes, Gust. Knack, Gust. Jahn, P. F. Engstfeld, Jul. Sturm, Vict. Strauss, H. A. Seidel, Louisa Hensel*, and many others, who are worthily collected together in *Knapp's* Christoterpe (1833–53). Those named belong to the Evangelical Church. With all the Christian depth, inwardness, freshness, and enthusiasm which they revealed in their sacred poetry, still no one of them was able to elevate himself to the sublime simplicity, power, popularity, and churchly objectivity which characterized the old evangelical hymn; they all, in this regard, bore too much the signature of this age, the subjective temper of its struggles, conflicts, and excitements. Only one poet of modern times, *Fred. Rückert*, struck the key of the old hymns in *one* hymn (the advent hymn: "Dein König kommt in niedern Hüllen"). *Roman Catholic* Germany has no poet of the first degree, but many of the second and third, possessing great religious depth and feeling, ex. gr. *B. Clemens Brentano, Ed. v. Schenk, Guido Görres, Melchoir v. Diepenbrock, Fred. Beck, Annette v. Droste-Hülshof*, the excellent juvenile and popular poets *Franz v. Pocci, William Smets*, etc. The highly praised poet, *Oscar v. Redwitz*, dug an early grave for his poetic fame by the "Siegelinde," when, by a shallow Roman Catholic drama, "Thomas Morus," he kindled new hope among his ultramontane friends, that they would be able at some time to honor in him a "Roman Catholic" poet of the first. Another son of the Roman Catholic Church, the talented *Nicholas v. Lenau* (Niembsch v. Strehlenan), became insane (*ob.* 1850) through the distracted state of his inner life. He stood once, with his great master-work, "Savonarola," in the fore-court of the evangelical faith.

In *France, Lamartine*, soon after the Restoration, manifested a romantic, Christian tendency. The poetical sublimity and fanatical enthusiasm of his poems made a deep impression upon the excitable Frenchmen, but it was not lasting. His poetry gradually declined through his subsequent participation in the debates of the Chambers, and his Christian tendency degenerated into a vague cosmopolitanism. For the rest, the French romantic school since the Revolution of July (*Vict. Hugo, Balsac, George Sand, Eug. Sue*, etc.) continued to assume a more anti-Christian character, and promoted the communistic and

libertine spirit of the age. — *England* had a highly gifted and Christianly disposed poet in *W. Wordsworth* (*ob.* 1850). In *Lord Byron*, on the other hand, appeared a poet of the first rank, who experienced in himself, more deeply than any other poet, the great chasm which runs through the consciousness of our age, and which he has delineated more faithfully in its awful greatness than any other. He permits the disharmony of nature and of human life to rush along in powerful and captivating notes. Incurable pain, despair, weariness of life, and misanthropy without hope, even without a desire for reconciliation, glowing enthusiasm for the glory of the past, burning passion for liberty and gigantic defiance of human power, surge through each other in scenes of woe. Whilst in England a ban still rests upon Byron's poems, which banishes them from social and family circles, their influence has only acquired the greater sway on the continent. His colossal spirit, however, also begat here a pigmy race of imitators, who strut so largely in continental literature.

4. *National Culture.*—Whilst the poetical national literature exerted an influence chiefly only on the higher and educated classes, an immense number of *popular* and *juvenile* works were published, which were designed for the lower classes and the youth. But only a few succeeded in striking the true popular and juvenile key, and still fewer is the number of those who offered the people and the youth that which was beneficial. *Pestalozzi's* "Lienhard and Gertrude," *Hebel's* "Sehatzkästlein," and *Zschokke's* "Goldmachendorf," spared at least the Christian consciousness of the people, even though they were not designed to strengthen and nourish it. *Berth. Auerbach*, a Jew, also delineates the Christian life of the people with admirable abnegation of his Spinozian unbelief, in his masterly village histories; although his subsequent authorship was devoted to democratic revolutionary movements and pantheistic propagandism. On the other hand, however, modern times have also produced a number of authors as genuinely national as Christian, who, writing and narrating *out of* the spirit of the people, became true apostles of Christian views, manners, and discipline *for* the people. The most important among these are: *Jeremiah Gotthelf*, (Albert Bitzius, *ob.* 1854), *W. O.* (Will. Oertel) *Von Horn*, *Carl Stöber*, *Otto Glaubrecht* (Rud. Ludw. Oeser), *Gust. Jahn*, *Aug. Wildenhahn*, *Mary Nathusius*, *Will. Redensbacher*, *Karl Wild*, et al. In the Roman Catholic Church *Albanus Stolz* displayed an admirable popular talent (Kalender für Zeit und Ewigkeit, since 1843). Comparatively few of the immense number of *juvenile works* correspond with their object and aim. The chief of the authors in this department of Christian narration is *G. H. v. Schubert*. Next to him are *Barth*, the author of "armen Heinrich," and *Stöber*, as also the Roman Catholic *Christopher Schmidt*, the author of "Ostereier." (Cf. *K. Bernhardi*, Wegweiser durch die deutschen Volks- und Jugendschriften, Lpz. 1852, and *H. Pröhle*, Hansbüchlein für das Volk u. s. Freunde. Lpz. 1852. Bd.

I. Einl.) The *common schools* became, especially through *Dinter's* (*ob.* 1831) successful efforts, nurseries of the tame, shallow, and self-sufficient Rationalism of the ancient *régime*, whilst they owe especially to *Diesterweg's* labors during the last thirty years their transformation into propaganda of naturalistic democracy. Next to the army of literary Bohemians, the teachers of the common schools of this period labored most successfully in poisoning the German nation, and in the Roman Catholic Church not less than in the Protestant. Whilst the rationalistic pastors soon preached their churches empty, the common schools continually brought their crowds of new victims to the Moloch of Illumination. But both Church and State have labored with success, within several decades, to bring to pass a Christian reorganization of the common schools, and Christian doctrines and views have already gained a decided ascendancy both in pedagogical journalism and literature. The *three regulations* of the Prussian minister *Von Raumer* (1854) contributed greatly towards a thorough Christian reorganization of the common schools. In Roman Catholic France and Germany the bishops have succeeded in gaining absolute control of the schools and seminaries. The Christian spirit has also begun to take a position by the side of reigning heathenism in the German *gymnasia*. At least, religious instruction in many of the higher institutions of learning has again passed into the hands of Christian teachers; and only a few have been able to maintain a height of Illumination such as is occupied by the Homburg academical gymnasium, where Niemeyer's "Lehrbuch der Religion" is still the text-book. Nevertheless, but little is accomplished by religious Christian instruction in these institutions, if the other instructions given do not correspond with it, which, alas! is too much the case yet. From this want arose the Christian gymnasium at *Gütersloh* (since 1849), and lately (1855) a Lutheran gymnasium at *Rogasen* in Posen. In the Protestant Church *Eyth* (Classiker u. Bebel. 1838) took up arms against the heathen *classics* as the basis of culture, but the most influential voices defended them. This question was also largely discussed in the Roman Catholic Church. The Paris *Univers* (editor, *Veuillot*) desired, in order to cut off the nourishment of modern heathenism, to substitute the Church Fathers for the classics; the Archbishop *Sibour* of Paris and several other bishops protested energetically against it. The Pope brought the passionate controversy to an end (1853) by a compromising decree, which takes the side of the *Univers*, but with great forbearance towards the archbishops.

5. *Art.* — The general mental agitation which was called forth by the new century also introduced new spirit and life into art. *Winckelmann* (*ob.* 1768) interpreted heathen classic art, and Romanticism awakened a sense and enthusiasm for mediæval Christian art. The greatest masters of *Architecture* were *Schinkel* (*ob.* 1841), *Klenze*, and *Heideloff*. A Protestant king (Frederick William IV.) began the completion of the cathedral at Cologne (1842), and a Protestant architect

(*Ernst Zwirner*) superintended it. — *Sculpture* has three great masters to point to, who impressed profound Christian views upon brass and marble. The Italian *Canova* (*ob.* 1822) was the renewer of this art. The German *Dannecker* (*ob.* 1841), inspired by him, excelled his master. His Christ represents the Divine Mediator in a sublime marble statue, as he beheld him in vision; his John embodies the image of the disciple meditating on the mystery of the holy Trinity. But greater than both of these is the Dane *Thorwaldsen* (*ob.* 1844), who sculptured Christ and his apostles, together with other groups, for the Church of our Lady in Copenhagen. — A new epoch in *Painting* also began. In 1810 a number of young German painters met together in Rome, who, enthusiastic for the mediæval ideals of art, formed a German painter's league, from which proceeded the Romantic school. *Overbeck*, the founder of the league, remained in Rome and went over to the Roman Catholic Church, because he could and would only paint that which he could also worship. The most profound inwardness and tenderness of religious feeling are revealed in all his works; but his contempt for that which was classic avenged itself in striking defects of form. His friends gradually emancipated themselves from this one-sidedness. *Cornelius*, the most distinguished of them, left Rome, and in 1819 took the control of the academy at Düsseldorf; in 1825 that of Munich; and in 1841 went to Berlin. He is the founder of the *Munich school* (*Schnorr*, *Veith*, *Kaulbach*, etc.), which combines religious inwardness with beautiful and sublime forms, and strives to spiritualize nature to ideal beauty; whilst the *Düsseldorf school*, under the control of *Karl Frederick Lessing*, restricted itself to a faithful copying of nature. Lessing's Protestant consciousness expressed itself, in contrast with the ultramontane zeal of his rigidly Roman Catholic art-companions, in his two great master-pieces, "Huss before the Council" and the "Imprisonment of Pope Paschalis by the Emperor Henry V.," and completed the long-prepared-for rupture of the schools (1842). Between these two German schools stood the Romantic French school, with *H. Vernet* at its head. — *Music* also made great progress, through the three great masters in Vienna. They devoted their best powers to secular music, but they also treated biblical and churchly subjects with imperishable success. *Mozart* (*ob.* 1791) wrote when dying his glorious requeim; *Haydn* (*ob.* 1809) set to music the seven words of Christ on the cross, and produced in his "Creation" a grand work of art, which, however, is almost more an opera than an oratorio. *Beethoven* (*ob.* 1827), having lost his hearing, withdrew into the magic world of his imagination, from which proceeded a Christ on the Mount of Olives and the second mass, "also a creation, which, however, did not reach the seventh day" (Hase), because the lofty spirit of the master was not the spirit of the church. The Berlin singing academy, under the control of Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (a nephew of the well-known Jewish popular philosopher), has gained great credit in re-

awakening the taste for the old churchly art music, by again performing the oratorios of Handel, Bach, etc. — an example which has been extensively imitated in other parts of Germany. Mendelssohn's own oratorios "Paulus" and "Elias," in which he permits the simple word of God to rule in its power and truth, as also his psalms, are the most glorious productions which have appeared in this department in modern times. He was removed by an early death (1847), before he was able to translate his ideal Christ into notes.

II. PROTESTANTISM.

Cf. *J. G. Jörg*, Gesch. d. Protestantism, in sr. neuesten Entwickel. 2 Bde. Regensb. 1858.

§ 54. THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN GENERAL, ESPECIALLY IN GERMANY.

THE beginning of this century found Rationalism in its fullest bloom and dominion. But a new spirit began to stir already in philosophy and national literature, and the heart and mind of the noblest of the German nation became again receptive for the faith of the fathers, through the enthusiasm of the wars of liberty. A strong and energetic Pietism, which also was not deficient in martyr-joyfulness, entered the arena and fought Rationalism to the death, although appearing to yield in the single combats. The year 1830, with the Hallean controversy, constitutes a turning-point. From this time Rationalism began to decline; it was compelled to withdraw from the high places of science and culture, and to try its chances in the agitation of the popular masses. Meanwhile a new factor of churchly development had appeared in the Union. A division in the camp of Pietism was produced amid the actions and reactions of the agitation occasioned by it. On the one side Pietism rose to Confessionalism, and contended as such as decidedly and as powerfully for the palladium of what was specifically churchly, as it had formerly for the treasure of the general Christian confession. On the other side, it entered most heartily into the Union, and glorified in it the most blessed acquisition of the century. All theological tendencies flowed together gradually into these two antitheses, and the present

finds itself in the midst of a yet undecided conflict of the one against the other, which is carried on both in the sphere of science and of practical life with spiritual and carnal weapons.

1. Protestant *Rationalism* preserved itself with its peculiar self-sufficiency and unimprovableness also through the religious elevation which the mental life of the nations reached since the wars for freedom. Innumerable preachers and teachers in common and higher schools still adhered to it, and until within the last thirty years it was also still represented in many theological professor's chairs. In the *Stunden der Andacht*, by *Zschokke*, further in *Tiedge's* Urania, and entirely caricatured in Witschel's Morgen und Abendopfern, etc., appeared a sentimental Rationalism, which, even though it became a bridge for many to true Christianity, nevertheless inflicted incalculable injury upon the religious development of the German nation, inasmuch as it drew the religious want, caused by the wars for freedom, away from its true spiritual nourishment. — Nevertheless, Rationalism lost respect and influence more and more, especially among the higher educated classes. Schelling's natural philosophy and Hegel's philosophy of conception, Romanticism and cosmopolitan literature, in which the spirit of modern times continually advanced forward in the most heterogeneous way, were equally opposed to it. It had to draw in its sails before Schleiermacher's theological science, and the then generalissimo and grandfather of Rationalism, Röhr of Weimar, found in his own diocese in the person of *Hase* of Jena a not less pietistic than orthodox opponent, whose crushing polemics struck him (1834) as once Lessing's struck the chief pastor *Götze*. *Claus Harms* (*ob.* 1855) on the part of the church, opened the contest against the apostacy from the faith of the fathers on the occasion of the Reformation-jubilee (1817), with 95 new *theses*, which contrast Luther's almost forgotten doctrine with the unchurchly spirit of the age; and *Aug. Hahn* (1827) defended in an academical disputation at Leipsic the position, that the Rationalists ought to be dismissed from the church. Since 1827 the "Evangelische Kirchenzeitung," by *Hengstenberg* of Berlin, began an opposition as fearless as energetic against Rationalism in all its forms. It created the greatest excitement by publishing an anonymous article (by the jurist *E. L. v. Gerlach*), which openly charged the professors *Gesenius* and *Wegschneider* of Halle with infidelity, even with the scoffing of what was holy, and advocated the interposition of the civil power (1830). But although the ex-minister *Stein* (to Gagern) expressed the hope that the state would not hesitate to place a dozen Rationalists extra statum nocendi, still the government only was concerned about silencing the controversy that had arisen, without examining the charges of the complainant. Pietism also vigorously opposed Rationalism in almost all the other German Protestant countries, and provoked many lively controversies. The scientific theolo-

gians disavowed it; the philosophers despised and ridiculed it; it even came so far, that men of scientific culture regarded it as an insult to be reckoned among the Rationalists. It was already believed that the time had come to perform its obsequies, — but it was too soon. Its power at this time lay in the masses of the people, who had been trained in unbelief, and it offered this to them. When the preacher *Sintenis* of Magdeburg declared in a newspaper that the worship of Christ was blasphemous superstition (1840), and the consistory instituted proceedings against him, the neighboring preachers *Uhlich* and *König* organized a union of so-called *Friends of Light*, which soon called thousands of laymen and clergymen to a public meeting at *Köthen*. In such a meeting (1844), *Wislicenus* of Halle destroyed the self-deception of Rationalism, that it still occupied the ground of Scriptures and the Church, by the question whether the Scriptures or the Spirit was to be the form of faith. *Guericke*, who was present as "Church historian," made a note of it, and the evang. Kirchenzeitung contained numberless protests and excommunications. The left wing of Schleiermacher's school took offence at this, and issued, Aug. 15, 1846, from Berlin, a declaration with 88 signatures against the paper pope of the antiquated reformation confession and the inquisitorial conduct of the "Kirchenzeitung's" party, which disregarded all freedom of faith and of conscience, wishing to hold fast only to one thing — that Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, was the only ground of our salvation. The popular wit of Berlin called them *friends of twilight* or *bats*, because they neither wished to be *friends of light* nor *blockheads;* and the aged *Claus Harms*, "Einer gegen Achtundachtzig," attacked them with the bold defiance of a youth, and with the self-consciousness of an aged confessor, who labored and suffered more than them all, in crushing philippics. The friends of light, however, fraternizing with the German Catholics and Young-Hegelians, founded *free congregations* at Halle (*Wislicenus*), Königsburg (*Rupp*), Magdeburg (*Uhlich*) and at many other places. Saxony prohibited the assemblies already in 1845, as directed against churchly confession; — Prussia at least forbade the participation of the laity in the same; but by an edict of toleration (1847) guaranteed tolerance and free exercise of religion to their congregations. The religious emptiness of their assemblies and sermons filled the revolutionary movement of 1848 with politico-democratic agitation. This furnished the State with the welcome occasion to place them under strict police control, and to dissolve them one after the other.

2. *Pietism* did also not entirely die out during the years of spiritual famine, but, being purged of many eccentricities, found a refuge and nourishment chiefly in connection with the Moravians. It also developed itself in Würtemberg in an independent and peculiarly theosophical, chiliastic way (to which was added later a species of ghost-seeing with all kinds of revelations from Hades, practised especially

by *Justinus Kerner*). It was also strengthened to make a more decided impression by the religious agitations of the new century. In contrast with the clergy, who had almost entirely fallen under the banefal influence of Rationalism, it laid hold of the religious kernel of the national life, and as the weak rationalistic moral sermons could not satisfy its religious wants, it sought to do this by conventicles and meetings, which were led by gifted men, mostly mechanics, but well read in the Bible and ascetic works. As Pietism did not shun martyrdom of any kind, neither the ridicule and abuse of the infidel masses, nor the hatred of rationalistic pastors, nor yet the interposition of the civil power, were able to retard its progress. It also gradually penetrated the younger generation of the clergy, and even theologians at the universities. The energetic vigor of modern Pietism is manifested in its great labors for missions, foreign as well as inner, in which it accomplished the most extraordinary results with the fewest means. A fresh and hearty religious poetry was again produced by it; the old choice hymns of the evangelical church were again used, and the ascetic treasures of the churchly past were again rescued from the dust. This modern Pietism was evangelical and Protestant from the beginning. As it did not, like the Pietism of the previous century, start from the antithesis against dead churchliness and orthodoxy, but rather from the antithesis against unchurchliness and Rationalism, it consequently was also distinguished from it advantageously by a more decided tendency towards what was generally churchly,—although the proper characteristics of Pietism, overrating the invisible above the visible church, sanctification above justification, the pain of repentance above the joy of faith, inclination towards Chiliasm, indifference towards the churchly apprehension of doctrines, etc., belonged more or less to it. But as the Pietism of the previous century indicated in its degeneracy the transition to Rationalism, so did that of the present in its elevation form the transition to the revival of churchly consciousness and life.—Of some significance for the revival of religious life in several sections of Germany, but especially in Switzerland, were the missionary labors of *Lady von Krüdener* (by birth Baroness Vietinghoff of Riga, 1766). This lady, after "having been brought up in the dwellings of vanity," and wasting many years in a worldly life, but then "humbled by her sins and errors," was seized by a glowing, fanatical love for the Saviour. She now (since 1814) travelled through the greatest portion of Europe, preached repentance, proclaimed salvation and condemnation, carried the consolation of the Gospel to the criminals in the prisons, preached the foolishness of the cross to the wise of this world, to kings and princes the majesty of Christ as the King of kings. Wherever she went, she disturbed secure sinners, melted the stony hearts of the hardened to tears of repentance, attracted great crowds of spiritually miserable ones of all kinds and of all classes, etc. By some she was honored as an elect saint, as a pro-

phetess and a performer of miracles; by others she was ridiculed as a fool, and persecuted as a dangerous fanatic or deceiver. Banished from country to country, she finally died (1824) in the Crimea.

3. *The Protestant Union.* (Cf. *J. G. Scheibel*, actenmäsz. Gesch. d. neuest. Union. Lpz. 1834, 2 Bde. — *A. G. Rudelbach*, Ref., Lutherth. u. Union. Lpz. 1839. — *O. Krabbe*, d. ev. Landeskirche Preuszens. Berl. 1849. — *C. W. Hering*, Gesch. d. kirchl. Unionsversuche. Lpz. 1836–38, 2 Bde.) — Since Prussia became one of the great powers of Europe, it became the centre of intelligence and the champion of Protestantism. This position, not less than the opposition to the Reformed confession among by far the greater portion of the population, made it highly desirable on the part of the Prussion government to bring to pass a union of both Protestant Churches. The circumstances were very favorable to it; the Lutheran separate consciousness had almost entirely vanished both in science and in practical life; Lutheran Supranaturalism had formally passed over into Reformed apprehension of principles, and willingly abandoned Luther's doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper; Calvinism had sunk into Zwinglianism, and rejoiced to see the doctrine of predestination obviated; Rationalism hoped that the peculiar and characteristic doctrines of Christianity would fall with those of Lutheranism, and Pietism with its enthusiasm and its indifference towards the theology of the creeds willingly gave its consent. Thus *Frederick William* III.'s summons (at the jubilee of the Reformation, 1817) to a Lutheran-Calvinistic *Union* in behalf of a regeneration of the Protestant Church, met with much sympathy. The introduction of a new *liturgy* (1822), in the formation of which the pious king himself participated, awakened, it is true, manifold opposition; its forms were considered too churchly, even Romanizing. A second edition of it (1829) conciliated by a large selection of its formularies, and soon the liturgy had the authority of a law, and the Union was a fait accompli. Under a common church government and a common liturgy there existed now in Prussia an evangelical national church with three sections,—a Lutheran and a Reformed, which held fast to their characteristic doctrines, but did not wish to regard them as separative,—and a real united section, which entirely abandoned the characteristic doctrines. But since these three sections did not remain separated, their commingling being rather designedly promoted,—since besides, Indifferentism, Rationalism, and infidelity, boasted of the Union as being a practical indifferentizing, even abolition of the confessions of faith,—since finally the continually increasing churchly consciousness opposed the Union more and more decidedly, the confusion in the Prussian united church became greater every year. The attempt to give it a firm basis in a confession of faith and in a constitution by a general synod, failed entirely, and only increased the difficulties (cf. § 55, 1). The largest ecclesiastical conferences, of which that of *Gnadauer* was the most important, also attempted in

vain to overcome and to remove the evil from within.—Prussia's example in the union of both churches was at once followed in Baden, Nassau, Rhenish Bavaria, Anhalt, Hessia, etc., and also provoked here similar evils and conflicts. (Cf. § 55.)

4. *Lutheran Opposition to the Union.*—The Prussian union expressly declared that it did not wish a change from one church to the other, but only a union in brotherly love upon the basis of a common faith. But it declared practically that the characteristic doctrines were non-essential, and thereby placed itself upon the stand-point of the Reformed Church, which at all times desired and strove after the union on this condition. Thus it was easily intelligible that, if it should meet with opposition from any particular church, it was not to be expected from the Reformed, but rather from the Lutheran. This was the case also. The contest for the continued existence of old Lutheranism proceeded from Breslau, where *Dr. Scheibel* was dismissed from his offices as preacher and professor (1832) for his opposition (*ob.* in exile, 1843). *H. Steffens* also, who again attained to the consciousness of his native northern Lutheranism through friendly and confidential intercourse with Scheibel, connected himself with the reaction ("Wie ich wieder Lutheraner wurde," 1831). Outside of Breslau also Scheibel's example was imitated, especially in Silesia. The remonstrant clergy were punished with deposition, and, if they continued their opposition, with imprisonment, and the congregations were threatened with sharp police measures. In the village of Hönigern, under the preacher *Kellner*, the church was even opened for the use of the liturgy against the passive resistance of the congregation, by military force (1834). The suspended clergy held a synod at Breslau in 1835, and resolved to use every lawful means to save the Lutheran Church. The police measures were, on this account, made more severe against the resistants, and a large number of Lutherans emigrated to Australia and North America. *Guericke* of Halle, who, having been secretly ordained as a minister, served a small congregation of Lutherans in his house, was, after manifold police punishments, dismissed from his professorship (1835), and was only restored (1840) after making some concessions. Since 1838 the coercive measures have been generally modified. *Frederick William* IV. released the arrested clergy from prison (1840), and in 1841 a Lutheran Church entirely independent of the established church was formed at Breslau by a General Synod, which received a general concession in 1845 through royal favor. It was governed by a church college residing in Breslau, of which the excellent jurist *Huschke* was president. Meanwhile, the Lutheran consciousness was awakened also in many other congregations (especially in Pomerania, etc.), which, however, were still kept in the established church by special concessions in regard to worship and the liturgy. Nevertheless, the Lutheran protestations and secessions of single clergymen (often with a large portion of their congregations)

multiplied, the latter connecting with the church college of Breslau. These were designated as "the churchly constituted Lutherans in Prussia," in distinction from those Lutherans who remained in the united established church. In the other German countries also, where the Union had been accomplished, especially in Baden, Nassau, Rhenish Bavaria, the Lutheran consciousness has been awakened here and there within the last few years, and is striving after emancipation from the embrace of the union police of the established churches. (Cf. § 55.)

5. *Protestant Confederation.* — The Union endeavored to unite, strengthen, and rejuvenate the Protestant Church by fusion. But almost the very opposite was the result. Another way to preserve the collective interests of Protestantism, was that of the *Confederation*, by which the peculiarity and independence of the confessions could be protected, and their common interests be represented with united strength. This way has been largely followed in modern times. The *Gustave-Adolphus Union*, occasioned by the bi-centennial anniversary of the Swedish saviour of the Protestant Church (1832), was formed Oct. 31, 1841, to aid feeble Protestant churches, especially in Roman Catholic countries. All the German States, except Bavaria and Austria, took part in it. The want of a positive creed on the part of the Union, which had a bond of union only in the negation of Roman Catholicism, aroused suspicion from the start in the minds of many churchly persons. But it was just this want of a positive creed which secured for it the sympathies of the masses. The infidel, demagogic element soon gained the ascendency. It is true, a general convention of the Union at Berlin (Sept., 1846) was yet able to exclude the Königsberg delegate *Rupp*, because he with his congregation had apostatized from the Protestant principle; but numberless protestations from branch unions opposed this act in the most decided terms. Those of a churchly spirit now went out of the Union, and in 1847 made the attempt to form a separate churchly one (Berlin, Königsberg). The whole movement fell into stagnation amid the complications of the revolution of 1848; nevertheless in 1849 another general convention (the seventh) was held at Breslau, at which an important decrease of co-operation and of income, but also of unchurchly infidel agitation, was revealed. Since that time, however, the Union has again greatly increased under the superintendence of the prelate *K. Zimmermann* of Darmstadt. Its income has increased from year to year. In 1853 it was $67,244; in the following year $77,218; and in 1858 it was $107,666. The Union, possessing such large means, under careful and well-considered management, has already accomplished great and praiseworthy results; and it will accomplish still more in the future with increasing co-operation and support. Nevertheless, the rigid Lutherans still refuse to have anything to do with it, from confessional interests; and a specifically Lutheran miniature union has been formed at Leipsic under the name of *Gotteskasten*, which seeks to supplement

the Gust. Ad. Union in so far as it proposes chiefly to aid where the latter cannot from fundamental antipathies (ex. gr. the independent Lutherans of Prussia). (Cf. *K. Zimmermann*, d. Gust.-Ad.-Ver. 4. A. Darmst. 1858.)

An attempt to form a still grander and more comprehensive Confederation of all Protestant churches and sects of all countries, chiefly to oppose the progress of the Papacy and of Puseyism, and generally all high-church movements, was made by *Dr. Chalmers* (cf. § 55, 8) in England. After several preliminary meetings, the first great one of the *Evangelical Alliance*, composed of delegates from all lands, was held *in London* in August, 1846. The object of the Alliance was to unite more closely all evangelical Christians on the basis of the great common doctrines of salvation; to defend and extend this common basis of faith with united powers, especially as against the Papacy; and to contend for the freedom of conscience and the religious toleration of all churches and sects, excepting the Papacy. Faith in the inspiration of the Scriptures, the Trinity, original sin, the divinity of Christ, justification by faith alone, the obligation of both the sacraments, the resurrection of the body, the final judgment, the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal misery of the wicked, was made to be the condition of membership of the Alliance: accordingly, the Baptists were included but the Quakers excluded. In 1855 the Alliance combined its ninth annual meeting with the great industrial exhibition at Paris, and took the form of a church exhibition; inasmuch as the representatives of the single national churches endeavored to present to those present a view of the ecclesiastical condition of the churches. The tenth meeting was held at Berlin in 1855. The committee of the Alliance, with *Sir Culling Eardley* at its head, made every effort to make this meeting the largest and most brilliant. A deputation presented an address to the King of Prussia, in which it was openly declared that the Alliance not only waged war against the Sadducaism, but also against the Pharisaism of the German evangelical church. The confessional Lutherans, who from the first opposed the principle and tendency of the Alliance, believed that the latter clause of this declaration was a declaration of war against them. The king, however, received the deputation most graciously; and soon expressed his displeasure concerning the suspicions about the Alliance in a decree, in which he at the same time declared that he connected the highest hopes for the future of the Church with its efforts, and beheld in it a sign of Christian fraternal feeling such as had never yet been realized. Although many distinguished representatives of confessional Lutheranism had also been specially and personally invited to take part in this meeting, not one of them was present. Likewise, the men of the Protest. Kirchenzeitung (cf. § 56, 5) excluded themselves from participating in it, because the nine articles were too orthodox for them. On the other hand, representatives of Pietism, Unionism, and Melanch-

thonianism, as also of Methodism, Moravianism, and the Baptists, from all parts of the world, were present in large numbers, and constituted the heads of the ecclesiastical and political liberals. After a great deal had been said about the unity and diversity of the children of God; about the universal priesthood; about the superiority of the present meeting to the œcumenical councils of the early church; about the want of spiritual life in the churches, in spite of the return of theology to the churchly confessions, etc., with laudation of the efforts of the Alliance and indirect thrusts at half Roman Catholic Lutheranism and its deification of the sacraments and the ministry, whereby the theology of rhetoric was able to expatiate,—in addition also to many excellent and appropriate words (ex. gr. by *Nitsch*, *Merle d'Aubigné*, et al.), the ominous kiss with which *Merle d'Aubigné*, although resisting, greeted Chevalier *Bunsen*, or rather the excited feeling with which Lic. *Krummacher* made a report concerning it to the meeting, introduced a harsh discord into the concert. Court-preacher *Beyschlag*, besides, combated the churchly doctrine of inspiration, with the acknowledgment of which, however, the nine articles connected the privilege of membership; and Prof. *Schlottmann* proposed rather to cast aside the whole of the nine articles, as to the present form of which, at all events, only the least number of those present were agreed. The gracious royal reception of the members of the Alliance, at which Lic. *Krummacher* gave expression to his overflowing feelings in the words: "Your majesty, we all ought not to fall at your feet, but upon your neck!" was glorified by his brother, Dr. *F. W. Krummacher*, as a suggestive prelude of the great scene of greeting at the day of judgment. *Sir Cardley* decreed: "There is no longer a German Ocean!" *Lord Shaftesbury* announced in London that a new epoch in the world's history had begun with the meeting at Berlin; and others returning home spoke of it as a second Whitsuntide. Dr. *Krummacher*, however, exclaimed prophetically, at the beginning of the meeting, in his address of welcome: "O heart-stirring mirage!" Since then the German branch of the Alliance in Berlin has established in its service a "*Neue* evangelische Kirchengeitung" (1859), of which Hengstenberg has complained as an unwarrantable theft of title.

A kindred institution is the *Evangelical Church Diet* in Germany. When in 1848 the State was compelled to abandon its Christian character and the sovereign episcopacy of the Protestant princes was called into question by the revolution in Germany, a number of the most distinguished churchly-minded theologians, clergymen, and laymen, met together in September, 1848, in the first church diet at *Wittenberg*, to form an *Evangelical Church Alliance for Germany*, which had for its object the support and independent organization of the evangelical churches in an orderly and legal way, not by means of a union which obliterated all confessional differences, but by means of a churchly confederation. The Lutheran, Reformed, United, and Moravian Churches

were first of all embraced within it. The second general church diet was again held at Wittenberg in September, 1849. The strict Lutherans for the most part had withdrawn; the churchly Lutherans of Silesia were not at all represented. The Lutheran conference, which had been held a short time before at Leipsic under the presidency of *Harless*, declared expressly that the Wittenberg confederation of churches of different confessions was impracticable and irreconcilable with the principles of the Lutheran Church. The formation of a church alliance, such as was originally contemplated, has been entirely abandoned by the church diet, since the political reaction has also restored the ecclesiastical power of the princes. It has since then held its annual meetings in the chief German cities in turn, and has succeeded in preserving a tolerably active co-operation. The presidency has been regularly conferred on the jurist *Bethmann-Hollweg*. Vital church questions and the means by which to revive a churchly feeling and life have been thoroughly discussed by it. Such discussions have, doubtless, exerted a wholesome influence on many who were present; but the attempts to influence, by deputations and letters to evangelical and Roman Catholic princes, the principles of government in States having established churches, have been for the most part coolly or ironically frustrated. At the church diet at *Berlin* (1853) the proposition was made, openly to declare that the Augustana of 1530 was the oldest and simplest common record of publicly acknowledged evangelical doctrines in Germany,—without prejudice, however, to the Reformed interpretation of the tenth article,—and that it was still the common creed of all present. After some opposition and necessary protestation, even the Reformed present agreed; but not only the Schleiermacherans of the left wing protested against this demonstration, which they regarded as hostile to the Union, but also "some teachers of theology and canon law" of the universities of Erlangen, Leipsic, and Rostock, entered publicly a protest in the name of the Lutheran Church against this sham confession of the church diet as being an offence against the treasure of the evangelical church and an undermining of its legal status. At *Stutgärd* (1857) there were violent debates concerning heathen missions and evangelical catholicity, between *those* representatives of confessional Lutheranism, who till now had remained faithful to the Diet, and the Unionist majority. *Hamburg* received the church diet of 1858 very unwillingly into its midst. Hamburg newspapers opposed it with such effect, that the police regarded it as necessary to adopt extraordinary measures to prevent street-scandals. The transactions were of less importance than ever before. *Stahl* and *Hengstenberg* were brilliant for the first time by their absence. Bethmann-Hollweg, then already designated for the ministry of Prussia, also presided probably for the last time over the church diet in Hamburg.

The Protestant governments of Germany, following the example of

Prussia and Würtemberg, also seized the idea of confederative unity. Already in 1846 a so-called *Evangelical Conference* met at Berlin, at which most of the governments were represented. It endeavored in vain to establish a common basis of doctrines, and was sunk into oblivion by the events of following years. But in 1852 the project was again agitated and carried through with great perseverance. The *Eisenach Conference* met at first annually, then every two years (1852–53–55 . . . .), to confer officially concerning the manner in which the German Protestant governments acted with regard to questions of worship, government, and discipline. It established an official organ for publishing all German church-boards ("Allg. Kirchenblatt f. d. ev. Dtschl. herausg. v. *C. G. Moser*, Stuttg. 1852, ff.), and accomplished much important preparatory labor, but it has also had its difficulties to contend with. (Cf. below, § 8.)

6. *Lutheranism.*—The organization of those Prussian Lutherans, who had separated from the established church into the church college in Breslau, was at first also disapproved of by otherwise rigidly churchly Lutherans in and beyond Prussia, in so far as by them (in opposition to the principle of the Lutheran Church) great importance seemed to be attached to the form of church government and to institutions such as could only belong to the confession. It is true, that during the first period of conflict and sifting, here and there phenomena may have appeared, which approached near to Donatism and Novatianism. These, however, were more and more overcome and removed in the course of progress, and with them the disinclination from that quarter was gradually removed. Since the persecutions and oppressions to which they were subjected have been brought to an end, their church affairs have assumed a more decided and prosperous form. And even though *Guericke* thought it necessary to separate from them on account of supposed violence done to his conscience to preserve his theological freedom, still foreign Lutherans (in Bavaria and Saxony, etc.) had no hesitation in maintaining fraternal fellowship with them. Their communion embraces about 40,000 to 50,000 souls, who are ministered to by 40 preachers under seven superintendents.

As the revolution of 1848 undermined the form which the Prussian established church had hitherto assumed, and had made its continuance more than doubtful, the Lutherans who had remained within the established church also took fresh hope, that through the new organization of church government they would also be able to again assert the rights of the Lutheran Church of their country. To accomplish this end, *Lutheran provincial Unions* were formed in Silesia, Posen, Pomerania, Saxony, etc.; and on the evening preceding the second Wittenberg church diet, they, through their deputies, formed themselves into a *Collective Union*, under the presidency of *Göschel*. In a public proclamation to the Lutheran congregations, it declared that it desired earnestly and zealously to agitate the restoration of the Prus-

sian Lutheran Church to all its well-earned and legally guaranteed rights, and to insist upon the preservation or renewal of Lutheran confession, worship, and church government, together with Lutheran congregational order, but to disapprove of secession from the established church, because it involved a voluntary and premature abandonment of rights. With the full knowledge and the unconcealed statement of this separatistic tendency the Union then became a member of the general church diet, from which, however, its adherents have since then gradually withdrawn.

Among the Lutheran established churches, which would have nothing to do with the Union, are especially those of *Bavaria, Saxony,* and *Mecklenburg;* and *Hanover* also in part, where Lutheranism has most strongly developed itself. To them may be added yet the church of *Livland,* which, though externally isolated, is nevertheless rooted with all the fibres of its being in the Lutheran Church, in which also within a decade a synodal life has unfolded itself, which many a foreign established church on closer acquaintance with it might envy.—The *Lutheran Conference at Leipsic,* first brought about by *Rudelbach,* was also of significance for the awakening and vivifying of Lutheran churchly consciousness. The thesis maintained by *Löhe, Delitzsch,* and *Kahnis,* that adhesion to the Lutheran symbols unconditionally excluded from partaking of the Lord's Supper with the Reformed *as such,* gave great offence to the Unionists and Reformed. Nevertheless, others, ex. gr. *Höfling* and *Thomasius,* have expressed more moderate views on this subject. A wide difference has arisen among German Lutherans about the *spiritual office,* which the one party (*Löhe, Kliefoth, Krabbe, Petri, Münchmeyer, Vilmar,* etc.) regard as an institution of direct divine appointment, although without any Romanizing or Anglicanizing succession tendency; the other (*Höfling, Philippi, Hofmann, Harnack, Thomasius, Huschke, Harless, Kahnis,* etc.) only as being conditioned by the word and sacraments, necessary to their proper administration, and rooted in the spiritual priesthood. The *Conference of Reichenbach,* to which the most important theologians of both theories assembled in order to come to an understanding about this difference (1856), was only perfectly unanimous in the negation of the Catholic doctrine and Romanizing one-sidedness. Great offence was occasioned by the meeting of Lutheran friends at *Rothenmoor* in Mecklenburg (1858), where, in discussing the passage: "A man that is a heretic, reject," remarks such as this were made, a true Lutheran could not pray with a Reformed; but they were also deservedly repelled and repudiated (especially by Prof. *Dieckhof* of Göttingen). Still the responsibility of that remark is to be measured hereby, that the treatment of this subject was only incidental, and the remark itself was only applicable to those cases where fellowship in prayer could be regarded as being at the same time fellowship in faith; and, uttered in

the private circle of friends, it had been made public through unforeseen abuse of confidence.

7. *Melanchthonianism and Calvinism.* — This intensification of the Lutheran consciousness within and without the Union also aroused here and there the Reformed consciousness, to strengthen which *Ebrard* established in 1851 the "Reformirte Kirchenzeitung." He conducted it for several years, when, having been placed at the head of a *Union* established church (Rhenish Bavaria) by changed official position, he transferred it to *Charles Göbel* of Erlangen. The Reformed Church of Germany occupied from the beginning a middle position between Lutheranism and Calvinism, which certainly was closely related to later Melanchthonianism. Such a diluted Calvinism is also the banner of this Kirchenzeitung. *Ebrard* even undertakes to prove that the rigid doctrine of predestination is only a sporadic extreme of the Reformed system of doctrines, against which *Al. Schweizer*, from purely scientific interest ("Reformiste Dogmatik;" "Die protest. Centraldogmen in ihrer Entwickel. in d. ref. K."), has shown, that the doctrine of predestination is rather the all-ruling, all-conditioning soul of the same, and that its admirable power, fulness, depth, and consistency, is directly grounded in it. But *Heppe* of Marburg has even contributed more than Ebrard by the invention of a *Melanchthonian church* ("Die confessionelle Entwickel. d. altprot. K. Deutschlands," 1854). Here we learn that synergistic, and, on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Calvinistic Melanchthonianism (which only appeared since 1540 !), constituted the *original* evangelical, Protestant church of Germany; that only after Luther's death, fanatics, who would be more Lutheran than Luther himself, established the so-called Lutheran Church, and perfected it by the formula of Concord; that the Calvinizing of the Palatinate, Hessia, Brandenburg, and Anhalt, was only a reaction against hyper- and pseudo-Lutheranism, a restoration of the original Melanchthonian church, and the modern Consensus-Union was only the completion of this Union. (Cf. § 21, 1.)

But genuine and rigid *Calvinism* had also, in this century, its zealous adherents, not only in Scotland and the Netherlands (§ 55), but also in Germany, especially in Wupperthal. The excellent *Gottfr. Dan. Krummacher*, since 1816 preacher in Elberfeld (*ob.* 1837), and for a time his nephew *Fred. W. Krummacher* in Barmen (now Unionist court-preacher at Potsdam), were here its enthusiastic apostles. When in 1835 the Prussian government made every preparation to force the introduction of the Union also in Wupperthal, and threatened the resistant Reformed preachers with deposition, there arose an excitement here among the Reformed scarcely less violent than that among the Lutherans in Silesia. The clergy, with the majority of their churchmembers, finally accepted the liturgy of the Union, adding the clause, however, so far as it agreed with the nature of the Reformed ritual. But a portion of the congregations, and of them many of their most

excellent members, separated, and persistently rejected all overtures of reunion. The royal act of tolerance of 1847 (§ 55, 1) gave them finally the privilege of organizing an independent congregation at Elberfeld, which called *Dr. Kohlbrügge* to be their pastor (he was formally preacher of the restored Lutheran church at Amsterdam [§ 51, 4], then forced from this position through a contest with a rationalizing college, and since then became one of the most enthusiastic adherents of the doctrines of the council of Dort, by the study of Calvin's writings), and represents, under the name of the *Dutch Reformed Church*, the only anti-unionistic, rigidly Reformed congregation in Germany. (Cf. *F. W. Krug*, krit. Geschichte d. Schwarmerei, etc. Elbf. p. 257, ff.)

8. *Complications with regard to Worship.* — The *hymn-books* of the established churches almost everywhere were brought into a condition which bordered on the miserable and insipid, both as regards their religious and asthetic character, by the vandalism of Illumination. Although there existed more than 80,000 sacred hymns, there nevertheless existed a complete famine in regard to sacred music. Only among the old fathers and mothers of the people did there still live reminiscences and echoes of the richness and blessedness of the hymns of the evangelical church. These made themselves again felt through the revived religious life, and demanded the repossession of the stolen or squandered inheritance of the fathers. The noble poet *Moritz Arndt* was the first who entered the lists in its behalf (Vom Wort u. v. Kirchenlied. Bonn, 1819). The want, which became daily more felt, called forth at first a series of private attempts to reintroduce the old hymns (the Berlin Liederschatz by *Elsner*, the Collections by *C. v. Raumer*, *Bunsen*, *Stier*, *A. Knapp*, *Daniel*, *Layritz*, *Stip*, etc.) These were only here and there introduced into use in public worship, but bestowed only the greater blessing upon family worship, and are also of importance as preliminary labors for churchly official reform. The Würtemberg established church published already in 1842 a new hymn-book, which, being prepared according to *Grüneisen's* mediating principles, met the churchly demands, in spite of its defects, in a measure that could scarcely be hoped for amid the destructive tendencies of the times. In other Protestant countries, provinces, and cities, better hymn-books have already been introduced, or at least are being prepared. But in not a few countries and towns the despotism of rationalistic church authorities adheres firmly to the hymnological acquisitions of Illumination even to the present day. The conference of Eisenach published (1853) a collection of 150 classic hymns (accompanied with the old rhythmic melodies), designed to serve as an appendix to all existing and as a basis for all new hymn-books. It required great labor to establish the principle that the year 1750 should be the terminus ad quem of selection. *W. Wackernagel* desired the unchanged original text, and as he was not able to accomplish this, he withdrew from the

commission; *Geffken* of Hamburg did the same for the contrary reason, and produced a selection of his own, which, however, was laid to one side. Meanwhile, only a few established churches have to this time adopted the Eisenach collection, among which is the Bavarian, which has taken it up in its new hymn-book, which is now indisputably the best of all used by the established churches.

The *want of a choral-book* was not less than that of a hymn-book. The first occasion to a discussion on this subject was given in 1814 by a proclamation of the Prussian king, *Frederick William* III., concerning a preparatory reform of Protestant worship, by which the liturgy should again become prominent. *Natorp* of Münster expressed himself strongly in 1819 concerning the necessity of restoring the choral to its ancient honor and simplicity; among his numerous successors the distinguished jurist *Thibaut* of Heidelberg ("Ueber Reinheit der Tonkunst") still deserves special mention. The reform of the choral was carried on the most vigorously in Würtemberg. The attempt to revive church music through the introduction of quartette tunes alone (according to the choral-book by *Kocher*), without taking up again the old rhythm and the original form of the melodies, failed entirely (1828). A new choral-book, prepared under *Grüneisen's* auspices (1843), admitted the unanimous singing of the congregation, with rich organ accompaniments, introduced a much greater number of the older choice melodies, but had not the courage also to restore the original rhythm, urgently as *Hauber* contended for it (in d. deutsch Viertaljahrsschr. 1841, IV.) Able preliminary contributions towards a reform of church music were made by the excellent work by *Winterfeld* (der ev. Kirchenges. Lpz. 1843, 2 Bde.) and by the collections of *G. v. Tucher* (Schatz des ev. Kirchenges. Lpz. 1848, 2 Bde.) and of *Fr. Layritz*, also the Gütersloher Hauschoralbuch, the eisenacher Kernlieder, etc.

During the period of Illumination all love for the *Liturgy* in worship had been entirely lost, and the new liturgies were, if possible, for the most part more insipid than the new hymn-books. The Prussian Union liturgy, therefore, marks a decided progress towards something better, in spite of its defects. The representatives of the Lutheran Church returned to the old Lutheran liturgies, in their movements of reform. The Reformed overcame more and more their old antipathy for what was liturgical. Purely liturgical worship, accompanied, where it was possible, with artistic music, spread abroad from Berlin. The Eisenach Conference declared itself to be unfit to undertake joint Lutheran preliminary labors; and the representatives of purely Lutheran established churches held liturgical conferences at Dresden (1852, 1854, 1856), for which *Kliefoth* of Schwerin contributed the preliminaries.

9. *Home Missions.* (Cf. *Wichern*, die innere Mission der deutsch ev. K. Eine Deukschr. etc. Hamb. 1840.—*The same*, Fliegende Blätter des rauhen Hauses. Hamb. 1849 ff.) — The Protestant Church was for a long time behind the Roman Catholic Church in regard to Home Mis-

sions, but since the beginning of this period it has begun to cancel this debt with interest. England, with its stirring activity in promoting the kingdom of God, leads the way. Here it is the Dissenters especially who have distinguished themselves in this work. Germany has contributed something of importance, considering the humble means which Pietism and churchliness here have afforded. In the other countries of the continent, but especially in North America, much has been done for Home Missions. The result is, that to-day the entire Protestant world is embraced in a net of benevolent and philanthropic institutions, which have proceeded from specifically Christian motives, and which regard temporal aid and relief as being the basis of spiritual help. A quite special earnestness and zeal for Home Missions resulted from the revolutionary complications of modern times, which were well adapted to place in the clearest light the insufficiency of the efforts thus far made, and the crying necessity for increased activity. The restlessly active *Wichern* travelled through Protestant Germany in 1849, for the sole purpose of awakening an interest in this work; and in the autumn of the same year a *Congress for Home Missions*, which was to reassemble annually, met in Wittenberg in connection with the second Church Diet. The object of this congress was to combine the individual efforts made for Home Missions into one organization. Here also objections were made by the Lutherans, viz. that the organization of such unions under the direction of a central board, connected with disregard of creeds and of congregational boundaries, was to be decidedly condemned,—and that from the point of view that then Home Missions would place themselves by the side of the church and undermine its foundation. Further, it was said that what Home Missions had in view was, it is true, a work of necessity, but that it should be done upon the basis of the churchly confession within each and every congregation. To these were added many other objections, ex. gr. that Home Missions had become to many interested in them a matter of pious fashion, an opus operatum; that a methodistic spirit, a stiff mechanism, and a restless spirit of work, which were not born of the spirit of the gospel, had crept in; that the ostentatious display of figures and numbers was in bold contrast with Matt. 6 : 3; that working upon the masses accomplished nothing, but rather that *each single* erring sheep must be followed into the wilderness with unwearying faithfulness, etc.; although, meanwhile, it was declared most emphatically that all these objections did not hold against the thing itself, but only against the form it had assumed.—A review of only the most important institutions for the advancement of Home Missions would fill pages. We can here only mention a few of the most important, especially German institutions, which became at the same time mother and model institutions for numberless others of a like character. The oldest is the House of Refuge of Count *Recke-Volmarstein at Düsselthal* since 1816; next the *Institution for Teachers of Charity-Schools and the Juvenile Asylum at*

Beuggen (since 1820), conducted by the excellent *Zeller*. From it have gone forth hundreds of teachers for charity-schools and houses of refuge. Since 1826 the *Martin's foundation in Erfurt* has existed under *Rheinthaler's* direction, which also has stimulated to the establishment of many similar institutions. The *Rough House in Hamburg*, under Wichern's direction (since 1833) has distinguished itself above all others by its compass and far-reaching labors. In 1836 pastor *Fliedner* established the *Institution of deaconesses* at *Kaiserswerth* for the care of the sick. This institution was enlarged from year to year, and led to the establishment of many similar ones in Germany, England, and France. By the side of these unions there existed several societies for the care of released *criminals*, with numerous similar societies. There are *asylums for infants* and sunday-schools almost in every town and city. In France the *Evangelical Society* labored with great and beneficent success, and *De Valenti* established the *Evangelists' School* near Berne. In many places *pastoral aid societies* were formed. The unemployed abilities of *candidates* were called into requisition, *prison* and *itinerant preachers* were appointed, and religious agencies were brought to bear upon the numerous emigrants, laborers in manufactories, on railroads, etc.; Magdalene asylums, Christian associations for journeymen and youths, Christian hotels, popular libraries, temperance societies, saving funds, numberless asylums for vagrant children, etc., were established. *Tract Societies* in London, Hamburg, Berlin, etc., sent forth millions of tracts of an awakening and instructive character. The *Union for Northern Germany* published larger works of the same character. The *Calver Publication Union* published Christian text and school-books with wood-cuts, at the lowest price. In Berlin an *evangelical Book-Union* was formed to spread the orthodox treasures of the older ascetic literature. Christian women and maidens, following the bright example of the English Quakeress, *Elizabeth Fry*, the noble *Amelia Sieveking* of Hamburg, etc., rendered invaluable services everywhere, in behalf of Home Missions, among the needy and suffering of their race. A *Society for Home Missions in the sense of the Lutheran Church* was established by Löhe in Bavaria, in connection with an institution of deaconesses at Neudettalsau.

The *Bible Societies* constituted an independent branch of Home Missions. Modern Bible societies (cf. § 46, 6) originated in England. The great *British and Foreign Bible Society*, in which all Protestant denominations and sects participated, even the Quakers, was formed in London in 1804, as a necessary supplement of the missionary societies. It distributed, from principle, only Bibles without human addition, consequently without the Apocrypha, without remarks and explanations, mostly also without heads of chapters and parallel passages. In regard to the Apocrypha, concerning the non-admission of which the statutes say nothing expressly, there was a violent controversy (1825–27), which ended with the complete victory of the enemies of

the Apocrypha. It was decided that all pecuniary support should be refused to all societies and persons who circulated Bibles with the Apocrypha, the Bibles already bound be delivered up, and the proceeds from the same be handed over to the chief London society. More than fifty societies on the continent separated from the northern society in consequence of this action. The great North American society fully agrees with the principles of the London society. The Baden Missionary Union renewed the controversy in Germany, by making the combating of the Apocrypha the subject of a prize essay (1852). The learned essay by *Ph. Fr. Keerl* received the first prize; the popular one by *E. Kluge* received the second. Decided Lutherans (Krausshold, Wild) also approved the condemnation. *Stier and Hengstenberg*, on the other hand, defended the introduction of it; and most of the consistories advised to adhere to the old practice, because every abuse and misunderstanding was prevented by the Lutheran title, as also by the probibition to select texts for sermons from it. All the Protestant Bible societies have distributed, within the last fifty years, about 50,000,000 of Bibles and New Testaments, in almost 200 languages.

The series of *annotated Bibles* of this century was opened by *Dinter's* rationalistic "Schullehrerbibel" (1826 ff.) In opposition to it is *Phil. H. Brandt's* evangelical "Schullehrerbibel" (only the N. T. 1829 ff.) *Richter's* "Erklärte Hausbibel" and *Lisco's* "Bibelwerk" have been far excelled by *Gerlach's* work (continued by *Schmieder*); all three, however, have been too highly estimated for the middle and lower classes. *Besser's* "Erklarungen N. Tl. Bücher" ("Bibelstunden") have furnished an unsurpassed model for the *churchly prayer-meetings*, which have been established everywhere within several decades. In regard to *devotional literature*, modern times have done the most and best by republishing the treasures of the 16th and 17th centuries.

10. *Foreign Missions.* (Cf. *J. Wiggers*, Gesch. d. ev. Mission. Hamb. 1845. 2 Bde. — *J. H. Brauer*, d. Missionswes. d. ev. K. in. s. Bestande. Hamb. 1847–51. 2 Bde. — *K. Wild*, Umschau auf. d. Arbeitsfelde d. ev. Mission. Nördl. 1854. — *A. Ostertag*, übersichtl. Gesch. der protest. Missionen von d. Ref. bis zur Gegenw. Stuttg. 1858.) — The zeal of Protestant Christendom for missions among the heathen, which received such a mighty impulse towards the end of the previous century (cf. § 51, 5), has continued to increase to the present day. The missionary societies (chief and branch) have increased from year to year. There exist now in the Protestant world thirty-four great chief societies with numberless branches, which yearly expend about $6,000,000 on missions, and support at 1400 mission stations 3000 European and American missionaries and an equal number of native helpers. England still holds the first place in this work; next to it are North America and Germany. The Moravians also maintain their old reputation in this department of Christian labor. Distinguished among the modern chief societies (with more or less branches) within the *Reformed Church*,

are the *American Board of Foreign Missions* (since 1810) and the *American Baptist Board of Missions* (since 1814). Besides these, North America has a Methodist and an Episcopal missionary society of importance. The most of the modern societies in Germany are connected, in principle, with the *United* church. The most important are the *Basle* (since 1816), the *Berlin* (since 1823), the *Rhenish*, with the missionary seminary at Barmen (since 1829), (which has more of a confederate character with predominant Lutheran elements) — and the *North German Society* (since 1836), binding its missionaries to the Augsburg Confession, with the exclusion, however, of the other Lutheran confessional works. The missionary school, established in 1800 by Jänicke at Berlin, has a modified Lutheran character; it has been followed in this respect by the *Gosnerish* Missionary Society. The *Dresden Missionary Society* (since 1836) has assumed a decidedly Lutheran character. Its seminary was removed in 1848 to Leipsic, so that its pupils might derive advantage from the university. It has resumed the old Lutheran missionary work in East India (§ 57, 7). The difference of opinion which has lately arisen about the treasury, threatens it with division. In Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Baltic provinces, in Bavaria, Hanover, Mecklenburg, Hessia, and North America, exclusively Lutheran societies, partly independent, partly in connection with Dresden-Leipsic, have been formed; *Cassel* directs its efforts especially to China. Worthy of special mention yet is the *Hermannsburg* institution under the direction of pastor *C. Harms*, which sent out its own missionary-ship in 1853, to establish a mission among the Gallas in Africa. Altogether, 15 chief societies have now 1581 missionaries, with 1311 native helpers, at 862 stations. The number of converts amounts to about 700,000. A distinguished service also rendered by evangelical missions is the abolition of the *slave-trade* by the great powers of Europe (1830), and the emancipation of all slaves in the English colonies (since 1834), for which the English nation sacrificed $120,000,000. The noble *Wilberforce* (*ob.* 1833) devoted his life to the accomplishment of this object. New societies were also formed in England, Germany, and France, to sustain missions among the Jews; and though much labor has been performed, but little has resulted from them.

If we begin a review of Protestant missions with Northern Europe, the Swedish mission in *Lapland* first comes into view, which, having been resumed by the excellent *Stockfleth* since 1825 (§ 39, 6), has greatly flourished. In North America we meet the highly favored mission of the Moravians in *Greenland* and *Labrador*. Moravian, Methodist, Baptist, and Protestant Episcopal missionaries, have labored with success among the aborigines and slaves of *North America* and the *West Indies*. The Moravians have also established missions on the Mosquito coasts and in Paramaribo in *South America*. On the west coast of *Africa*, the *Sierre-Leone* colony was established by Eng-

land to colonize and Christianize emancipated negro slaves. For the same purpose the colony of *Liberia*, further south, was established from the United States. Both are in a flourishing condition through the labors of Methodist, Baptist, and Protestant Episcopal missionaries. On the *Gold Coast* the Gospel has been introduced by the Basle, in old Calabar by the Baptist, on Gaboon river by the American and the North German Society. Cape-town is the point of departure of Christian civilization for *South Africa*. The missionary labors of the Moravians were here specially successful among the Hottentots; the Berlin missionaries labored among the Corannas, and the evangelical French society among the Betschuans. The pupils of the Barmen seminary penetrated deeper into the interior of the west coast than had ever been trod by a European, amid unspeakable hardships. They labored among the Hottentots, Namaquas, Damaras, and Hereros. The missionary *Hahn* of Livland is worthy of special mention as the apostle of the Hereros. On the east coast the London society gained a wide field of labor among the Caffres. Further towards the north on the east coast the Anglicans labored, and the Hermannsburg society sought a field among the Gallas. On the island of *Madagascar* the London mission (since 1818) converted the King *Radama* to Christianity. His successor, the Queen *Ranavalona*, inaugurated in 1835 a bloody persecution against the Christians, by which also the apostle of the Madagascars, *David Jones*, received the martyr's crown (1843). The persecution continues to the present day, and it has not yet been able entirely to exterminate Christianity. But since the successor to the throne is a Christian, better times are in prospect. An Anglican bishopric exists on the island of *Mauritius*, whither also many Christians of Madagascar fled. In *Abyssinia* the missionaries *Gobat*, *Isenburg*, and *Krapf*, have labored (1835–43) to revive the dead national church, but they were compelled to withdraw on account of the enmity of the native priests and the machinations of papist missionaries. In *Algiers* the missionary *Ewald* labored among the Jews until 1842. If we go to *Asia*, we find American missionaries specially active in the *Turkish* provinces, striving to revive the old churches by the establishment of common schools. An *evangelical bishopric*, hovering between Union and Confederation, and uniting home with foreign missions, has been established at *Jerusalem* (1841) by the English and Prussian crowns, as the centre of ecclesiastical labors in behalf of the dispersed Protestants in the Orient, and of evangelical missions among the oriental Jews. The choice of bishops alternates between the two crowns, but ordination and rites have been yielded to the Anglican Church. The first bishop *Alexander*, a Jewish proselyte, died in 1845. His successor was the excellent missionary *Gobat*. A missionary field, which has again in the 19th century been diligently cultivated, is *East India*, where quite peculiar difficulties stand in the way of missionary labors: the strict castes, the proud self-sufficiency of the pantheistic Brahmins,

even the politico-commercial interests of the East India company, etc. The old Lutheran missionary harvest (§ 47, 7) was for the most part gathered by the Anglican Church. The Lord-bishop *Heber* (*ob.* 1826) gained great renown in connection with this mission. The missionary *Rhenius* of West Prussia also labored here in the service of the Anglican Church with great success. But as he was not able to accept unconditionally the principles of the Anglican Church, a rupture occurred, and he labored from this time forward to his death (1838) on his own responsibility in the Lutheran spirit. His successor *Müller* again submitted to the Anglican Church (1841). The missionaries of the Dresden (Leipsic) society have again collected the remnants of the East Indian Lutheran Church, which has now six chief stations there with a wide field of labor. In addition to it, American, English, and German missionaries, of almost all creeds, labor in India and the Indian archipelago. The military insurrection in the northern part of East India (1857) suspended the mission there for almost two years. It is to be hoped that when it is suppressed, they will only flourish the more. In *China*, *Gützluff* of Pomerania, succeeding *Morrison*, labored with unparalleled boldness and unwearied patience on his own responsibility, in spite of all difficulties. Since China has been in a measure opened to Europeans by the English war (1842), the institutions of evangelical missions have assumed a more grand and systematic character under Gützlaff's direction, to conquer the heavenly kingdom by the Gospel. Since the rebellion of the new son of heaven (*Tien-ti*) in 1852 (a descendant of the old king dynasty, which has been banished for 200 years, who received instructions from an evangelical missionary at Canton, and acknowledges the revelations of God made through Moses and Christ, but declares that he is the younger brother of Christ) fresh hopes for the success of missions were kindled, and missionaries from all countries were sent thither. But the rebellious son of heaven only manifested the disposition to become a second Mohammed. The conflict of the governor of Canton with the English, French, and Americans, and the punishment which was therefor inflicted in part (1857), made the emperor finally (1858) willing to make a treaty with these three powers, as also with Russia, according to which the whole country was to be thrown open to trade, and missions and the free exercise of religion was granted to Christians. About the same time also, after 300 years' seclusion, *Japan* was opened to European and American trade, and, it is to be hoped, also to Christian missions. The Protestant missions in *Polynesia* have been the most successful of all through the labors of English and American missionaries. The apostle of the South Sea Islands, *John Williams*, died a martyr (1839). The flourishing evangelical church at *Tahiti* was, however, severely afflicted by the unprecedented violence of French ships in 1837, the Queen *Pomare* was abused, the country was placed under French protectorate, and not only Roman Catholic missionaries, but also French dissoluteness,

were forced upon the country. In 1851, missionary labor on the *Sandwich Islands* may be regarded as having been completed, and the church there as a Protestant established church. The results of missions among the Cannibals of *New Zealand* (of whom *Sam. Marsden* was the apostle) were small, as also among the stupid aborigines of *Australia*, where even the labors of the Moravians have been almost fruitless.

§ 55. THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHED CHURCHES.

The year 1814, with its new order of things, brought to pass by the Congress of Vienna (1817), with its movements towards union, which produced the large body of full-armored men, who are battling even to the present time, — and finally, the political revolutionary years 1830 and 1848, with their liberal conquest even in the sphere of the church, constituted epochs for the development of most of the Protestant established churches. In 1848 the idea of established churches seemed to have been rooted out almost everywhere and forever. But the democratic experiments of church government of this year demonstrated, that if the separation of the Church from the State was to be generally beneficial for Europe, it was not so yet at this time, and the restoration of the following years preserved the church from boundless confusion and unavoidable dissolution into numberless atoms.

1. *Prussia.* (Cf. *O. Krabbe*, d. ev. Landeskirche Preussens u. ihre offentl. Rechtsverhältnisse. Berl. 1849.)—With reference to the *evangelical* established church of Prussia (cf. § 54), *Frederick William* IV. declared that he only desired to hold the superior direction of the church, in order that it might progress in an orderly and legal way to independence. The realization of this royal declaration and wish was inaugurated after an ecclesiastical conference at Berlin, composed of delegates from almost all German countries, accomplished nothing, by a Prussian *General Synod*, which was opened at Berlin on Whitsunday, 1846. The synod at its 18th session proceeded to the consideration of the difficult question of doctrine and confession. The result of the same was the adoption of a formula of ordination proposed by *Dr. Nitzsch*, whereby the ordinandus was required to believe in the principal fundamental truths of salvation instead of the hitherto ecclesiastical confession. But as the doctrines of creation, original sin, the supernatural conception, the descent of Christ into hell, and His ascension to heaven, the resurrection of the dead, the final judgment, eternal life and eternal destruction, were not expressly embraced in

these fundamental truths, and consequently were not regarded as obligatory, and further, since the Lutheran and Reformed peculiar doctrinal position was practically abolished by this formula of ordination, and with it the existence of a Lutheran as well as of a Reformed Church within the Union, a small minority of Lutherans already protested against it at the synod; numerous still more decided and powerful protests were made outside of the synod, to which the columns of the evang. Kirchenzeitung were opened. The government gave no authority to the proceedings of the synod, and profane mockers displayed their wit on the unfortunate Nicænum of the 19th century. On the other hand, however, the king issued a *patent of tolerance*, March 1847, by which sovereign protection was anew guaranteed to the existing churches; but all who did not find in them the expression of their faith, were allowed to form new religious societies. But when the storm of revolution broke in 1848, no State was more threatened with unchristianization than Prussia. The minister of worship, Count *Schwerin*, was ready to grant a reorganization of the Church according to the wishes of the popular majority, expressed by a synod. But before this synod could assemble the reaction had already commenced. The transition minister *Ladenberg* obtained the opinion of consistories and faculties, who collectively made prominent the danger of such a synod. Instead of the synod, therefore, a *High-consistory* was formed in Berlin, which was independent of the ministry, and placed only under the king as præcipuum membrum ecclesiæ, and which was to represent the demanded freedom of the Church from the State as already realized in it. At the same time a *Church-order* was recommended and largely introduced, which constituted a consistory in every congregation, which was bound by the three œcumenical and the Reformed symbols agreeing with them. On the 6th of March, 1852, the king issued a government order, according to which the High-consistory should not only govern the evangelical established church in its collective character, but also guard the interests of the Lutheran and of the Reformed Church; and to this end it was to be composed of members of both these churches, each of which were only to decide questions touching *their* own church. *Dr. Nitzsch* alone remained after the itio in partes occasioned in this board on this account, and declared that he was able to find the expression of his religious convictions in neither of the confessions, but only in the consensus of both. The difficulty was obviated by regarding him as the representative of congregations holding the same views. Encouraged to entertain bolder hopes by such connivance in high places, the Lutheran Union presented a petition to the king, subscribed by 161 clergymen, in which the restoration of Lutheran faculties and of Lutheran church property was demanded. This demand was answered by an unfavorable government order, July 12, 1853, in which the king expressed his just displeasure at such misinterpretation of the order of the previous year,

and made the solemn declaration that it was never his intention to disturb, much less to destroy, the Union founded by his father, now resting in God; he only desired to secure for confession within the Union *that* protection to which it had unquestionable claim. Since then, the special interests of the Lutheran Church, which for a time seemed to be favored, have been in visible and increasing disfavor.—The High-consistory, meanwhile, continued to manifest great activity, and to adopt many wholesome regulations. To these belong the general church and school visitations of 1852, though carried out with too much noisy and theatrical display. The ostensible favor with which the king regarded the efforts of the evangelical alliance (1857, § 54, 5), was the last evidence of decided aversion to confessional churchly efforts which Frederick William IV. was able to manifest. A tedious and, as it appeared, hopeless disease compelled him to transfer the government into the hands of his royal brother. When the prince-regent (Oct. 1858) began to reign in his own name, he declared, in an address to his newly-chosen ministry, that it was his firm determination to maintain and promote the evangelical Union, whose beneficent progress was impeded and almost destroyed by an orthodoxy which was incompatible with the very essence of the evangelical church. But in order to accomplish this task it was necessary that the organs used should be carefully chosen and partly changed. All hypocrisy and sham-piety, however, were to be unmasked wherever they appeared. *Hengstenberg's* and *Erbkam's* (in Königsberg) withdrawal from the examining commission for situations in the higher schools, *Stahl's* formal, but long-sought-for, withdrawal from the High-consistory, and the relaxation of the strict procedure against the free congregation which hitherto prevailed, as also the greater connivance of the government at the demands of the liberals in regard to the question of divorce (by conceding a facultative civil marriage), are at present the only evidences of a changed policy in the government with regard to ecclesiastical affairs.

2. The present *Kingdom of Saxony* has had Roman Catholic princes since 1697, but the Roman Catholic Church has only been able to acquire territory in the immediate vicinity of the court. The government of the evangelical church resides, by a treaty, in the ministers commissioned in evangelicis, so long as the king is Roman Catholic. Although several of these have been special protectors of the orthodox church, nevertheless rationalistic illumination has not only taken deep root among the clergy, but also among the people. Meanwhile, a pietistic reaction has also gained a footing, especially powerful in Muldenthal, where *Rudelbach's* blessed labors have given it a decidedly churchly character. On the other hand, the religious movement, under the leadership of the pastor of the Bohemian congregation in Dresden, *Mart. Stephan*, came to a shameful end. As the representative and renovator of a strict Lutheranism, he labored very successfully in

Dresden since 1810, but he lapsed deeper and deeper into hierarchical usurpation and neglect of watchfulness over himself, through the submissiveness of his adherents, which almost amounted to deification. When in 1837 the police interfered with his night meetings, without, however, having discovered anything immoral, and suspended him from his official labors, he called upon his adherents to emigrate to America. Many of them (clergymen and laymen) blindly obeyed him, and founded (1838) a Lutheran church in Missouri. Stephan's despotic and hierarchical usurpation reached its height here; he also gave loose reins to his lusts. Women, who had been violated or abused by him, finally exposed his shame, and the congregation excommunicated him, whereupon he went over to the Roman Catholic Church (1846). Taught by such experiences, and entirely purified of the separatistic and Donatistic elements, the Lutheran reaction in Saxony is now in the most flourishing condition. Since 1850 *Harless* has stood at its head as chief court-preacher at Dresden, but in 1852 already he abandoned this position to become the head of the Lutheran Church of his native country, Bavaria. The emigration led by Stephan also took with it a number of the inhabitants of *Saxony-Altenburg*. The consistory, in a rescript to the council of Ronneburg (1838) traced this separation to the fact that the religious wants of the congregations were not satisfied by the rationalistic sermons, and admonished that the fundamental doctrines of evangelical Christianity should be more diligently preached. This rescript received the most hateful interpretations, and became the subject of the most passionate attacks from within and without the country. The government obtained the opinions of four theological faculties concerning the conduct of the consistory and its opponents, which it simply published with the praise and blame they expressed, and then discouraged all investigation. The revolutionary storm of 1848 also raged through the church of Altenburg. But since the storm has subsided, the government of the State and church has been directed with prudence and zeal towards promoting churchly feeling and life. It has, however, not yet succeeded in placing a decidedly Lutheran teacher of theology in the common university of the Saxon dukedoms (Jena). In *Weimar* and *Gotha* also the Rationalism of *Röhr* and *Bretschneider*, which a few decades ago ruled almost all the pulpits, has begun to disappear. Nevertheless, the Duke of Gotha called in 1856 *Dr. Charles Schwarz* of Halle, who could only see hopes of a better time for the Protestant Church in the school of Baur and the Protestant "Kirchenzeitung" (§ 56, 4, 5), to Gotha as court-preacher and high consistorial councillor. Gotha has since then become the Gretna-Green for Prussian divorced persons, whom the native pastors supposed they were required to deny re-marriage. The civil marriage now legalized there will make a change in this matter.

3. In *Hanover* the Union met with no favor, although Union theology ruled in the national university after Rationalism had disappeared.

Nevertheless, the most of the clergy of the country have been thoroughly penetrated by confessional Lutheranism. The preachers' conference at Stade (1854) called the attention of the government to the "crying incongruity" which existed between the Union theology of the national university and the legal as well as actual Lutheran confession of the established church, and urged the appointment of Lutheran teachers. The faculty, on the other hand, published a circular to preserve "liberty in teaching," and the curatorium again filled the vacancies which had occurred with Union theologians. *Dr. Petri* now declared the rupture to be complete. — *Oldenburg*, that in 1849 was really favored with a democratic church government separate from the State, permitted a new government to be chartered without any opposition in 1853, which restored the chief episcopacy to the ruler of the country, and transferred the government of the church to a High-consistory and ecclesiastical legislation to a national synod (composed of 12 clerical and 17 temporal members who were elected by the district synods, and 5 members appointed by the grand-duke).—*Mecklenburg* possesses a strict Lutheran church government under Kliefoth's direction, and its national university decidedly Lutheran professors. The withdrawal of Prof. *M. Baumgarten* of Rostock from his professorship, in Jan. 1858, caused a great excitement. A trial theme written by him on 2 Kings 11, in which he "aimed at procuring a Scriptural doctrine to authorize violent revolution," gave the government an opportunity already in 1856 to remove him from the theological examination commission. At the same time his provoking polemics against the doctrines of the Mecklenburg Catechism, especially with reference to the sanctification of the Sabbath, at a pastoral conference at Parchim, increased the distrust with which the Lutheran clergy of the country regarded his *theological* position. The government finally (Jan. 6, 1858) dismissed him from his theological professorship at the university, though allowing him his full salary, on the basis and through the publication of a consistorial decision, prepared by *Krabbe* and subscribed by *Wiggers* and *Meyer*, which charged him with heretical alteration of all the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith and of the Lutheran confession, and established this charge from his writings. As was expected, this step was followed by a loud cry of passion in all the newspapers, and even Lutherans (v. Hofmann, v. Scheurl, Luthardt) emphatically disapproved of the conduct of the government as departing from the way prescribed by the church-order, and the consistorial decision as being based on misinterpretation, arbitrary supposition and inference; whilst the apologists justified the conduct of the government as a mere administrative measure, and endeavored to prove that the argument of the decision was well grounded in the principal points. — In the *Electorate of Hessia* the high ecclesiastical authority reduced in 1838 the obligation of the clergy at ordination to conscientiously regarding the confessions of faith. The distinguished

professor of law, *Bickell* of Marburg, saw in this a violation of ecclesiastical right, even an endangering of the evangelical church, against which the advocate *Henkel* in Cassel as popular agitator protested, and demanded from the government a national synod, which should formally abolish all symbolical books. The government ignored both demands, and the violent controversy gradually subsided. Within several years the question of confessions entered upon a new stage. It was violently disputed as to which confession the country belonged. The Landgrave Moritz, it is true, forced a diluted Calvinism upon the province (§ 34, 1); but still a Lutheran basis, with Lutheran views, arrangements, and laws, remained, and the Lutheran reaction has never been entirely subdued. Only the province Hanau accepted the Union (1818). Since then the government has appointed preachers and professors without asking about their creed. The ministry of *Hassenplug* (since 1850) regarded the country as of right Lutheran, and organized ecclesiastical affairs in this sense. The consistorial councillor, *Dr. Vilmar*, was the right hand of the minister in this matter. The elector, however, was not very friendly to this movement from the beginning. In 1855 the ministry was overthrown, and Vilmar was transferred to Marburg as professor of theology. — The *Grand-duchy of Hessia* is the only country in Germany that yet possesses a rationalistic faculty of the purest water, for even Jena is evidently behind Giessen in this respect. But a decidedly Lutheran reaction has commenced among the younger clergy, which is growing in strength and extent. The High-consistory is active in promoting peace by mediation. In Reformed *Lippe Detmold*, as late as in 1844, five preachers, who, becoming tired of the Illumination Catechism of the established church, again used the Heidelberg Catechism, and protested against the abolition of swearing adhesion to the symbols, were punished as disturbers of the peace of the church. The democratic form of church government of 1851 was already abolished in 1854, and the old Reformed church-order of 1684 took its place. At the same time religious freedom and equality were guaranteed to the Roman Catholics and Lutherans.

4. There existed in Protestant *Würtemberg* an activity of the religious spirit in the national life, as nowhere else. Pietism, Chiliasm, Separatism, the conventicle system, etc., assumed powerful forms; solid scientific knowledge, philosophical culture, and lately also philosophical and critically destructive tendencies, forced themselves upon the clergy of the country from Tübingen. The dissatisfaction with many of the innovations in the liturgy, hymn-book, etc., drove many from the established church. After the adoption of forcible measures had proven fruitless, the government allowed those dissatisfied to establish the congregation at *Kornthal* with a peculiar (ecclesiastical and civil) constitution after apostolic example (1818). Others emigrated to Southern Russia or to North America (cf. § 60, concerning the Harmonites).

Lately a society for the *gathering of the people of God in Palestine* has been formed on the Salon near Ludwigsburg. Its object is to gather an emigration of believers from all nations (about 10,000 families) for the Holy Land, to constitute there anew a people of God, which, upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, of which Christ is the corner-stone, will bring into full authority the divine law of the old covenant in all the relations of life. A general meeting in 1854 in order to realize this plan, appointed a committee, published a programme (in its organ: der süddeutschen Warte), and requested the German diet to obtain for it, from the Sultan, permission to settle in the Holy Land with self-government and religious freedom. *Christopher Hoffmann*, brother of the Prussian general superintendent and inspector of the institution for Home Missions at St. Chrisona near Basle, was the head of this movement. (He wrote: Gesch. d. Volkes Gottes als Antwort auf die sociale Frage. Stuttg. 1855). The educational institute upon the Salon was conducted by his brother-in-law *Paulus*, nephew of Paulus at Heidelberg. The committee, instructed to wait patiently, purchased in April 1856 the estate of *Kirschenhardthof* near Marbach, in order to found here on a small scale a preparatory social state in strict accordance with the Mosaic law. At the beginning of 1858 a commission with Chr. Hoffmann at its head, went to Jerusalem, to reconnoitre the country for the speedy colonization of the people of God. But the results were so unsatisfactory that they were compelled for the present to abandon the idea of emigrating to the Holy Land.—The gift of healing the sick by absolution and the laying on of hands in connection with believing prayer, was developed out of the pietistic and earnest pastoral care of preacher *Blumhardt* of Möttlingen, in connection with the healing of a demoniac, which was followed by a great revival in the congregation. Blumhardt, in order to give free scope to this gift, lately purchased the bathing establishment at *Boll* near *Göppingen*, where he now officiates as pastor and miraculous physician.—In the *Grand-duchy of Baden* the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Church was accomplished in 1821. It grants normative authority to the Augustana (as also to the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechism), in so far as by it the free investigation of the Scriptures, as the only source of Christian faith, is openly demanded, affirmed, and applied. A synod of 1834 provided the established church with union rationalistic principles in the liturgy, hymn-book, and catechism. When at the beginning of 1850 a confessional Lutheranism began again to manifest itself here also, the united church combated it with gens-d'armes, imprisonment, and fines. The preacher *Eichhorn*, and later also the preacher *Ludwig*, seceded from the established church with a part of their congregations, and connected with the church college of Breslau, but were only able to spiritually serve their people amid unspeakable vexations on the part of the police. After repeated refusals the grand-duke finally in 1854 granted to the seceders the

permission to elect a Lutheran pastor, but he perseveringly refused to acknowledge Eichhorn as such. Preacher *Haag*, who would not abandon the Lutheran formula of distribution at the Lord's Supper, was deposed (1855) after earnest warning. On the other hand, the positive churchly movement also grew stronger in the established church. In 1854 the old rationalistic members of the High-consistory were silenced, and *Ullmann* of Heidelberg became its head. Under his auspices a general synod (1855) adopted resolutions to introduce new church and school-books in the sense of the Consensus-Union, endeavoring, at the same time, to accommodate them in a measure to Lutheran views. The grand-duke confirmed the resolutions, and the country remained silent. But when in 1858 the High-consistory, on the basis of the synodal resolutions of 1855, promulgated a new "Kirchenbuch" for general introduction, the new liturgical innovations which it contained (enlargement of the liturgy by the confession of sin and of faith, collects, responses, lessons, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, assent to the confession of faith by sponsors), aroused a violent opposition in the country, at the head of which was the faculty of Heidelberg, with *Dr. Schenkel* as leader. The grand-duke decided that the new liturgy should not be forced upon any congregation in the country; on the other hand, the shorter and simpler form of the same was to be introduced when it could be done then or later without force, whilst the larger form was only to be used by congregations which expressly desired it.—In *Nassau* also, which also accepted the Union, a Lutheran movement of emancipation has manifested itself within the last few years, but it has been repressed by police measures.

5. In Protestant *Switzerland* there existed, in addition to the luxuriant growth of rationalistic Illumination and radical Liberalism, a soil receptive for Separatism and religious fanaticism, whose first cultivation has been attributed, perhaps not unjustly, to *Lady von Krüdener*. The French philosophy of the 18th century gave the *Reformed Church of Geneva* a rationalistic tendency, and the venerable Compagnie of the Genevan clergy could venture in 1817 to impose upon candidates at ordination the obligation not to preach on the natures in Christ, original sin, predestination, etc. But this state of things was opposed by a Methodism (in Geneva, especially also in Lausanne) transported from England, whose adherents, nicknamed the *Momiers*, rebuked the apostacy from the church by word and deed. In *Waadtland* the Helvetic Confession was abolished in 1839 by a resolution of the chief council, and in 1845, when a radical revolutionary government got possession of the helm of State, the refusal of many clergymen to read a political proclamation of the government furnished occasion for a schism, inasmuch as all the offending clergymen were dismissed from the established church. Since then, in addition to the established church, a *free Waadtlandish Church* has existed under the oppression and persecution of the radical government. In the chief

council of *Geneva* the resolution was offered in 1855, to separate the church entirely from the State, for which *Al. Vinet* (*ob.* 1847 as professor at Geneva) contended with glowing eloquence during his whole life. The resolution is still favored by many earnest Christians, but it has finally been rejected by a majority. — Among the *German Reformed* cantons only Basle has been able to resist the introduction of Rationalism; but that the people also in other cantons are not willing to give up the faith of the fathers so easily, was shown in 1839, when the chief council of Zurich called *Dr. David Strauss* as professor of theology. The people rose as *one* man against this measure; the appointment failed; the chief council was overthrown, and Zurich even yet pays a pension to Strauss. A similar occurrence took place in *Berne*, upon the calling of *Dr. Zeller* to the theological professorship there in 1847. The opponents of this movement only gained insult and persecution. But as *Zeller* even was not radical enough for the Radicals, he accepted in 1849 a professorship of philosophy at Marburg. In *Basle* the exclusion of the radically infidel candidate *Rumpf* from the list of the candidates for the ministry in 1858, caused a great noise. His endeavor to be restored has, meanwhile, failed in the chief council.

6. Only the name of a protector of the papal chair and of the Roman Catholic Church remained to the Emperor of *Austria* from the Roman empire. The remnants of the church government of Josephine have since her time been gradually removed, and Roman Catholicism has been retained as the State religion; nevertheless, the government of the State preserves, in opposition to all hierarchical claims, its independence, and grants toleration, though of a very limited kind, to Protestantism. The storm of 1848 first removed the hated name of the non-Catholics, obtained permission to place bells and steeples upon Protestant houses of worship, and the compliant guarantee of many rights, the realization of which, meantime, has been greatly hindered by the opposition of Roman Catholic magistrates and priests. After that the government, by its concordat with the Pope (1855), granted to the Roman Catholic clergy almost unlimited power to protect and uphold the Roman Catholic established church, it appeared for a time as if it was honestly disposed to protect Protestantism in its rights of existence, and to promote its progress. In fact also much was done to promote and support evangelical churches and schools. Even the festival of the Reformation on Oct. 31 was allowed to be publicly celebrated in Vienna. But the repeated refusal to permit the formation of branch unions of the Gustave-Adolphus Society (although the acceptance of support from the same is now granted) — the maintenance of the law, that Roman Catholic priests, even after they have formally become Protestants, dare not marry, because the character indelebilis of consecration to the priesthood still adheres even to apostates—and many other things, show that the government is yet far from

placing Protestants on a legal equality with Roman Catholics. In the Tyrolese *Zillerthal* evangelical truth has found its way into many families through Protestant books and Bibles. When the Roman Catholics drew the reins tighter (1826), these, appealing to Josephine's edict of tolerance, petitioned for permission to join the evangelical church. The Emperor *Francis* I. promised them tolerance. But the Tyrolese deputies protested, and the official decree which finally followed (1834) commanded them to emigrate to Siebenbürgen or beyond the imperial States. The petitioners preferred the latter, and applied by a deputation to the King of Prussia, who directed them to colonize on his domain of Erdmannsdorf in Silesia. Thither 399 of the exiles emigrated in 1837 and founded a new Zillerthal, richly aided by royal munificence. In *Bohemia* there was awakened, with the enthusiasm for the national institutions, also patriotic religious sympathies for the old Hussiteism, connected with many transitions to the Protestant Church. In *Hungary* the Diet had obtained since 1833 full equality for the Protestants with the Roman Catholics, when, in consequence of the military rule of the Protestant *Haynau*, all independent life and action of both Protestant churches was fettered again in 1850. Haynau's decree, it is true, was abolished in 1854, but still the complete return to the former autonomy of the churches has not been secured in spite of all petitions and deputations; and the difficulty in the way has been increased by the Hungarians refusing in a rough way to accept the plan of a constitution proposed by the government in 1856. In *Siebenbürgen*, on the other hand, at least the evangelicals of the Augsburg Confession rejoice in the possession of perfect ecclesiastical equality and independence — a favor which has not yet been conferred on the Reformed living there.

7. *Bavaria* under King *Louis* was the shield of Roman Catholicism in its extreme ultramontane form. The constitutionally guaranteed religious freedom of the Protestants was in many ways embarrassed and limited; and great as were the necessities of the Protestants in Southern Bavaria, the government most strictly prohibited them from receiving any aid from the Gustave-Adolphus Society. King Louis saw even in the name of this society a reproach of the German name, and, besides, he was offended at its vague, negative confessional position. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to give a peaceful asylum in Roman Catholic Bavaria to *Scheibel*, who was driven out of Lutheran Saxony by Prussian diplomacy, — and permitted the university of *Erlangen* (after its dead spiritual life had been reawakened by the excellent *Reformed* preacher *Krafft* [*ob.* 1845]) to become the centre of a strict Lutheranism both in practical life and in science for all Germany. The *kneeling order* of 1838, which also imposed kneeling before the sanctissimum upon the Protestant soldiery as a military salutation, caused great dissatisfaction among the Protestant population, and provoked many controversial treatises from both sides. When

finally the Diet made the grievance of the Protestant delegates its own (1845), a royal declaration was issued, by which the previously existing purely military salutation was restored. After that the ultramontane party had fallen into disfavor by its honorable course in the *Lola Montes scandal* of 1847, and the revolution of the following year compelled King Louis to abdicate, the Protestant Church of Bavaria, at the head of which *Harless* stands since 1852, attained to the full, unlimited, and undisturbed enjoyment of its rights, under the reign of the noble and just King *Maximilian*. The general synod of 1853 (at *Baireuth*) manifested, under Harless' presidency, a thorough earnestness in the work of reorganizing the established church. On the basis of its transactions the High-consistory ordered the introduction of a new and excellent hymn-book. This already caused great dissatisfaction among the unchurchly Liberals, but was at length carried out. But when in 1856 the High-consistory published a series of ordinances: 1. An instruction concerning the order of worship with a provisional liturgy; 2. A direction concerning the restoration of church discipline; 3. A decree concerning the regulation of the confessional, with a view to the reintroduction of private confession; 4. A decree to guarantee the spiritual office against improper imputations in reference to baptismal sponsors, marriages, funerals, etc.; and, 5. finally a regulation, according to which the parties to be married were required to appear personally before the preacher for proclamation of the bans, — then a terrible storm, starting at Nürnberg, broke loose, which raged through the entire country. The king was overwhelmed with petitions, and the High-consistory went so far in almost timorous compliance as to make the acceptance or non-acceptance of its regulations optional to the congregations. Meanwhile the time for holding a new general synod approached (1857). A decree of the royal high-episcopate abolished the union of the two national synods into *one* general synod, and prohibited all discussion concerning church discipline. Consequently, instead of one synod two assembled, the one in October at *Anspach*, the other in November at *Baireuth*. Both, composed of an equal number of temporal and spiritual delegates, took a very honorable and moderate course, by which they neither prejudiced the rights of the church nor the honor of the High-consistory. The storm has since then subsided very rapidly, and the hopes of a prosperous progress in church affairs have brightened.—An imminent division of the Lutheran established church by the hyper-Lutheran party of *Löhe* in Neudettelsau was fortunately averted by the action of the general synod of 1853. Löhe and his party, although somewhat sulky, yet hoping the best from a development begun so vigorously, retraced their steps, and the High-consistory continued its indulgence towards Löhe. Finally, however, in 1858 it quite unexpectedly set bounds to him by inflicting on him a sharp remand in a threefold form: first, that he administered the anointing with oil, although not as a sacra-

ment, to a sick young lady staying with him, yielding to her appeals to James 5 and Mark 16; — secondly, on account of introducing auricular confession and absolution among non-confirmed youth; — and, finally, on account of an instruction concerning the exercise of church discipline, which he himself devised and carried out in his congregation on his own authority. Whether the rupture which has long been impending will finally be consummated in consequence of this, is yet to be seen.

The government has also acted justly towards the Reformed and united churches of the country by appointing a Reformed professor of theology in the Protestant national university. The Union was accomplished in 1818 in the Bavarian *Palatinate of the Rhine*, with the agreement to hold the symbolical books of both churches in proper esteem, but to acknowledge no other doctrinal rule than the Scriptures. Hereby, it is evident, the door was opened to the most boundless Rationalism. The general synod of Anspach in 1849 favored the country with a new democratic church organization; but a reaction took place here also. Since 1853, the consistory of Spire, under *Ebrard's* leadership, brought to pass the meeting of a general synod in the autumn of this year, which raised the Augustana Variata of 1540, as embodying the consensus between the Augustana of 1530 and the Heidelberg, as also the Lutheran Catechism, as the banner of the Palatinate church. Since then the consistory has proceeded with police force against all those preachers who preach and teach the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and when *Dr. Hengstenberg* of Berlin opened the columns of his K-Zeitung to the indignant assaults of the Lutherans on this despotic union, the court of assizes in Zweibrücken condemned him in contumaciam (1854) to an imprisonment of 3 months or a fine of 50 fl.; — but even in Zweibrücken they do not hang a culprit until they catch him. When the consistory, in pursuance of the action of the general synod of 1853, laid the plan of a new hymn-book before the diocesan synods (1856), the universal indignation of the liberal inhabitants of the Palatinate broke out in a terrible storm, on account of the doctrines imputed to them in it. The diocesan synods, however, acknowledged the necessity of a new hymn-book and the appositeness of the plan in general, but they recommended another revision of the same and the addition of 150 new hymns. The radical agitation continues to the present time: the petition to the king to annul the synodal resolutions with regard to it has been denied (1858).

8. *Great Britain and Ireland.* (Cf. *H. F. Uhden*, d. Zustände d. anglik. K. Lpz. 1843. — *M. Petri*, Beitr. zur. Würdig. d. Puseyismus. Göttg. 1843. — *H. R. Weaver*, d. Puseyism, aus d. Engl. v. *C. Anthor*. Lpz. 1844. — *A. F. Gemberg*, die schott. Nationalk. Hamb. 1828. — *K. H. Sack*, d. K. v. Schottl. Heidlb. 1844–48, 2 Bde. — *J. Köstlin*, d. schott. K. Hamb. 1852. — *Ph. Schaff*, Zustände u. Parteien d. engl. Staatskirche. In d. deutsch. Ztschr. für chr. Wsch. u. chr. Leben,

1855–56.) — A Reformed Protestant and a Roman Catholic element have been combined in the established Church of *England*. The former appears especially in the doctrines of the church, the latter in the doctrine concerning the church, and from this also in the form of government (episcopal succession and hierarchical organization), as also in the worship (liturgy abundant in ceremonies). Where both elements have been really united and reconciled, *i. e.*, where the one has penetrated the other, an intimate relationship with the Lutheran Church has been manifested. But because this union has not been actualized fully and harmoniously in every part, the two elements having been rather kept asunder, an exclusive, extreme divergence on both sides was unavoidable, as was also the result very soon, on the one side represented in the Dissenters, on the other in the Romanizing tendency of the Stuarts. Since the political parties of the Tories and Whigs have been formed, two corresponding parties have also appeared in the established church. The *high-church party*, which has its influential representatives among the aristocracy, detests the tendency of the Dissenters, seeks to preserve the most intimate connection between State and Church, and carefully watches over the preservation of all churchly forms and institutions in government, worship, and doctrine. On the other hand, the *evangelical* (or low-church) *party*, which is more or less Methodistic, sustains the most active intercourse with the Dissenters (co-working in Home and Foreign Missions, etc.), and represents in various degrees (even to the extreme of Dissenters) the claims of progress against those of stability; the independence and self-dependence of the Church against identification with the State; evangelical freedom, and the universal priesthood of Christians, against orthodoxy and hierarchy. The active life of the Dissenters and the increasingly close connection of the episcopal evangelical party with them, incited also in modern times the high-church party to a more powerful protection of its interests, and impelled it to a one-sided intensification of the *Roman Catholic* element. The centre of this Romanizing tendency since 1833 is the university of *Oxford*. The heads of this movement were the Professors *Pusey*, *Newman*, etc.; its literary organ were the Tracts for the Times (whence the party is also called Tractarians), a series of treatises in defence of Anglo-Catholicism, which, in adhesion to the 39 articles, as decidedly defends genuine Protestantism against the Roman papacy, as it defends genuine Catholicism against every kind of ultra Protestantism in the weight which it attaches to the apostolical succession of the bishopric and priesthood, and to apostolical tradition in behalf of exegesis. In this way also every doctrine was approximated to those of the Roman Catholic system, so far as the 39 articles would possibly allow it. This tendency, called *Puseyism*, met with much sympathy, especially among the higher clergy. But the "No popery" principle is too deeply rooted in the English nation, not to meet Puseyism with great indignation and

strong opposition. The most of the English bishops opposed it in pastoral letters; Pusey and Newman were dismissed from their positions, but the university still adheres to its tendency. In 1845 *Newman* went over to the Romish Church, and crowds of Puseyites, especially from the higher aristocracy and clergy, have since then followed his example. But this apostacy only served to increase the aversion of the English *people* to Puseyism and Popery. When the Vicar *Gorham* was promoted in 1847 to a better position by the crown, the Puseyite Bishop of Exeter protested against it, because Gorham disputed the doctrine that regeneration takes place in baptism. The privy-council, however, as the highest ecclesiastical court, declared him to be orthodox, and appointed him in spite of all opposition. This gave the episcopal clergy an opportunity to urge the restoration of the *Convocation*, a kind of spiritual parliament. This object was gained in 1854; but the convocation has as yet been able to accomplish but little. In addition to the pressure to obtain the recognition of baptism as the vehicle of regeneration, the zeal of the high-church clergy for the introduction of private confession, or as its opponents say, of auricular confession, has also given occasion for offence and controversy. A London clergyman named *Poole* was deposed on this account in 1858 by his bishop; a Vicar *West*, on the other hand, of the diocese of Oxford, was acquitted for the same offence. — Besides the high- and the low-church party, a third one, the so-called *broad-church party*, has made itself felt within a few decades. It traces its origin to the celebrated philosopher and poet *Coleridge* (*ob.* 1834), and numbers in its ranks many of the most respectable and learned of the present clergy, who are also specially distinguished by their intimate acquaintance with German theology and philosophy. They do not form an organized church party, as the evangelicals and high-churchmen, and do not propose anything of the kind; nevertheless, their tendency is directed towards removing the narrow-mindedness and exaggeration of the other parties, and furnishing a broader basis and clearer horizon both for theology and the church, without prejudicing in any way either the authority of the Scriptures or the doctrines of the Church. Lord *Russell's* university bill (1854) opened also the university of Oxford to Dissenters by restricting the obligation of the 39 articles to the students of theology. In 1857 the introduction of a new *divorce bill*, which established a new court for divorces, granted the wife the right to apply for divorce in case of incestuous adultery, bigamy, and malicious abandonment, and unconditionally allowed the re-marriage of those divorced, created great excitement among, and called forth much opposition from the high-church party, but, nevertheless, passed both Houses without amendment. The admission of *Jews* to parliament was also accomplished in 1858, after a contest extending through 12 years, by granting to both Houses the right to admit a member who took the oath "on the true faith of a Christian." In opposition to high-church

Oxford Rationalism gained ascendency more and more in Cambridge, and even the labors of the Tübingen-Baur School (§ 56, 4) find enthusiastic eulogists in the Westminster Review.

The *Church of Scotland*, from the beginning strictly Calvinistic in customs, government, and doctrines, has also preserved this character unimpaired to the present time. The difference between the moderates and the evangelical party does not refer to doctrine, but only to government. The latter are strict Presbyterians, and opponents of the right of patronage. Besides the Presbyterian form of government, there existed, namely, of old a right of election by the land proprietor, which was often exercised to intrude obnoxious clergymen upon the congregations. The General Assembly of 1834 granted the veto-power to the congregations, but the civil courts protected the patrons in their hereditary rights. At a meeting of the General Assembly in 1843 about 200 members withdrew on this account from the *Established Church of Scotland as Non-intrusionists*, and laid the foundations of the *Free Church of Scotland*, which, with *Dr. Chalmers* (*ob.* 1847) at its head, has exhibited great zeal and self-denial in establishing parishes, etc., and is now in a prosperous condition. The large mass of the people belong to it, whilst the established church is mainly composed of the rich landed proprietors. In addition to these two, there exists also a United *Presbyterian Church*, which is supported by the wealthy middle class, and insists upon the separation of the Church from the State. A controversy concerning the introduction of *organs* into the churches has been carried on in this church since 1856. Three churches in Glasgow have received permission from the synod to introduce organs under certain limitations. More important is the controversy concerning the *Lord's Supper*, which broke out in the established church of Scotland in 1857. Bishop *Forbes* of Brechin, in an address to his clergy, which was published later, insisted upon the necessity not only of acknowledging the real presence of the true body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, but also of the participation of the same by the unbelieving. The other bishops, however, at a synod at Edinburgh, pronounced this doctrine of their colleague to be anti-Scriptural and anti-Anglican, against which 55 presbyters protested. One of these, *Patrick Cheyne* of Aberdeen, who was charged with holding the doctrine of transubstantiation, has been deposed by the episcopal General Synod, because he would not retract.—In *Ireland*, whose Roman Catholic population has been greatly decreased by constant emigration, the work of evangelization prospers without interruption. In England and Scotland not less than 16 societies exist, which labor in this work by missionaries, itinerant preachers, colporteurs, and schoolteachers, and expend yearly $500,000 upon it.

9. In the *Netherlands* (cf. *A. Köhler*, die niederländisch-reform. K. Erlg. 1856), Rationalism and latitudinarian Supranaturalism have so far moderated the hostilities existing between Reformed, Remonstrants,

Mennonites, and Lutherans, that the clergy of one party were allowed to preach in the churches of the other. There the poet *William Bilderdijk*, driven from political to religious patriotism, arose in glowing anger against the general apostacy from Dort orthodoxy. Two Jews converted by him, *Is. da Costa* and the physician *Cappadose*, powerfully supported him. A young, fiery clergyman, *Henry de Cock*, became the theological spokesman of the party. Because he violated ecclesiastical order by ministering in congregations belonging to other clergymen, he was suspended and finally deposed (1834). The largest portion of his congregation, and with him four other preachers, now solemnly declared, that their secession from the apostatized church was a return to the orthodox Reformed Church. They were punished by fines and imprisonment as Separatists and disturbers, and were finally satisfied with being regarded, by royal favor, as a separate Christian church (1839). It was composed at this time of 30 congregations. The established church, on the other hand, perseveres in its latitudinarian tendency. There exists since 1850 a free synodal system, by which the church is governed. The general synod is held yearly at Hague. The one of 1853 declared that the Netherland Reformed Church did not demand from its teachers agreement with all the doctrines of the symbolical books, but only with their spirit and essence. The so-called *Gröninger* (humanistic) *school*, with Schleiermacher's fundamental tendency, reigns at the universities. Its chief representative is *Hofstede de Groot*. The largest portion of the clergy still belong to the old moderate rationalistic tendency. Theological learning, especially that of a philologico-historical character, still flourishes in Holland.

During the last ninety years Rationalism has also prevailed in *Denmark*. In 1828 Professor *Clausen*, a moderate disciple of Neology, identified Rationalism and Protestantism, in a learned work ("Katholicism u. Protestsm." Translated from the Danish by *Fries*. Latest edition 1828, 3 Bde.) On the other hand, Pastor *Grundtvig*, "a man of poetical talents, and learned in the ancient history of the country," entered the lists, equally enthusiastic for the Lutheranism of the fathers and for patriotic Daneism, with powerful eloquence and with the charge of apostacy from Christianity and the Church. He was condemned by the courts as an injurer, having resigned his pastoral office while the trial was in progress. The same fate befel the orientalist *Lindberg*, who charged Clausen with breaking the oath of his office. Grundtvig's adherents worshipped in conventicles until he obtained permission in 1832 again to hold public worship. The Dano-mania, which increased beyond measure in 1848 and 1849 (during the warlike conflicts with Germany), reconciled enemies and alienated friends. Grundtvig especially raged senselessly against everything German, and of the two factors, which he at one time regarded as the poles of the world's history ("Weltchronik," transl. by *Volkmar*, Nürnb. 1837), namely Daneism and Lutheranism, he lately abandoned the latter as being of

German origin, in that he desired to remove the German Lutheran special confession of faith, placed the Apostle's creed before and above the Scriptures, and wished to introduce Scandinavian mythology into the schools as Christian propædeutics. The *Schleswig-Holstein* rebellion of 1848 was followed by a boundless distraction and destruction of ecclesiastical affairs there. More than 100 German pastors were dismissed, and 46 Schleswig parishes were deprived of the use of the German language in church and school. Nevertheless, the great Scandinavian Diet of Copenhagen had the effrontery (1857) to reply to the intercession of the English section of the evangelical alliance, that it was not acquainted with a single instance of such action, and that it was not its business to prescribe the use of language in Schleswig. The *Baptistic* movement, which is continually gaining strength in Denmark, was greatly promoted (1857) by a law which abolished the *compulsion to baptism* in the established church, and only requires that all children be registered in the church register within a year.

In *Sweden* since 1803 a quiet and useful religious communion has existed, in opposition to the stiff and dead orthodoxy of the established church, which, if characterized by pietistic one-sidedness, is not guilty of a heretical departure from orthodox doctrines. Because its members diligently *read* the Bible and the works of Luther, they have received the name *Readers*, and have been persecuted by the established church, by virtue of the old law against conventicles (1726), with imprisonment and fines, and by the mob with insult and abuse. Although the constitution of 1809 guarantees freedom of worship, nevertheless the old rigid laws still exist in full authority and power, according to which the secession of subjects from the Lutheran established church is punished with imprisonment and exile, with the loss of civil reputation and of the right of inheriting. Nevertheless, within several years the transitions to Roman Catholicism, to the Baptists, and even to Mormonism, have greatly increased. Even in 1858 six women, who were converted to Roman Catholicism, were mercilessly banished from the country. In 1857 the king laid a tolerance-act before the Diet, which, although intolerant enough (excluding all converts from all civil offices and reserving their children for the established church), was, nevertheless, rejected by the states. The unprotestant law must in time, without doubt, yield to the indignation which has been created by it abroad, especially in England, and to the unwearied agitations of the Reform party in the country. A beginning at reformation has already commenced, inasmuch as by a royal decree with the approbation of the states the law against conventicles was abrogated in Oct. 1858.—In *Norway*, where the State is much less identified with Church than in Sweden, the movement among the people started by the farmer *Niels Hauge* (§ 51, 4), has by no means died out. But with Scandinavian hatred of everything German, *Grundtvig's* bran-new theology has also been imported from Denmark, and has met with great favor. The

theological faculty at Christiana, however, which represents in science and practical life a rigid and living Lutheranism of the German stamp, is opposing it with energy and effect.

10. *France and Belgium.* (Cf. *H. Reuchlin*, d. Christth. in Fr. Hamb. 1837.—*A. Mader*, d. prot. K. Frankreichs, published by Gieseler. Lpz. 1848. 2 Bde.—*Agénor de Gasparin*, Les intérêts généraux du Protestantisme franç. Par. 1843. Transl. by *Runkel*, Essen, 1843.—*A. Damman*, d. prot. K. in Fr.; in the Ztschr. für hist. Theol. 1850. I. E. S. die rel. Zustände in Fr.; in Gelzer's Monatsblätt. 1853.)—The constitution of the Restoration in *France* (1814) guaranteed to *Roman Catholicism* the authority of the established religion, and to the other confessions the protection and toleration of the State. But Ultramontanism of the most violent kind began, with the favor of the government, to oppress Protestantism in every way. In South France the hatred of the Roman Catholic mob broke out against the Reformed already (1815) in bloody persecution. The government was silent about it until the indignation of all Europe compelled it to check the evil; but the perpetrators of it were unpunished. By the revolution of July, 1830, the Roman Catholic Church again lost the privileges of the established church, and the Protestants obtained the same rights with the Roman Catholics. But also under the new constitutional government Ultramontanism again made itself felt with effect; the Protestants complained of many injuries and violations of rights by Roman Catholic prefects; and under the Protestant minister *Guizot* France assumed the protectorate of Roman Catholicism throughout the whole world. Meanwhile, the *Reformed French Church* flourished, even though placed between methodistic one-sidedness and rationalistic superficiality, and the single *Lutheran* congregations (in Paris, etc.) outside of Alsace, also prospered. After the revolution of February, 1848, the Lutherans deliberated on a new organization of church affairs at a general synod at Strasburg, and the Reformed also at a council at Paris. But when the latter, in order to preserve unity of government amid diversity of doctrine, resolved to disregard symbol and doctrine in the matter, *Fr. Monod* and Count *Gasparin*, the noble representative of French Protestantism, protested against such a course, and formed, with about 30 congregations of stricter views, at a new council in Paris (1849), a union of evangelical congregations with biennial synods. *Louis Napoleon*, by the decree of March 26, 1852, granted to the Reformed Church a central council at Paris, with consistories and presbyteries; and to the Lutheran a yearly High-consistory as legislative, and a standing directory as executive council. The Lutheran theological faculty at Strasburg represents the western section of Schleiermacher's school. The academy at Montauban, with *Adolf Monod* at its head, represents Reformed orthodoxy—nevertheless, without strict confessionalism and with a piety of a methodistic type; and *Coquerel* in Paris is the head of the rationalistic party in the Reformed

established church. The reaction against Rationalism was led since 1830 by the "Société Évangelique" in Paris, which in addition has assumed the work of protestantizing France, and has labored quietly and very successfully in this direction by colportage, circulation of tracts, sending forth evangelists, school instruction, etc. It has been powerfully supported in this work by the evangelical society of *Geneva*. The number of Protestant clergymen in France has increased, within 50 years, from 200 to 600; and every year new evangelical congregations are established, in spite of the endless difficulties which Roman Catholic authorities place in the way. Manifold violations of right and oppressions are still practised. In Strasburg (1854) the Jesuits prevailed upon the Roman Catholic prefect to reclaim and take possession of the revenues of the former Thomas foundation, which had been appropriated since the Reformation to the support of the Protestant gymnasium. However, the prefect was directed from Paris to desist from his claims. In his address from the throne in 1858, the emperor declared that the government guaranteed full freedom of worship to the Protestants, without, however, forgetting that Roman Catholicism was the religion of the majority; and the *Moniteur* explained this declaration so plainly in the sense of the *Univers*, that the prefects could not be in doubt how to understand it. Through General *Espinasse*,—who, after the unsuccessful attempt on the life of the emperor (Jan. 14, 1858), officiated for a time as Minister of the Interior, — the prefects were expressly directed to extend their watchfulness over the press also to the labors of the evangelical societies, and to prohibit the colportage of Protestant Bibles. However, the latter was recalled by a change of ministry, and permission was only denied to the agents of foreign Bible societies. — In *Belgium* the work of evangelization advanced rapidly, not only among the Walloons, but also among the Flemish population, so that from year to year new evangelical congregations are established, in spite of all agitation and popular instigation on the part of the Ultramontane clergy.

11. In *Italy* immigrant Protestants have formed evangelical congregations at Milan and Florence, without restriction on the part of the government. From regard to diplomatic intercourse with Prussia, England, and North America, Rome and Naples have also permitted Protestant embassy chapels to be built. When in 1848 the hopes of young Italy, which were built on Pius IX.'s national sympathies, were dissipated, Protestant sympathies, nourished by English travellers, Bibles, and tracts, began to be manifested far and wide in Italy, which, although repressed by penalties of imprisonment, are still increasing and strengthening. — In the valleys of *Piedmont* lived the remnants of the Waldenses (§ 33, 2), about 20,000 souls, under constant oppressions and persecutions, which were only restrained by Prussian and English intervention. They regarded themselves as being a branch of the Reformed Church; and having been enriched

since the Reformation by the spirit of the Genevan Church, they designated themselves as église évangelique Vaudoise at a synod (1839). When in 1848 the crown of *Sardinia* placed itself at the head of Italian Liberalism, religious freedom was also granted to them with all civil rights. Now a large Waldensian congregation was formed in the midst of the city of Turin, which grew rapidly by the addition of numerous fugitives from the rest of Italy. But in 1854 already a division took place between the elements of which it was composed. Waldensian orthodoxy was too narrow-minded for the liberalistic Italians. A former Romish priest, *Dr. de Sanctis*, took the lead of the discontents, was deposed from his office by the Waldenses, and formed an independent evangelical Italian congregation with a rationalizing confession of faith. But in spite of this division the evangelization of the country went forward, and now evangelical congregations exist in all the principal cities, from whence also a number of rural congregations have already been established.—In *Tuscany*, where in a liberal spirit the legislature even allowed transition to Protestantism, in 1852 *Francesco* and *Rosa Madiai* were compelled to atone for the crime of having read the Bible by severe punishment in a house of correction. The intervention of evangelical unions was in vain; equally so even the intercession of the King of Prussia. Finally, the English premier, Lord Palmerston, stimulated by the public opinion of England, spoke an earnest word, which even promised in the worst case to place several ships-of-war at the disposal of the demands of Christian humanity. The grand-duke now rid himself of the two martyrs by banishing them from the country in 1853; and Lord Shaftesbury organized a society at Edinburgh, the object of which is to prevent the occurrence of similar cases by all means allowed by the Gospel. — In *Spain* also, where a large number of Bibles, tracts, and a religious paper in the Spanish language ("El Alba"), have been distributed from Gibraltar, Protestant sympathies are not wanting.—The Lutheran Church of *Russia*, embracing about 2,000,000 souls, received a common church-order and liturgy: the latter on the basis of the old Swedish liturgy; the former with the requisition that all teachers of religion in church and school adhere to the Formula of Concord. — In *Poland* the Reformed and Lutheran Churches were united since 1828 under a combined consistory. The independent existence of both churches was restored by an imperial ukase of 1849. Protestants as well as Roman Catholics rejoice in the full enjoyment of all civil rights, and in the unlimited freedom of worship, although they deny themselves bells on their churches in inner Russia; and children of mixed marriages, in which one party belongs to the orthodox church, are adjudged to the latter by the law. The Lutheran Church in Livonia (with the island of *Oesel*) sustained an important and, according to the laws, irrevocable loss in 1845 and 1846 by the large transition (60,000 to 70,000 souls) of the Lettonian and Esthonian natives to the orthodox established

church. The movement did not extend to the neighboring provinces of Courland and Esthonia. In order to remove the pressing want of churches and schools, of preachers and teachers, existing in the evangelical Lutheran congregations in Russia, an *Aid-society*, modelled after the Gustave-Adolphus Society, has lately been formed (1858) with imperial approbation, under the direction of the general consistory at St. Petersburg; which, it is to be hoped, will not fail to receive the willing and hearty co-operation of congregations more favorably circumstanced. The theological faculty of Dorpat has been allowed (1858) to publish a journal for theology and the church, which is exempt from spiritual and temporal censorship. — In *Turkey*, English and North American missionaries labor among the Armenians, Maronites, Greeks, and Jews. Among the Armenians in Asia Minor there are already 12 Protestant congregations; 3 in the chief city. In Constantinople there are 10 Protestant preachers and 14 Protestant schools, and in the whole empire about 50 Protestant congregations.

12. *North America.* (Cf. *K. Brandes*, K. G., kirchl. Statest. u. rel. Leben in d. vereinigt. Staaten N.-As.; after the English of *Rob. Baird*. Berl. 1844.—*W. Klose*, d. christl. K. in d. vereinigt. St. N.-A.; in the hist. theol. Ztsch. 1848. I.—*Ph. Schaff*, Amerika, d. pol. soc. u. kirchl. rel. Zustände, Berl. 1854. 2te Aufl. 1858.) — The North American Republic, which demands no other religious guarantee from its citizens than faith in *a* God, embraces the most heterogeneous religious tendencies, churches, and sects; as could not be otherwise from the peculiar origin of the population. As the settlers frequently left their native countries from religious motives, the most diverse religious parties were gathered here, which, especially on account of the existing defective theological culture and the sense for the practical, made the country the theatre of religious excitements of all kinds; among which the *Revivals*, which are systematically carried on by many denominations, play so prominent a part. The State does not concern itself at all about religious affairs, and permits every congregation to care for itself. Consequently the preachers are entirely dependent on the congregations, and are frequently employed by the year. Still they constitute a most highly respected order, and churchly feeling and churchly piety are nowhere in the world so highly and universally valued as here. About 800 new Protestant churches are formed on an average every year. The support of the same is for the most part provided for by annual free contributions; the foundation of a permanent church property is pretty generally regarded as inexpedient. Educational affairs, likewise dependent on voluntary co-operation, are in general still very defective and unsatisfactory. The future preachers received their education at the colleges (higher educational institutions of a more general tendency) and the numerous theological seminaries. To check the spread of intemperance, which has become so great an evil through immigrant Irishmen and Germans,

several States have prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors, even of beer. To prevent the spread of Popery, as also the flooding of the country by Irishmen and wild German demagogues, the widely ramified and powerful order of *Know-Nothings* [now entirely defunct in 1861—Tr.] has been formed among the native Anglo-Americans, which proposes to deprive Papists and foreigners of all participation in the affairs of the government. Meanwhile, the party has divided on the *Slavery Question*. The Southern States made every effort to preserve slavery, which is so indispensable to them, and succeeded in gaining a brilliant victory through the *Nebraska bill* (1854). Within the last ten years a crazy belief in spirits and wonders connected with table turnings, spiritual-knockings, citation of spirits and miraculous cures by means of Magnetism and Somnambulism, has spread in an epidemic way under the name of *Spiritualism*. A multitude of journals and books serve to propagate this Spiritualism, which, with its three millions of believers, has almost assumed the character of a new religion, with new revelations far exceeding those of the Prophets and Apostles. On the other hand, the monetary and mercantile crisis towards the close of 1857 produced a religious excitement such as had never before been experienced even in America. It was the golden age of *Revivals*, in which certainly not everything that glittered was gold.

The numerous Protestant denominations may be divided into two chief groups, the one *English*, the other *German*. The most important of the first group are: 1. The *Congregationalists* (Puritans, Independents, cf. § 19, 4). Founded by the *Pilgrim Fathers*, who emigrated from England (1620), they now number about 1,500,000. They adhere to the Westminster Confession of 1642, with the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper. German orthodox theology, which is regarded by them as poorly disguised Rationalism, on account of its lax principles concerning inspiration and the canon, has, nevertheless, exerted a not insignificant influence in its most celebrated seminary at Andover through Prof. *Moses Stuart*. 2. The *Presbyterians*, of Scotch origin, numbering about 2,500,000 souls, agree with the Congregationalists in doctrine and confession, but are distinguished from them by a common church government of a synodal and presbyterial character. Since 1837 they have been divided into an *Old* and *New* school; the latter of which, charged with apostacy from strict Calvinistic orthodoxy, does not hesitate to co-operate with other denominations in promoting Christian objects, whilst the former is more exclusive. The principal seminary of the latter is in New York, that of the former at Princeton. Here *Dr. Alexander* taught, also a man well acquainted with German theology. 3. The *Dutch Reformed Church*, established by colonists from Holland, who settled on the Hudson in 1609, and founded New York. They are closely allied with the Presbyterians. It has long since permitted the Dutch language and Dutch customs to fall into disuse; on

the other hand, it adheres with great tenacity to the articles of the Synod of Dort. It numbers 130,000 members. 4. The *Protestant Episcopal Church* (1,000,000 souls) is distinguished in general by a prudent and solid churchliness. Puseyism has also crept in here, and contributed a number of proselytes to the Romish Church. 5. The *Methodists* (about 2,000,000) stood also here in a connection of correspondence with the episcopal mother-church. But when the country was distracted by the war of the Revolution, *Wesley* (1784) himself ordained a bishop for his Methodist societies in North America, which since then have been organized as the Methodist Episcopal Church into an independent denomination. Their influence on the religious life of America has been very great. They, above all others, have displayed the greatest skill in Revivals, but the excess connected with them from the beginning has here increased to an almost incredible degree through the so-called *New Measures* (protracted meetings, enquiry meetings, camp-meetings, etc.) It reached its height in the so-called camp-meetings, which are frequently held by itinerant Methodist preachers in forests under the free heavens, to awaken the masses of the people who flock to them. Day and night, without interruption, they pray, sing, preach, and exhort; all the terrors of hell are evoked, the excitement increases with every moment; conflicts of repentance, connected with sighs, sobs, groans, convulsions and spasms, make their appearance; divine grace finally is experienced; loud rejoicings, embracings, and benedictions of the converts, mingle with the groanings of those still wrestling for grace at the anxious bench. The Methodists themselves have come to see that more can be accomplished by the *old* measures than by the new. For the rest, since 1847 the Methodist Church has been divided into two hostile camps, a Southern and a Northern one. The first-named tolerates slavery, whilst the latter are decided abolitionists, and excommunicate every slaveholder as an unbeliever. Another party, the *Protestant Methodists*, have separated on account of the hierarchy of the mother-church, and have exchanged the episcopal form of government for a congregationalistic one. 6. The *Baptists*, which have been much divided among themselves by sects, number in all about 4,000,000 of souls. The most numerous by far are the *Calvinistic Baptists*. Their proselytism is as great as their zeal in heathen missions. In opposition to them the *Free-will Baptists* represent Arminian principles, and the *Christian Baptists* or *Campbellites* (disciples of Christ) have embraced Unitarian doctrines. (Cf. further, § 60, concerning the Unitarians.)

The *German* emigration to North America began already in Penn's time. In 1742 there were already 100,000 Germans in Pennsylvania. In addition to *Zinzendorf* and the Moravian missionaries, the Lutheran preacher *Dr. Melchior Mühlenberg* (*ob.* 1787), a pupil of A. H. Francke, and the Reformed preacher *Michael Schlatter* of St. Gallen (the former sent out by the Orphan's House at Halle, the latter by the Church of

Holland), labored with great success in organizing churches among these Germans. The Orphan's House sent out many other zealous preachers, until the prevalence of Rationalism also broke this bond. As at the same time also the stream of German emigration was interrupted in its flow, and in consequence all influence from the mother country was suspended, crowds of Germans, carried away with the Revivals, connected themselves with the Anglo-American denominations; and, besides, with the introduction of the English language, English Puritanic or Methodistic doctrines and customs were also introduced into the German denominations. Since 1815 German emigration again commenced and increased from year to year. Within the last few years it has averaged annually about 150,000 souls, for the most part rationalistic masses and wild demagogues, who have almost robbed the German name of all honor and reputation in North America. The *Lutheran Church* numbers now about 1,500,000 members in the United States, about one-half of which, however, are still destitute of proper church organization and privileges. It is divided into three principal tendencies or sections: 1. The *New* or *American Lutheran Church*, with 15 synods, 350 preachers, and 760 congregations. Its principal seminary is located at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania. Having become entirely Anglicized and Americanized in language, customs, and views, accepting also the Zwinglian doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, it only retained the name of Lutheranism, until lately at the theological seminary at Gettysburg, where *Dr. S. S. Schmucker* still represents the tendency hitherto prevailing, a powerful and successful reaction in favor of genuine Lutheran and German tendencies has been inaugurated by *Dr. Krauth* and *Dr. Schäffer*. 2. The *Moderate* (Melanchthonian) *Lutheran Church*, represented by the old Pennsylvania synod. In it reigns the spirit of modern German evangelical Union theology. Lately, since the revolution in the seminary at Gettysburg, it has connected itself with the New Lutheran Church, whose non-German, Presbyterian, and Methodistic tendencies have hitherto been a great offence to it, and has sent delegates to its general synod since 1853. The English language is also predominant in it. 3. The *Strict Lutheran Church*, which adheres as tenaciously to the exclusive use of the German language as to the strict Lutheran Confession. It originated from the emigration of Lutherans from Saxony, Altenburg (§ 55, 2), Prussia, and Bavaria. *Löhe's* institution at Neudettalsau provided them with preachers and school-teachers. Nevertheless, they already possess two seminaries of their own, the one at Concordia near St. Louis in Missouri, the other at Fort Wayne in Indiana. Controversies concerning the ministerial office and church discipline have divided them into two hostile camps. The *Missouri Synod*, with the excellent *F. W. Walther* at its head, represents the old Protestant views, maintained in Germany by Höfling (§ 54, 6). Both of the seminaries belong to it. The much smaller fraction of the

Buffalo Synod, on the other hand, composed chiefly of Prussian Lutherans, with pastor *Grabau* at its head, represents Löhe's Romanizing tendency, but running it even into fanatical Hierarchism. — The *German Reformed Church*, embracing about 500,000 souls, has its principal seminary at Mercersburg in Pennsylvania, of which *Dr. Schaff* is now the most renowned teacher. Its confession of faith is the Heidelberg Catechism; its theology at this time a sprout of German evangelical Union theology, but of a positive character. *Mercersburg theology* has even lately been charged by Anglo-Americans with being of a Romanizing tendency, because one of its most able teachers, *Dr. John W. Nevin*, a born Anglo-American and Presbyterian, defended the Calvinistic doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, and since then he has certainly fallen into a Puseyistic current through patristic studies, and regards North American sectarianism as the Protestant Antichrist. Having been several times complained of before the synod, he resigned his office in 1851, and there is great anxiety to see whether he will follow Newman's example. Although accordingly the Union theology is predominant as well among the Reformed as among the Lutherans, still a "*German Evangelical Union of the West*" was formed at St. Louis in 1841, which also would dispense with the names Reformed and Lutheran. It has established a seminary at Marthasville in Missouri. — Besides these, there are represented in North America of the older German sects, the *Moravians*, the *Mennonites*, the *Dunkers*, and the *Swedenborgians*. Of more modern date are several German Methodist sects: 1. The "*United Brethren in Christ*" with 500 preachers, originated by a Reformed preacher, *W. Otterbein* (*ob.* 1813). 2. The "*Evangelical Society*," commonly called *Albrights*, originated by *Jacob Albright*, originally a Lutheran layman, who was ordained (1803) by his own adherents, with 200 or 300 Methodistic preachers. 3. The *German Methodists*, an integral member of the Episcopal Methodist Church. At its head stands *Dr. Nast* of Cincinnati; they possess an active missionary for Germany in *L. S. Jacoby* in Bremen. 4. The *Winebrennarians*, or the *Church of God*, established by an excommunicated German Reformed preacher of this name (1839). They run the Methodistic per force method of conversion into the wildest extravagances, and are besides fanatical opponents of infant baptism.

§ 56. PROTESTANT THEOLOGY IN GERMANY.

Cf. *Kahni's* u. *Ficker*, ll. cc. at § 50. K. Schwarz, zur Gesch. d. neuest. Theol. Lpz. 1856.

The proper founder of modern Protestant theology, an Origen of the 19th century, was *Schleiermacher*. His influence was so manifold, far-reaching, and lasting, that it not only extended

over his own school, which even yet gives character to theological science, but also over all other tendencies and schools even into the Roman Catholic Church; and that in him, as once in Origen, almost all distinctive and constructive tendencies which have since then been unfolded, were originally comprehended. By the side of the old unbelief, which is now characterized as *vulgar Rationalism*, which still possesses its renowned representatives, *De Wette* established the new school of *historico-critical Rationalism*, and *A. Neander* the *pietistic supranaturalistic school*, which soon surpassed both of the older schools of *rational* and of *suprarational supranaturalism*. This modern pietistic school received a theosophic complexion through the senator *John Fred. von Meyer* of Frankfort. But the Union became for it a rock of offence, against which it railed, and upon which it broke to pieces. *K. Hase* represented a *philosophico-æsthetical Rationalism*, which, it is true, did not establish a school of its own, but nevertheless exerted a great influence in ennobling, deepening, and quickening the religious consciousness of the German nation. *K. Daub* established on the basis of Schelling's and Hegel's philosophy a flourishing school of *speculative theology* of an orthodox tendency. But soon after Hegel's death it was divided into a *right* and *left* wing. The former was not able to maintain itself, and its disciples connected themselves with other schools; the latter, laying aside speculation and dogmatics for a time, applied itself to the critical investigation of the early history of Christianity, and established the *new Tübingen-Baur school*. *Schleiermacher's school* was also divided into a right and left wing. Both took the Union for their banner; the *right* wing, however, which claim the exclusive right of being "German" and "modern" theology, wished to have a Consensus Union with a Consensus symbol; the *left*, on the other hand, a Union without a confession. Finally, within the last thirty years, a *strict Lutheran tendency*, incited by Pietism to piety, forced by the Union to the consciousness of the high significance of the specifically Lutheran confession, and qualified by scientific culture for the conflict, also made itself felt in theological science. The task which was proposed to this tendency, was nothing less than again to connect the development of Lutheran theology there, where after Bengel and Crusius it had been broken off by Rationalism, and to improve it further in the spirit of Luther, J. Gerhard and Bengel, with the abundant means of modern science.

The centre of this tendency is the university of *Erlangen*.—Outside of Germany theological science is in a disproportionably low condition. All able theological contributions have received their nourishment from German science.

1. *The Founders of the Theology of the Nineteenth Century.—Schleiermacher* (*ob.* 1834), who was independent of every philosophical school then existing, and thoroughly educated in philosophy, stands forth in the first third of this century as the renewer and prince of theological science. He received from the Moravian Church, under whose influence he was educated, a deep and personal devotion to the Saviour,—although he was repelled by Moravian narrow-mindedness;—and from the Reformed Church, in which he was born, a clear and sharp intellectual tendency for science and practical life. *Fred. Ernst. Dan. Schleiermacher* (since 1810 Prof. at the newly established university of Berlin) entered upon his high career already in 1799, by the publication of his five "Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihrer Verächtern". It is true, he would have nothing to do with the barbarous lamentations with which the fanatics of the old faith would again cry up the fallen walls of their Jewish Zion; and he made no objection that his hearers rejected the doctrines and dogmas of religion, and would not believe in miracles, revelation, and inspiration; but he would have them to offer reverently with him an offering to the manes of the rejected Holy One, who stood forth full of religion and of the Holy Ghost;—in short, it is not Biblical, and much less churchly Christianity, which he would preach into the heart of the German nation with glowing enthusiasm, but *Spinozian* Pantheism. The fundamental idea of his life, that God, "the absolute unity," could neither be comprehended in thought nor seized hold of by the will, but could be apprehended only by feeling as direct self-consciousness, and consequently that *feeling* was the proper seat of religion, is now already the essence of his doctrines. In the following year (1800) he proposed his moral stand-point in five "Monologues". Every man should represent humanity in his own way, in his own blending of its elements, in order that it might manifest itself in every manner and everything become real in the fulness of space and of time, that can proceed as heterogeneous out of its bosom. At the same time, but anonymous, appeared also his "Vertrauten Briefe über (Schlegel's notorious) Lucinde," which Gutzkow republished (1835) as a prophecy of the carnal religion of young Germany, with scoffing leers at Schleiermacher's pious, white-clothed subjects for confirmation. The study and translation of Plato, in which Schleiermacher was now engaged for several years, exerted a mighty influence on the form and contents of his thinking. He approached nearer and nearer to positive Christianity. In his "Weihnachtsfeier 1806," an imitation of the Platonic banquet, Christ is represented as the heavenly centre of all faith. In

1811 appeared the "Kurze Darstellung des theol. Studiums," in which he organizes theological science with a master's hand, according to his fundamental religious views. When in 1817 the King of Prussia raised the banner of the Union, Schleiermacher stood in the front rank of its champions. In 1821 he published finally the chief treatise of his life: "Der chr. Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evang. K. im Zusammenhange dargestellt. 3. A. 1835. 2 Bde." That feeling is the seat of all religion, is also the fundamental thought of this important treatise; but religious feeling is for him not merely sense and taste for the infinite, but the immediate consciousness of absolute dependence on God. Jesus Christ, the original, pattern man, in whom the consciousness of God resided in absolute power, redeemed the world by the life which proceeded from him, in that he liberates the God-consciousness of his believers, who are enslaved by the sensual consciousness and therefore stand in need of redemption. It is consequently the work of dogmatics to explain scientifically the Christian consciousness as it exists as a fact in the life of the believer; it is not its work to prove, to establish, but only to unfold and to explain what exists as a fact in the soul in its connection with the entire spiritual life; wherefore dogmatics have nothing at all to do with philosophy. He demonstrated the evangelical Protestant character of the doctrines of faith thus developed, by citations from the confessional works of both churches. But notwithstanding the assurance that his dogmatics were independent of every system of philosophy, his contemporaries thought they discovered therein a large portion of Spinozian pantheistic leaven; and it can scarcely be denied that strong sympathies with the stand-point of his earlier years exist in them. But by the side of his profound theology of feeling there resided in Schleiermacher also another mental tendency, namely, that of a sharp, analyzing intellectual criticism, to which he subjected not only single dogmatic tenets of the Church (concerning the difference between the Sabellian and Athanasian view of the Trinity; concerning the doctrine of election, etc.), but also the canon of the Scriptures, as also the evangelical accounts of the beginning and end of Christ's life, birth, and ascension (Ueber d. s. g. ersten Brief des Paulus an d. Timoth., 1807; Ueber die Schriften des Lukas, ein krit. Versuch, 1817). His lectures, which embraced almost all branches of theology and philosophy (Dialectics, Ethics, Politics, Æsthetics, Pedagogics, etc.), and his other posthumous writings, as also his sermons, have been collected in his "Sämmtlichen Werke, 1835 ff."

By the side of Schleiermacher in Berlin, and in various ways incited and enriched by him, labored *Aug. Neander* since 1812; who exerted, it is true, a much less intensive, but a much greater extensive influence than he, for, since the times of Luther and Melanchthon, no theological teacher had more devoted and reverent pupils than Neander. He entered into Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, and transformed it

into a theology of the heart ("Pectus est, quod theologum facit"). By his subjective pectoralistic theology he became the progenitor of modern scientific Pietism; but it also incapacitated him from understanding the pressure of the age to regain an objective and firm basis. At the same time, also, the philosophy of conception, which spread so powerfully immediately around him, was not less odious to him, than the Confessionalism which in part proceeded from his own school; and the less he was able to retard its progress, the more his peculiar tendency of mind inclined to morbid irritation and austere exclusiveness, even to the "fanaticism of mildness and the intolerance of tolerance". He was so entirely a Pectoralist, that even his criticism was only a criticism of feeling; and this was manifested nowhere more arbitrarily than with regard to the historical books of the New Testament, where he wavers continually between authenticity and non-authenticity, between history and myth (Gesch. d. Pflanzung u. Seitung der K. durch die Apostel. 1832. 4. A. 1837. 2 Bde.; most of all in the "Life of Christ." 1837. 4. A. 1845). Concerning the most important work of his life, the "History of the Church," cf. § 4, 4. Vol. I. He has also acquired great reputation through monographic investigations in the sphere of church history (Kaiser Julian u. s. Zeitalter, 1812; der h. Bernhard u. s. Zeitalt. 1813. 2. A. 1848; Genetische Entwickl. d. vornemst. gnost. Systeme, 1818; Der h. Chrysostomus u. d. K. sr. Zeit. 1821. 3. A. 1848. 2 Bde.; Antignostikus od. Geist. des Tertullian. 1826. 2. A. 1849; Denkwürdigkk. aus. d. Gesch. d. Christth. u. d. chr. Lebens. 1822. 3 Bde. Kl. Gelegenheitsschriften. 3. A. 1825; Wissenschaftl. Abhandl. 1851). Neander died in 1850, and F. W. Krummacher laments at his grave the "last church-father"; whilst *K. Schwarz* characterized him as a Protestant monk, whose cloister was the world of the inner man. His lectures on the history of doctrines were published by J. L. Jacobi. 2 Bde. 1857 f. (Cf. *O. Krabbe*, A. N. Hamb. 1852.) — The noble senator *John Fred. v. Meyer* is worthy of a place here as the originator of a theosophic current in pietistic and even confessional Lutheran theology. He repeatedly filled the office of a president of the civil court, as also that of the first burgomaster of Frankfurt-on-the-Maine, and Erlangen conferred upon him, in 1821, the honorary title of D.D. He died in 1849. He owes his theosophic tendency especially to the study of the Kabbala. He also published "The Book of Jezira, in Heb. and Ger., 1830." His principal work is: "Die h. Schrift in berichtiger Uebers. mit kurzen Anmerkk. 1819" (3d edition, 1855, edited by R. Steir). He is pretty reserved with his theosophic views in his "Inbegriff der chr. Glaubenslehre, 1832"; less so in his "Blättern für höhere Wahrheit. 11 Bde. 1820–32".

An important influence was exerted on the development of modern theology, especially critical theology, by *William Mart. Lebr. de Wette.* He was called (1810), at the same time with Schleiermacher, to the newly founded university of Berlin; but a letter of consolation to

Sand's mother, which was regarded as an apology for assassination, caused his removal from Berlin in 1819. Since 1822 he labored unweariedly to his death, at Basle (1849). His theological views were rooted in the philosophy of his friend *Fries*, to which he adhered until his death. Still, Schleiermacher's friendship also exerted an important influence upon him. He also placed the essence of religion in feeling, which he, moreover, connected more closely with knowledge and the will. He recognized in the doctrines of the Church an important symbolical investiture of religious truth, on which account he was decried for a long time by the Rationalists as a mystic. His great strength, however, consisted in the sharp, analyzing criticism with which he treated the biblical canon and the biblical history of the Old and New Testament; his commentaries on the whole of the New Testament, to which he devoted the latter years of his life, are of permanent worth (Exeget. Handbuch zum N. T. 3 Bde.) At this period also he approximated nearer and nearer to positive Christianity, attaining even to greater prudence in the sphere of criticism. He was exceedingly fruitful as an author, and his works are upon various subjects. He began his career as an author with the "Krit. Versuche ü. d. Glaubwürdigk. d. Bd. d. Chronik mit Rücksicht auf die mosaischen Bd. 1806." Then followed: "Die Kritik. d. israel. Gesch. 1807; Der Comment. zu d. Psalmen. 1811, u. ö; Die Bibelübersetzung (at first in connection with Augusti, the 2d edition by himself alone); De morte Christi expiatoria, 1813; Lehrb. d. chr. Dogmatik. 1813, 2 Bde.; Lehrb. d. hebr. jüd. Archäologie, 3 A. 1842; Ueber Religion und Theologie, 2 A. 1821; Christl. Sittenlehre, 1819 ff. 3 Bde.; Lehrb. d. Einl. ins A. 3 A. 1845, and ins N. T. 4 A. 1848; Theodor, od. des Zweiflers Weihe, 2 A. 1828," and many others. — The mental tendency of *Charles Hase* is related with that of De Wette, although less critically analyzing, more esthetically trained, and less one-sided as regards philosophy. His connection with the Burschenschaft led to an imprisonment of five months in the castle of Hohenasperg (1822). He labored since 1830 in Jena. He was also incited by Fries' philosophy, but Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher, as well as Romantic national literature, exerted a strong influence upon his rich spirit. He regarded Christ as the ideal man, sinless, endowed with the fulness of all love and with the power of pure humanity, as having truly risen from the dead, and as the beginner of the new life in the kingdom of God, whose entire character is most purely, profoundly, and truly represented in the gospel of *John*, who reclined on the Master's bosom. He unfolded his religious views in the treatise: "Des alten Pfarrers Testament," 1822; further, in his "Gnosis, 1826, 3 Bde.," calculated for the learned, in his "Lehrb. d. ev. Dogmatik, 1825, 4. A. 1850," and in his "Leben Jesu, 1829, 3. A. 1853." His "Hutterus redivivus, 1828, 9. A. 1858," in which he endeavors to exhibit old Protestant (Luth.) dogmatics, as Hutterus, if he now lived, would have done it, provoked the most violent attacks from

Röhr and his clique, and led him to publish the "Theologischen Streitschriften, 3 Hefte, 1834–37," by which vulgar Rationalism received its death-blow. (Concerning Hase's Church History, cf. § 4, 4, Vol. I.) Equally fresh, spirited, and attractive, are his monographs from Church History ("Neue Propheten: die Jungfrau v. Orleans, Savonarola, die münsterschen Wiedertäufer, 1851; Franz von Assisi, ein Heiligenbild, 1855; Diebeiden Erzbischöfe, 1839; D. geistl. Schauspiel, 1858," etc.) In his letter to *Baur* concerning the Tübingen School (1855) he endeavors to mediate, with a full acknowledgment of the efforts of Tübingen, and labors to save at least the authenticity and credibility of the fourth Gospel.

2. *Rationalistic Theology.*—Its principal organs were *Röhr's* Krit. Predigerbibliothek since 1820, and *Ernst Zimmermann's* Allgem. (Darmstädter) Kirchenzeitung since 1822. The former adhered to its end to the imperfectibility of the Rationalism of the ancien régime; the latter became continually more orthodox within the last 40 years (since *Charles Zimmermann* alone edited it, the ambiguous vignette of the three clasped hands with the motto "We all believe in a God" also received a decidedly Christian definiteness by the addition of the crucifix. It is at this time, under *Schenkel's* editorship, the organ of a Melanchthonianism zealous for the Union). The rationalistic theology of this period, however, divides into an old and a new school. The former, to which *Rheinwald* gave the classic name of *Rationalismus vulgaris*, is characterized, on the one hand, by the unimprovableness, with which it permitted all the currents of the new spirit in philosophy and theology, in science and national literature to pass by without having its poverty enriched the least thereby or being in the least disturbed in its self-sufficiency,—and on the other hand, by the naive conviction that its water of illumination was identical with the genuine water of life of the holy Scriptures, on which account it continued with touching perseverance to distil the spirit out of it by exegetical arts, and to offer the remaining phlegma for sale as the tincture of life. Its contributions consequently have only worth at present for a cabinet of antiquities or of curiosities. The new school, on the contrary, which we may designate as historico-critical Rationalism, is characterized by a more objective investigation of the Bible and of history, and does not conceal from itself or from others the exclusive antithesis existing between Biblical and its rational theology, and it even takes pleasure in making this antithesis appear as glaring and sharp as possible. As besides, its investigations are conducted in part at least with distinguished knowledge of language and of history, with great penetration and thoroughness, many of its theological contributions have a permanent worth.

The father of the *Vulgar Rationalism* of this period was *John Fred. Röhr*, general superintendent at Weimar (*ob.* 1848). His "Briefe über Rationalismus (1813)" laid down the famous doctrine, that "the wealth

of a farmer-general" was necessary, in order to resign an office inconsistent with one's own conviction. In the "Grund-und Glaubens-sätzen der ev. prot. K." he sketched a new symbol, with the sweet hope of thereby supplanting the old ones, and he contended with great enthusiasm for "The good cause of German Catholicism (1846)." *Eberh. Gottl. Paulus* (*ob.* 1851, aged 90 years) contended with him to his last breath for the sole supremacy of intellectual faith, which Marheineke defined as a faith which believes that it thinks and thinks that it believes, but is equally unable to do either. His "Philol. krit Commentar zum N. T." interpreted all the accounts of the miracles of the N. T. with incredible ingenuity, as being merely misunderstood narrations of perfectly natural events. He also was enthusiastic for German Catholicism. *Jul. Aug. Ludw. Wegscheider* of Halle (*ob.* 1848) dedicated his "Institutiones theol. christ. dogmaticæ (1815, 8. A. 1844)," which treated the dogmatic proof-texts of the Bible as Dr. Paulus treated the miracles, to the piis Manibus Lutheri. *Charles Gottl. Bretschneider*, general superintendent of Gotha (*ob.* 1848) began as a moderate supranaturalist (Entwickl. aller in d. Dogm. vorkommenden Begriffe 1805), but advanced in the various editions of his "Handb. d. Dogmatic (1814, 4. A. 1838) nearer and nearer to Vulgar Rationalism, whose perfection is already represented in his "Grundlage des ev. Pietismus, oder Lehre von Adam's Fall," etc. etc. (1833). He also wrote several poor rationalistic romances (Heinrich u. Antonio od. d. Proselyten; der Freiherr v. Sandan od. d. gemischten Ehen; Clementine oder die Frommen u. Altgläubigen unsrer Tage). He also rendered important service by his "Corpus Reformatorum," which thus far (Bd. 26) only embraces Melanchthon's works. *Christoph. Fred. v. Ammon*, Reinhard's successor at Dresden (*ob.* 1850), also followed in the same way from rational Supranaturalism (Summa theologiæ; Bibl. Theol.; Handb. d. chr. Sittenlehre, etc. etc.) through all possible deviations to Vulgar Rationalism (Fortbildung des Christenthums zur Weltreligion, 4 Bde.) In his "Leben Jesu," however, he has finally placed himself on D. Strauss' stand-point. But on the other hand also, when Harms published his theses (1817), he commended them "as a bitter medicine for those weak in faith of our time," for which he was compelled to hear hard words from Schleiermacher.

Next to *De Wette* among the representatives of *historico-critical Rationalism* stands *G. Bened. Winer* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1858), the founder of the "Grammatik des N. H. Sprachidioms" (6. A. 1856), by which philological thoroughness and acumen were first brought to the interpretation of the N. T. His "Handb. der theol. Literature," and especially his "Real-lexicon" (3. A. 1847) are master-pieces of true German industry combined with admirable acuteness. *K. Fr. Aug. Fritzche* of Giessen pushed the philological acuteness of interpreting the N. T. to the most extreme one-sidedness (Commentare zum Matth., Mark, u. Römerbr.). *K. A. Credner* of Giessen (*ob.* 1857) contributed much that was excel-

lent to the isagogics of the N. T. *David Schulz* of Breslau (*ob.* 1854), a violent opponent of the evang. Kirchenzeitung and of the Silesian Lutherans, to whom their persecution is in great part chargeable, defends his superficial Rationalism in the "Christl. Lehre vom heil. Abendm.," and in the "Christl. Lehre vom Glauben;" his colleague, *D. G. C. v. Cölln* (*ob.* 1833) elaborated *Münscher's* "Dogmengeschichte," and left behind a "Bibl. Theologie" (edited by D. Schulz, 1836). *William Crusius* of Halle (*ob.* 1842) acquired a high reputation in the department of the philological study of the O. T. by his Hebrew grammars and lexicons. His commentary on Isaiah (3 Bde. 1821) contains able historical studies. — From his school proceeded *Fr. Tuch* of Leipsic (Comment. zur Genesis) and *Aug. Knobel* of Giessen (der Prophetismus der Hebräer; Comm. zum B. Koheleth, zur Genesis, zum Exod. u. Leviticus; die Völkertafel). *Herm. Hupfeld* of Marburg and Halle, although contending on Bickell's side in the controversy about symbols in the electorate of Hessia (1838, cf. § 55, 3), nevertheless, fell into the toils of Rationalism through his science of the O. T. (Kritik d. Genesis; de festorum apud Hebr. ratione; Comm. zu d. Psalmen, 2 Bde. etc.) *Fred. Hitzig* of Zurich excels them all in boldness of criticizing acuteness and geniality of the rationalistic interpretation (Begriffder Kritik am A. T. errötert. 1831; Urgesch. u. Mythologie der Philistäer, 1845; Commentare zum Isaiah, d. Psalmen, d. 12 kl. Proph., Jer., Ezech., Daniel, Pred. Sal.; John, Marcus u. s. Schriften, 1843, etc.). — *Henry Ewald* of Göttingen, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him, is the acknowledged dictator in the sphere of Hebrew grammar, practises on the Biblical books a criticism arbitrary and subjective beyond description, but not on this account with the less presumption of being omniscient and infallible; holds yearly in his "Jahrbüchern der bibl. Wissenschaft" an auto-da-fé over the collected theological and biblical literature of the departed year; and issues — being a prophet as well as Isaiah and Jeremiah — in every preface a prophetical burden against the theological, ecclesiastical, or political mischief-makers of our times. He has acquired a high reputation in the virtuosoship of low abuse and slander, and the old saying of the Caliph Omar "either—or" is actualized annually in his "Jahrhücher". It is a pity that a moral earnestness so able has evaporated in the most boundless pride; that a spirit so powerful, rich, and noble, has gone to ruin in the most groundless subjectivism. His works (Composition d. Genesis, 1823; Hebr. Grammatik, 1827, 6. A. 1856; Hohelied, 1826; Comm. in Apocalypsin, 1828; Die poetischen Bb. d. A. T. 4 Bde. 2. A. 1840; Die Propheten d. A. Bundes, 2 Bde. 1840; Gesch. d. Volkes Israel bis auf Christus, 4 Bde., 2. A. 1851 ff.; Gesch. Christus u. sr. Zeit. 2. A. 1857; Gesch. des apost. Zeitalter, 1858; Die drei ersten Evangelien, 1850; Die Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus, 1857; Das Buch Henoch, 1854; Die sibyllinischen Bücher, 1859) nevertheless, contain much that is worthy of notice, that is suggestive and full of spirit.

More judicious are the contributions of his disciple *Ernst Bertheau* of Göttingen (Zur Gesch. d. Israeliten, 1842; Comment. zu den Sprüchen Sal., zur Chronik. zu den Richtern, etc.) *Cæsar v. Lengerke* of Königsberg also (*ob.* 1855), who experienced the pain of being compelled to withdraw from the professorship of the literature of the Old Testament in favor of his antipode Hävernick, and of retiring into the philosophical faculty, connected himself in his later writings with Ewald, but also did not disdain in his compilatory way to use with rare candor even Hengstenberg's writings (Comment. zum Daniel, 1835; Kenáan oder Gesch. Israels, Bd. I. 1843; Comment. zu d. Psalmen, 2 Bde. 1846). *Otto Thenius* has also made himself known as an able interpreter of the Old Testament (Die Bb. Sam. u. d. Könige, 1842–49). *Otto Fridolin Fritzsche* of Zurich has, in connection with *William Grimm* of Jena, rendered important service in the interpretation of the Apocrypha of the O. Test. (Exeg. Handb. 1851 ff.). Yet worthy of special mention as interpreters of the O. Test. are *Gust. Baur* of Giessen (Amos, 1847) and *Aug. Simson* of Königsberg (Hosea, 1851). To the Church historians in this rubric belong *J. E. Chr. Schmidt* of Giessen (*ob.* 1831), *Leber. Danz* of Jena, and above all *J. C. L. Gieseler* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1855). (Cf. § 4, Vol. I.)

3. *The Supranaturalistic Schools.* — So-called *Rational Supranaturalism* is characterized by the acknowledgment of supernatural revelation in the Scriptures, but regards reason as being a source of religious knowledge of equal authority with it, and consequently asserts the rationality of the contents of revelation. Its chief representatives are: *H. Gottl. Tzchirner* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1828), (Briefe über Reinhard's Geständnisse; Katholicismus u. Protestantismus vom Standp. d. Politik; Forts. von Schröckh's K. G.; Gesch. d. chr. Apologetik, Bd. I.; Der Fall des Heidth, Bd. I., published by Niedner; Vorless über d. Glaubensl., published by Hase), *J. Aug. Heinr. Tittmann* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1831), (Pragmat. Gesch. d. Theol. u. Rel. since 1750; Ueber Supranaturalism., Rationalism. u. Atheism.), *E. Fred. Charles Rosenmüller* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1835), (Scholia in V. T. 23 Bde.; altes u. neues Morgenland; Handb. d. bibl. Allerthumsk., etc.), *Chr. Fr. Illgen* of Leipsic (*ob.* 1834), (Founder of the hist. theol. Ztschr.), *L. Fr. Otto Baumgarten-Crusius* of Jena (*ob.* 1843), (Grundzüge d. bibl. Theol.; Lehrbuch u. Compendium d. Dogmengesch.; Ueber Gewissensfreiheit, Lehrfreih. u. ü. d. Ratlsm. u. s. Gegner; Theol. Comment. Zum Ev. Joh., etc.) *Ammon* can also be classed with these.

Supranaturalism proper (suprarational) was also represented by *Storr, Reinhard, Planck, Staüdlin* (§ 50, 6). Storr's school prevailed in Würtemberg for 30 years. Its organs were: *Bengel's* Archiv. 1816–26; *Klaiber's* Studien d. ev. Geistlk. Würtb. 1827–35, and *Steudel's* Tübinger Ztschr. f. Theol. 1828–35; its most distinguished representatives were: *J. Fr. v. Flatt* (*ob.* 1821), (opponent of Kant's philosophy); *E. Gottl. v. Bengel* (*ob.* 1826); *J. Christ. Frcd. Steudel* (*ob.* 1837),

(Glaubenslehre; Bibl. Theol. d. A. T., etc.) The excellent *H. Leonh. Heubner*, director of the seminary at Wittenberg (*ob.* 1853), was Reinhard's disciple, and he was also the most able and churchly of the older Supranaturalists. *J. Chr. William Augusti* of Bonn (*ob.* 1841), at first a Rationalist, also declared later in favor of the old-church system, and opposed, when occasion afforded, the Prussian Union in favor of unconditional territorial privilege (Kritik d. preuss. Kirchenagende, 1824); he acquired the greatest reputation in the sphere of ecclesiastical archæology (Denkwürdigkk., 12 Bde. 1817, Handbuch, 3 Bde. 1836); *Aug. Hahn*, general superintendent of Breslau, made a great stir, when he was called to Leipsic, by defending his treatise De rationalisme vera indole, and by the "Offene Erklärung an die evang. K.," which followed it, by which he called upon the Rationalists to leave the Church (1827). His own system (Lehrb. d. Christl. Glaubens. 1828), however, not only lacks the firm and sure consistency of the old system, but also weakens it in not quite unessential points. The second edition (2 Bde. 1857 ff.) has overcome these weak points and defects in great part. *George Will. Rud. Böhmer* of Breslau has written works in a difficult and diffuse style, on almost all theological subjects, with spirit and solid learning. His chief works are: Die Christlich-kirchl. Alter-thumswissensch., 2 Bde., 1836 ff.; Die chr. Dogmatik u. Glaubenswissensch., 2 Bde. 1840 ff.; Theolog. Ethik. 2 Bde. 1848 ff.; Die Lehrunterschiede der katholl. u. evangell. Kk. Bd. I. 1857; Comment. zum Colosserbr. 1835, etc.

The *leaders of pietistic Supranaturalism*, next to A. Neander, are before all others Tholuck and Hengstenberg; the organ of the former was the "Literärischer Anzeiger" (1830–49), and that of the latter, the "Evang. Kirchenzeitung." *Aug. Tholuck*, since 1826 Prof. at Halle, at first devoted himself to oriental studies, but, being scientifically incited by Neander, and practically by Baron von *Kottwitz* of Berlin (the patriarch of his "Wahren Weihe des Zweiflers"), he applied himself with glowing enthusiasm to theological studies. He possessed a versatile and highly gifted mind, which was highly cultivated, and he led many thousands to Christ, or established them in Him by writings, lectures, sermons, and intercourse,—he also trained up many youths in the confessional Lutheran tendency, whilst he himself, otherwise adhering to no important tendency in science, art, and practical life, and receptive for all the currents of the age of whatever kind, entirely avoided this *one* current. His scientific theology became since then more and more latitudinarian, even almost to an entire rejection of the idea of miracles and of inspiration; but he has nevertheless preserved the pietistic characteristic of his inner life, and with it the entire warmth, depth, and freshness of a mind thoroughly penetrated by Christ. He is most important as an interpreter and apologist of the New Testament, especially since violent attacks drove him to greater philological acuteness. Here belong the Comment. zum Ro-

merbrief, 1824, 5 A. 1855; Ev. Johannis, 7 A. 1857; Hebräerbrief, 5 A. 1850; Bergpredigt, 4 A. 1856; Psalmen, 1843;—Wahre Weihe des Zweiflers od. die Lehre von d. Sünde u. d. Versöhner [the counterpart of De Wette's "Theodor, etc."] 1823, 7 A. 1851; Glaubwürdigkeit d. evang. Gesch. [against D. Strauss] 2 A. 1838. Fruits of his oriental studies are: Ssufismus s. theosophia Persarum pantheist., 1821; Blüthensamml. orient. Mystik, 1825; Speculative Trinitätslehre d. spät. Orients. 1826. Of a historical and apologetical character are: Vermischten Schriften, 2 Bde. 1839. In his "Vorstudien zu einer Gesch. des Rationalism" (Der Geist d. Luth. Theologen Wittenb. im 17 Jahrb. 1852; Das akad. Leben des 17 Jahrb. 1853) he almost loses out of view his real object through his thorough investigation of the curiosities and scandals of private and student life. Of a practical character are his "Stunden der Andacht., 4 A. 1847," and his Sermons, 6 Bde. 1838 ff. *Ernst William Hengstenberg*, since 1826 Prof. at Berlin, passed through an entirely opposite process of development. Being hardened by numerous conflicts, in none of which he yielded a hair's breadth, he stood in science as also in practical life like a brazen wall and an iron pillar against the whole land, and against the kings of Judah, and against their priest, and against the people in the land, mistrustful of the gifts of science, but also adhering with almost unparalleled obstinacy to his views in spite of all counter-arguments, and tracing back all diverging views and theories, even those of decidedly churchly theologians, to Rationalism and Naturalism. Born in the Reformed Church, and even yet more attached to Calvinistic Spiritualism than to Lutheran Realism in his interpretation of the Scriptures, and often even rationalizing in the most striking way with the scriptural accounts of miracles, which do not correspond with his idea of what is worthy of God, he must nevertheless be reckoned among the confessional Lutherans within the Union according to his then dogmatical conviction, and on account of his energetic opposition to the anti-Lutheran practice of the Union. Moreover, to him belongs the honor of first reawakening, reviving, and fostering the taste and zeal for the study of the Old Testament, and also of having vindicated the genuineness of those books of the O. T. which were most assailed: (Christologie des A. T. 3 Bde. 1829 ff., 2 A. 1854 ff.; Beiträge zur Einl. ins A. T. 3 Bde. 1831 ff.; Die Bb. Mose's u. Ægypten. 1841; Gesch. Bileams u. s. Weissagungen. 1842; Comment. zu d. Psalmen, 2 A. 1849 ff. 4 Bde.; Comm. u. d. Offenb. Joh. 2 Bde. 1850 ff.; Die Opfer d. h. Schr. 1852; Der Tag des Herrn. 1852; Auslegung d. Hohenliedes. 1853; Commentar zum Prediger Sal. 1858). *Herm. Olshausen* of Königsberg and Erlangen (*ob.* 1839) opposed the rationalistic superficializing of exegesis with "Einem Worte über tieferen Schriftsinn, 1824," and greatly promoted the religious elevation of the last thirty years by his own spirited, fresh, and suggestive, but as regards philology unsatisfactory, commentary (Bibl. Commentar zum N. T. 1830 ff. 4 Bde. 3 A. 1837, con-

tinued by Wiesinger and Ebrard). He also felt himself called (Ueber die neuesten kirchlichen Ereignisse in Schlesien, 1835) to bear testimony against the persecuted Lutherans in Silesia. *Rud. Stier*, superintendent at Schkeuditz, incited by Fr. v. Meyer, and receiving from him a theosophic element, has acquired a high reputation for profound and thorough interpretation of the Scriptures, which was compelled to lay under the ban of undeserved neglect for a long time (Andeutungen fur gläubiges Schriftverständniss, 4 Bde. 1824 ff.; Siebzig ausgewählte Psalmen; Jesaias, nicht Pseudsjesais; Hebräerbrief; Br. Judä; Epheserbrief; Die Reden Jesu, etc.) In "Unlutherischen Thesen, deutlich für Jedermann," 1854, he so powerfully opposed the actions of confessional Lutheranism, that the "beams cracked." *J. Andr. Casp. Hävernick* of Königsberg (*ob.* 1845), a disciple of Hengstenberg and of Tholuck, was torn away by death in the midst of his theological career (Einl. ins A. T. 3 Bde. 1836; Comm. zum Proph. Daniel, 1832, zum Proph. Ezechiel, 1843; Vorless. ü. d. bibl. Theol. d. A. T. 1848). A brief period of life was also granted to his promising friend and former co-laborer at the newly established theological school at Geneva, *William Steiger* (*ob.* 1836) (Kritik des Rationalismus in Wegscheider's Dogmatik. 1830, Comment. zu I. Petri and Colosser). *Bunsen* (sec. 5) and *Göschel* (sec. 6) also belong here according to their first predominant pietistic stadium of experience.—This school was shipwrecked on the question: either Union or Confession. The chiefs themselves, who survived the crisis of the forty years, advanced on the right and left beyond it; they and their disciples connected themselves partly with modern "German theology," and partly crowded around the banner of Lutheran Confessionalism. *Stier* alone scorned to connect himself with either.

4. The father of modern *speculative theology* was *Charles Daub*, Prof. at Heidelberg (since 1794), where death surprised him in the professor's chair. He did not permit all the phases of philosophy to pass him by untouched, but both he and his theology were penetrated by them. He wrote, from Kant's stand-point, a work on Catechetics (1801); then he inclined to Fichte and then to Schelling (Theologumena, 1806; Einleitung in die Christl. Dogmatik, 1809, and Judas Ischarioth od. Betrachtungen ü. d. Böse im Verh. zum Guten, 1816). In Judas, where he acknowledges Satan as his own creator, as the most wonderful monster of nature, whom God tolerates from love, and finds in him the original cause of evil, he reached the summit, but also the limits of his Schellingian process of thinking. In the "Dogmatischen Theologie jetziger Zeit, oder die Selbstsucht in d. Theol., 1833," he stands in the atmosphere of Hegelian philosophy. He powerfully attracted and stimulated the youth who sat at his feet; his works, written in "the language of the Olympians," were, however, too little understood, to enable the grand objectivity, the moral energy, the power of faith, the depth and richness of thought, which they con-

tained, to be felt far and wide. His lectures were published in 8 vols. by Marheineke. Nearest to him stands *Phil. Marheineke* of Berlin (*ob.* 1846). The first edition of his dogmatics (1819) is based on Schellingian principles; in the second, Lutheran orthodoxy, in the form of the Hegelian idea, predominates. Of much greater significance, and truly breaking the way, is his Christl. Symbolik (1810 ff. 3 Bde). The most valuable of his works is the "Reformationsgeschichte" (4 Bde. 1816 ff. 2 A. 1831 ff.), a genuine popular work in the noblest sense of the word.—After Hegel's death (1831) the older of his disciples endeavored to assert the orthodox tendency of his philosophy. *Charles Rosenkranz* organized according to it the "Encyklopädia der theol. Wissenschaften, 1831," and *Göschel* continued to theologize in his spirited way in Hegelian forms. The faith in the orthodoxy of the system received its first blow through *Fr. Richter*, who in his work "Die Lehre von den letzen Dingen, 1833," rejected the idea of immortality in the sense of the continuance of personal existence; *Göschel* undertook its vindication with doubtful result. *Billroth*, himself still adhering to the orthodox current, made it the task of scientific exegesis to develop the ideas, which unconsciously constituted the basis of the Biblical representations, and exemplified this in the "Korintherbriefen" (1833). But this principle was soon seriously applied in quite a different way. *David Strauss*, namely, applying it, represented the "Leben Jesu" (1835) as a product of purposeless poetical tradition, and then attempted to prove in his "Glaubenslehre" (1840), that all Christian doctrines were made null and void by modern science. But openly as he also taught that Pantheism was "that which was imperishable in Christianity;" nevertheless, his successors went far beyond him. *Bruno Bauer* declared, after he had passed over from the right wing of the Hegelian school to the extreme left, that the gospels were the product of a deception as crude and spiritless as it was clearly designed; and *Ludwig Feuerbach* maintained, that the new gospel of self-worship was "the essence of Christianity." The rupture of the school was now complete. What *Rosenkranz* and *Schaller* contributed from the centre, what *Göschel* and *G. Andr. Gabler* (de veræ philosophiæ erga pietatem amore) contributed from the right wing to vindicate the system, was not able to restore the illusion, destroyed for ever, of its fundamentally Christian character. The right wing of the Hegelian school was dissolved, its adherents fleeing partly to the camp of the "German" theologians, and partly under the banner of the Lutheran confession (*Göschel*, Kleifoth, Kahnis).

But David Strauss with his "Life of Jesus" was only the advance skirmisher of a school, which was engaged in casting critical artillery of the heaviest calibre under the direction of a great master. *Fred. Christian Baur* of Tübingen, a man who was equalled by but few of his contemporaries in penetrating acuteness, and by none in gigantic

industry and astounding learning, can be called as well a disciple of Schleiermacher as of Hegel. He inherited from Schleiermacher his sharply analyzing criticism, from Hegel, the view of history, that always and everywhere the imperfect, the elementary, and the rude, was the point of departure of historical development. He had acquired a reputation (Mythol. u. Symbolik d. Naturrel. d. Alth. 1824 f. 3 Bde.), before Hegelian philosophy exerted an influence on him. But since then his activity and reputation increased in a truly brilliant manner (Das manich. Religionssystem, 1831; Die christl. Gnosis, 1835; Die chr. Lehre v. d. Versöhnung, 1838; Die chr. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigk. u. Menschwerdung, 1841 ff. 3 Bde.; Der Gegensatz des Protestsm. u. Katholicism, gegen Möhler, 1836; Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch. 2. A. 1857; Die Epochen der kirchl. Geschichtschreibung, 1852, etc.) His studies were confined for the most part to the primitive history of the church, and he held a view with regard to it which reversed everything that was supposed to be known about it. According to this view, primitive Christianity was nothing but shallow Ebionitism, and all the writings of the New Testament, with the exception of the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, as also the Apocalypse, are tendency writings, which were originated late in the second century for the purpose of covering and equalizing the conflict between Petrine Jewish and Pauline Gentile Christianity, which had been raging up to this time. The master himself made public only the first rudiments of this doctrine, which, however, scarcely permitted its comprehensive extension and grand articulation to be anticipated from afar, in his work: "Die s. g. Pastoralbriefe d. A. Paulus," 1835. *Ed. Zeller* established (1842) the *Tübinger theol. Jahrbücher* as the organ of this school, and *Baur* unfolded the results of his restless investigations partly in a multitude of treatises in this journal, and partly in special works (Paulus, d. Ap. J. Chr. 1845; Der Kritiker u. der Fanatiker gegen Thiersch. 1846; Krit. Unterss. ü. d. kanon. Erv. 1847; Die ignatianischen Briefe gegen Bunsen, 1848; Das Markus-Ev. 1849; Das Christlth. u. d. chr. K. d. drei erst. Jahrh. 1853). He was emulated by his disciples: *A. Schwegler* (*ob.* 1856) (der Montanismus u. d. K. d. 2. Jahrh. 1841; Das nachapost. Zeitalt. 1846, 2 Bde.); *Ed. Zeller* of Berne (Die Apostelgesch. krit. unters. 1854; Das theol. System Zwingli's, 1853), the talented *Albr. Ritschl* of Bonn (Entstehung der altkath. Kirche, 1850, 2. A. 1857, etc.), the indefatigably and inexhaustibly fruitful *A. Hilgenfeld* of Jena, and many others. Closely united as the school was in the beginning, still dissensions, retractions, and retrograde movements were not wanting on account of the indefatigableness with which always the same subjects were investigated, and always the same masses of rock were tossed hither and thither. Hilgenfeld and Ritschl especially made concessions in favor of orthodoxy. The latter in particular may be regarded as a complete apostate of the school, inasmuch as he has appeared as the decided opponent of almost all of its peculiar doc-

trines in the second edition of his principal work. Even with the master and his disciples of the stricter class, a certain, it may be weariness or resignation, seems to have found place. But the permanent gain of new information and of clearer insight into the development of the primitive Church, which was partly obtained by this school, partly by its opponents, is very great and worthy of acknowledgment. *Hilgenfeld*, after the "Tübinger Jahrbb." were no longer published, made a new organ for himself in the "Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie" (1858), which, however, seems to have a wider horizon than the "Jahrbücher."

5. The right-wing school of Schleiermacher forms the trunk of "*modern*" or "German" theology. Still many adherents of the pietistic and speculative schools also connected themselves with it, after the dissolution and dismemberment of their schools. It passed beyond Schleiermacher in various ways. In the first place, it became more positive in its dogmatics, and more conservative in its criticism; it emancipated itself from the Spinozian elements in the view taken of the world by the master, and endeavored to combine modern speculation with Schleiermacher's theology of feeling. It shows its descent from Schleiermacher especially in its affection for the Union. It, however, desires not merely a church-governmental, but also a confessional Union on the basis of the consensus of both confessions, and strives after establishing a consensus symbol, although its subjective dogmatics reserves to itself the freedom of more or less material departures from single consensus doctrines as founded in "the liberty of teaching." It cultivates systematic theology with special predilection, without, meanwhile, neglecting too much the other sciences. Schleiermacher's disregard of the Old Testament, nevertheless, seems still to operate, inasmuch as this school has scarcely any distinguished Old Testament theologians, who are to be found at this time only among the Rationalists and Lutherans. The scientific organs of this school are: the "Theol. Studien und Kritiken" of *Ullmann* and *Umbreit* since 1828; the "deutsche Zeitschr. für chr. Wissensch. u. chr. Leben," established by J. Müller, Nitzsch, and Neander, edited by *Th. Schneider* since 1850 (since 1858 edited by *W. A. Hollenberg*), and the "Jahrbb. für *deutsche* Theologie" of Dorner and Liebner since 1856. The "Repertorium für theol. Literatur und Kirchliche Statistik," established by *Rheinwald* (1831), now edited by *Herm. Reuter* of Breslau, also belongs essentially to this tendency; although often decided representatives of churchly Confessionalism also speak through it. The "*neue* evangelische Kirchenzeitung," edited since 1859 by *H. Messner*, announces itself as the organ of the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance (§ 54, 5), and almost all of the distinguished representatives of the Union are its contributors.

Although "German" theology would have all special ecclesiastical differences eradicated and obliterated from principle, nevertheless, the

descent from the one or the other church has not been entirely without influence upon the collective mental tendency of its adherents. Its principal representatives from the *Reformed Church* are: *Alex. Schweizer* of Zurich, *the one* of all Schleiermacher's disciples who has preserved the negative critical tendency of the master in its purest form, and continued to cultivate it with the most acuteness ("Ueber die Dignität des Religionsstifters," "Glaubenslehre der ev. reform. K. 1844;" "Gesch. d. protest. Centraldogmen. 1853;" "Krit. Unters. d. Ev. Joh. 1841"). Nearest to him stood *Matth. Schneckenberger* of Berne (*ob.* 1849), an acute and independent investigator (Beitr. zur Einl. ins N. T. 1832; zur kirchl. Christologie, 1848; Vergleichende Darstellung d. luth. u. ref. Lehrbegriffs, published by Güder, 1855). *K. Bernh. Hundeshagen* of Berne and Heidelberg, is the author of the spirited treatise: "Der *deutsche* Protestsm., s. Vergangenh. u. s. heutige Lebensfrage, von e. *deutschen* Theologen. 1847." *Charles Henry Sack*, formerly Prof. in Bonn, now consistorial councillor at Magdeburg, is one of the oldest and at the same time most positive disciples of Schleiermacher (Christl. Apologetik. 1829, 2. A. 1841; Christl. Polemik, 1838). *John Peter Lange*, originally a Pietist, is a man most highly gifted with imaginative, poetic, and speculative talents, a dilettant in all sciences, a pyrotechnist, who lets his mental fire shine, sparkle, and flash continually, in all colors and forms in his writings (Vermischte Schriften, 4 Bde.; Das Land der Herrlichkeit; Leben Jesu, 4 Bde.; Dogmatik, 3 Bde; Gesch. d. apost. Zeitalters, 2 Bde.; Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk, 1858 ff.) *Charles Rud. Hagenbach* of Basle wrote besides his Church History (§ 4, Vol. I.) "Lehrbb. der Dogmengeschichte," 4. A. 1857, which is much used, and the "Theolog. Encyklopadie," 5. A. 1858. Zealous Melanchthonians are: *Daniel Schenkel* of Heidelberg (Das Wesen des Protestantismus aus den Quellen des Reformations-zeitalters, 3 Bde. 1845 ff.; Princip des Protestantism, 1851; Gespräche über Protestantism, u. Katholicism, 2 Bde. 1852 f.; Der Unionsberuf des Protestantism, 1855; Die Christl. Dogmatik vom Standpunkt des Gewissens, Bd. I. 1858).—*Henry Heppe* of Marburg, a diligent and careful, but one-sided investigator into the sources of the period of the Reformation (Gesch. des deutschen Protestantism, 4 Bde. 1852 ff.; Die confessionelle Entwickl. der altprotest. K. Deutschl. 1854; Bekenntnisschriften der altprotest. K. Deutschlands, 1855; Dogmatik des deutschen Protestantism, im 16. Jahrh. 3 Bde. 1857; Gesch. des deutschen Volksschulwesen, 3 Bde. 1858)—and *John Henry Aug. Ebrard*, consistorial councillor at Spire, a spirited, devout, and versatile theologian (Wissensch. Kritik. der evang. Gesch. 2. A. 1850: Christl. Dogmatik, 2 Bde. 1851 f.; Vorless. u. d. prakt. Theol. 1854; Commentare zur Hebräerbr. u. zur Apok., etc.)

Among the disciples of Schleiermacher from the *Lutheran Church*, *Fred. Lücke* of Göttingen (*ob.* 1855) is to be mentioned first. He was the first who, even before Tholuck, manifested a spirited, fresh, and

devout exegesis; but, like Tholuck, he became more and more free-thinking and latitudinarian in his relation to the Scriptures and to the faith of the Church (Grundriss d. neutest. Hermeneutik, 1822; Comm. ü. d. Schriften d. Johannes, 1820 ff., 4 Bde. 3. A. 1843 ff.). *Charles Imm. Nitzsch* of Bonn and Berlin, a profound thinker, is next to Jul. Müller the most influential and respected of the Consensus theologians (System d. chr. Lehre, 6. A. 1852; Protest. Beantw. d. Symbolik Möhler's, 1834; Prakt. Theol. 1847 ff., 3 Bde.; Urkundenbuch d. ev. Union, 1853, etc.) *Jul. Müller* of Göttingen and Halle is, apart from the strange reception of an antemundane fall, and notwithstanding his inflexibility in favor of an actual, not merely church governmental, but also confessional Union ("Die ev. Union, ihr Wesen u. ihre göttl. Rechte, 1854"), the most deeply and firmly grounded of all the Consensus theologians in the Lutheran faith. His principal work ("Die Christl. Lehre von der Sünde." 4. A. 1858, 2 Bde.) is an unsurpassed model of careful, profound, and thorough investigation. *Charles Ullmann*, now prelate of Karlsruhe, a noble, lovely, irenical and mild person, laveers between all the rocks and sand-bars with his equilibrium-theology, and has also distinguished himself by thorough historical investigations (Gregor von Nazianz. 1825; Reformatoren vor der Reformation, 1841 ff., 2 Bde.; Ueber die Sündlosigkeit Jesu, 6. A. 1853; Wesen des Christl. 4. A. 1855; Historisch oder mythisch? gegen D. Strauss, 1838; Ueber d. Cultus des Genius, 1840, etc.). *Aug. Detlev Christ. Twesten*, Schleiermacher's successor at Berlin, did not carry his lectures on the dogmatics of the evangelical Lutheran Church beyond the doctrine of God (Bd. I. II. 1826, 4. A. 1838). He holds theology and philosophy apart more decidedly than the other disciples of Schleiermacher, and has placed himself upon the extreme left wing of the school towards the Lutheran Church. So much the more decidedly, however, has *J. A. Dorner* of Göttingen permitted philosophical speculation to influence his dogmatics. His investigations and speculations have been applied especially to the christological dogma, and in his principal work (Die Lehre von d. Person Christi. 2. A. 1845 ff., 2 Bde. in 6 Abtheill.) he has contributed a dogma-historical masterpiece, whose dogmatic conclusion is still wanting. The fundamental thoughts of his Christology are the so generally popular doctrines among the "German" theologians, concerning the necessity of the incarnation of Christ even apart from the fall (which, however, Jul. Müller has decidedly opposed), and concerning the prototypal character of Christ, the God-man, as the totality of humanity, in which "all the single individualities gather prototypes." Nearest to him is *Th. Alb. Liebner*, Harless' successor at Leipsic and Dresden, holding kindred christological views (Hugo v. St. Victor u. d. theol. Richtungen sr. Zeit. 1832; Der chr. Dogmatik aes dun christolog. Princip dargestellt. Bd. I. 1849). An eminently speculative potency, with decided approximation to Lutheran churchly doctrines, and not entirely without

theosophic coloring, is unfolded in *H. Martensen*, bishop of Copenhagen ("Die Autonomie des Selbstbewusstseins, 1837;" Meister Ekkart. 1842; Die chr. Taufe u. die baptistische Frage, 1843; Christl. Dogmatik, 1856).

Although he likewise passed through Schleiermacher's and Hegel's school, nevertheless *Rich. Rothe* of Heidelberg, a thinker equalled by none of his contemporaries in power, depth, richness, and originality of speculation, withdrew himself like an anchorite from the loud turmoil of the theological and philosophical market-place, and assigned himself a place in the closet of the theosophists, quite near to Oetinger. He possesses in common with the latter an aversion to Spiritualism, an energetic striving after massive ideas, and the Christian Realism, which recognizes the end of the ways of God in corporeity. This Realism already shows itself in his first important treatise (Die Anfänge der chr. Kirche, 1837, Bd. I.) in the proposition, that the Church must in the future, in the state of perfection, be absorbed in the State; — more comprehensively in his "Theolog. Ethik. 3 Bde. 1845 ff." a work with which no other of the present time is comparable in depth, originality, and logical connection of thought, and which is full of the profoundest Christian views, in spite of its numerous heterodoxies. Equally isolated, but, nevertheless, ranking among the greatest of the theologians of the present day, is *J. Tob. Beck*. He did not proceed from Schleiermacher's or from any other school of theologians or philosophers, but, a Würtemberger by birth, constitution, and education, he represents in his spirited, theosophico-realistic, biblico-puristic theology, which also ignores church and dogma history, together with the confession, a blooming-period of specifically Würtemberger Christianity in scientific form (Einl. in d. System d. chr. Lehre. od. propädeut. Entw. d. chr. Lehrwissensch. 1838; Christl. Lehrwissensch. nach den bibl. Urkunden. Bd. I. 1841; Umriss d. bibl. Seelenlehre. 1843). He is also characterized by his openly expressed indifference to and undervaluation of all the efforts and "institutions" of this present restless age in favor of Home and Foreign Missions, Union, Confederation, and Alliance; in favor of liturgy, constitution, church discipline, and confession; in all of which he sees only a movement mistaken in form and contents, forsaken by the Spirit of God, and therefore entirely fruitless. The improvement of the desolate state of affairs can only be hoped for through the direct interposition of God. *Beck* has also ceased for many years from publishing anything. But his influence from the rostrum is only so much the greater and more far-reaching, and already a large number of his disciples are working in the ministry according to his principles and views. On this account *Liebetrut* opened a warm contest in 1857 from North Germany against his destructive tendency.—*Charles Aug. Auberlen* of Basle is a disciple of *Beck's*. He shared his teacher's limitation to Biblical theology, but not his undervaluation of all churchly practical movements, whereby

he approximated to *R. Rothe*, without, however, giving himself up to his heterodox speculation. The history of salvation and of the kingdom of God (especially its eschatological development) is the favorite object of his biblico-theological investigation, whereby he comes into contact with the modern Erlanger (v. Hoffman) school (Die Theosophie Oettinger's, 1848. Der Proph. Daniel u. d. Offb. Joh. 2. A. 1856).—The three last named do not properly belong to the soi-disant *German* theology; they lack the Schleiermacherian coloring, the peculiar speculation, and the character of the equilibrium or Consensus theology, inasmuch as they ignore more than level the churchly confession. Yet it is more difficult to classify them elsewhere. In *Fr. W. Charles Umbreit's* writings (since 1823 at Heidelberg) Herder's spirit manifests itself more than Schleiermacher's. In the course of time his merely æsthetical enthusiasm for the Old Testament was changed more and more into an acknowledgment of the supernatural, and especially of the Messianic contents of Revelation (Lied der Liede, das älteste und schönste aus dem Morgenlande, 1820; Commt. zum Hiob. 2. A. 1831, and to the Sprüchen Salomo's, 1826; Christl. Erbauung aus dem Psalter, 1835, Grundtöne d. A. T. 1843; Prakt. Comment. ü. die Proph. d. A. T. 4 Bde. 1841 ff.; Die Sünde, ein Beitr. zur Theol. d. A. T., 1853; Ausleg. d. Römerbr. auf d. Grund d. A. T. 1855).—On the other hand, *Fred. Bleek* of Bonn, a sharp critic and distinguished interpreter (Hebräerbrief, 2 Bde. 1828–40), who never expressed himself concerning his dogmatic position, but betrays a strong rationalistic tendency in his works on the Bible, is a direct disciple of Schleiermacher. *Ed. Reuss* of Strasburg, the acute and spirited reformer of biblical isagogics, occupies a somewhat similar position (Gesch. d. h. Schriften des N. T. 2. A. 1853. Hist. de la théol. chrit. au siècle apost., against Baur, 1852, 2 Bde., etc.). To be added here yet is *Henry Aug. Will. Meyer*, superintendent of Hanover, who occupies one of the first places among the interpreters of our day. Starting from Rationalism, he advanced to the stand-point of a solid, biblical Supranaturalism (Krit. exeg. Commentar zur N. T. 1832 ff.). *John Ed. Huther* is also an able interpreter and co-laborer on Meyer's Commentary. His first production was a commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians, 1841. *Charles Wieseler* of Kiel has acquired a high reputation in the department of the Chronology and History of the N. T. (Chronol. Synopse der 4 Evv. 1843; Chronologie d. apost. Zeitalt. 1848; Die 70 Wochen Daniels, 1839). The most able investigator in the sphere of the criticism of the biblical text is *L. Fr. Konstantin Tischendorf* of Leipsic, who has searched through Europe and the Orient with unwearied zeal in this work. The publication of several old codices of the Bible, a number of excellent editions of the New Testament, a new edition of the LXX., the most complete collection of the apocryphas and pseudepigraphs of the New Testament, are the rich fruits of his investigations.

Essentially distinguished from "German" theology, as the Schleier-

macherian right wing, was *the theology of the Schleiermacherian left wing*, as it is especially represented by the protest-theologians of 1845 (§ 54, 1): *Pischon, Jonas, Sydow, Eltester, Schweder, Krause.* They are the fanatics of the absorbtive Union, who hate and oppose Consensus theology and the confederative Union not less than union-hostile Lutheranism. With Dissensus they would also cast overboard the Consensus of the symbolical books, and only retain the *naked* Shibboleth, "Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever," with which Rationalism of all shades is compatible. No theological contributions of importance have proceeded from this school. Nevertheless, they also established in 1854 a "Protest. Kirchenzeitung," edited by H. Krause, with which everything that is not Tübingish-critical, German-theological, and Lutheran-confessional, especially the scattered and individual representatives of historico-critical, æsthetical, and philosophical Rationalism (Credner, Knobel, Hitzig, Gieseler, Gass, Redepenning, Ewald, Rückert, Hase, Weisse, Gervinus), has connected itself.

Of congenial spirit, and possessing the same hatred towards churchly confession, especially the "Lutheran," is the modern "Japhetic" theology of the *Chevalier Christ. Charles Josias v. Bunsen*, by royal friendship also a baron, as also a doctor of theology through the Göttingen faculty, formerly Prussian ambassador at Rome, then at London, now a private resident at Heidelberg. There was a time when Bunsen stood in the front rank of those who cultivated and promoted the newly awakened Christian feeling and life. From this period proceed his excellent "Allg. Gesang-und Gebetbuch, 1833," and his liturgico-critical work "Die heil. Leidensgeschichte u. d. stille Woche, 2 Bde. 1841." Since then, however, the salt "has lost its savor," inasmuch as his theology declined rapidly and steeply to its present Japhetic perfection, which, with its transposition of the contents of biblical revelation from the "Semitic" to the "Japhetic" mode of thinking and of expression, with its destructive criticism, its pantheistic view of the world, and its democratic ideals of church government, with its glowing hatred towards churchly confession and churchly dogmatics, and with its fierce wrath against the "old-granny prejudices of Christian Rabbis," is not far removed from common critical Rationalism, though it professes to be Christian, pious, and believing. The downward way began with the treatise: Die Verfassung der Kirche der Zukunft. 1845. Then followed, to eradicate especially churchly Christology and the doctrine of the Trinity, the works: Ignatius v. Antiochien u. s. Zeit. 1847; Die drei echten u. d. vier unechten Briefe des Ignatius, 1847; Hippolyt. u. s. Zeit. 2 Bde. 1852 ff. His destructive tendency in the sphere of the O. Test. is exhibited in his work: Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgesch. 5 Bde. 1847–57, in which he assures us, quackishly enough, that he for the first time placed the ancient history of the Jews in its proper position in the history of the world, by his restoration of Egyptian chronology; but, in fact, has dis-

located all the members of history with the crudest arbitrariness, and has cut out chronology with the wildest phantastery. The "Zeichen der Zeit. 3 A. 1856," are a raging phillippic against the hierarchical aspirations of the Papists, and of the almost more dangerous "Lutherans." His "Gott in der Geschichte, Bd. I. 1857," discloses to adepts his pantheistic view of the world and of history; but his "Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde," began in 1858, is the self-made grave of his theological fame.

6. *Lutheran Confessional Theology.* — Its original, powerful, and spirited patriarch was *Claus Harms* (*ob.* 1855), as high-consistorial councillor at Kiel, cf. § 54, 1 (95 Theses, 1817; Dass es mit der Vernunftrel. nichts ist. 1819; Winter- und Sommerpostille, 1808, 5. A. 1836; Pastoral theologie in Reden an Theologie-Studirende, 3 Bde. 1830 ff., etc.) — *J. Gottfr. Scheibel* (since 1811 Prof. and preacher in Breslau, deposed from both offices in 1832, died at Nüremberg, 1843), also from the beginning adhered to Lutheran orthodoxy ("Das Abendmahl des Herrn. 1821;" Actenmässige Gesch. der Union in Preussen, 2 Bde. 1833, etc.)—*Ernst W. Christ. Sartorius*, general superintendent in Königsberg, fought himself through Rationalism in fresh and bold attacks (Die Religion ausserh. d. Grenzen der blossen Vernunft. 1822; Beiträge zur Vertheid. d. ev. Rechtgläubigk. 1825 f. etc.) to Lutheran orthodoxy; but he also defended the Prussian Union with enthusiasm, because Lutheranism was in itself already the "true medium," in the assurance, that on this account all Union must issue in it (Vertheid. d. luth. Abendmahlslehre, u. Die luth. Lehre v. d. Communicatio idiomatum; in the Dörpt'schen Beiträgen, 1832; Die Lehre von Christi Person u. Werk, 1831, 5. A. 1845; Die Lehre v. d. heil. Liebe. 3 Bde. 1840 ff.; Apologie der Augsb. Confession, 2. A. 1853; Ueber alt-u. neutest. Cultus, 1852; Meditationen d. heil. Liebe, 1840 ff.; Meditationen ü. d. Offenb. d. Herrlichk. Gottes in d. K. u. im Abendm. 1855, etc.) On the other hand, *Andr. Gottl. Rudelbach* (born and educated in Denmark, from 1829–45 superintendent in Glauchau, now provost in Copenhagen) was led in the same way to become the most decided opponent of the Union. Next to Fred. Baur, Rudelbach is perhaps the most learned theologian of the present time ("Hier. Savonarola u. s. Zeit." 1835; Die Sacramentsworte, hist. krit. dargest. 1837; Reformation, Lutherth. und Union, 1839; Hist. krit. Einl. in d. Augsb. Conf. 1841; Ueber d. Bedent. d. apost. Symb. 1844; Christliche Biographie, Bd. I. 1850, etc.)—*Henry Ernst Fred. Guericke*, Prof. at Halle since 1829, at first a Pietist, then changed by the Union to a confessor of Lutheranism, wrote: De schola, quæ Alexandriæ floruit, catechetica, 1824 f.; Aug. Herm. Francke, 1827; Beiträge zur hist. krit. Einl. ins N. T. 1828 ff.; Handb. d. K. G. 1833, 8. A. 1855; Allg. chr. Symbolik. 2. A. 1846; Lehrb. d. kirchl. Archäologie, 1847; Gesammtgesch. d. N. Test. 2. A. 1854. He established in connection with Rudelbach, 1840, the "Zeitschrift fur luth. Theol. und Kirche." Beside these

older representatives of Lutheran orthodoxy, a second generation was formed into several groups within the last forty years. At the head of the *first*, which adhered to the old Protestant idea of the ministry and of the Church, and defended the old Protestant doctrines with all the means of modern science, stood *Gottl. Christoph. Adolf. v. Harless*, Prof. in Erlangen and Leipsic, then high-church officer in Dresden, now in Munich. He established his theological calling by his superior Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, 1835, his "Theologische Encyklopädie," and especially by his "Christl. Ethik. 5. A. 1853." In 1838 he established the "Zeitschr. für Protestantsm. u. Kirche," at first in opposition to Bavarian Ultramontanism. By his side in Erlangen labored *J. Will. Fred. Hofling*, (*ob.* 1853) (De Symbolorum natura, 1835; Die Composition des chr. Gemeindegottesdienstes, 1837; Das Sacrament der Taufe, 2 Bde. 1846 f.; Grundsätze ev. luth. Kirchenverfassung, 3. A. 1853; Die Lehre d. ältest. K. vom Opfer im Leben u. Cultus d. Christen. 1851), and *Gottfr. Thomasius* (Origenes. 1837; Das Bekenntniss d. luth. K. in der Consequ. ss. Princips. 1848; Christi Person u. Werk. od. ev. luth. Dogmatik. Bd. I. II. 2. A. 1856 ff.)— *Fred. Adolf. Philippi* of Dorpat, then of Rostock, wrote "Ueber den thätigen Gehorsam Christi," 1841, a concise Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, 2. A. 1856, and a "Kirchliche Dogmatik." Bd. I. II. 1854–57. From *Theodosius Harnack* of Erlangen we have: "Jesus der Christ, d. Erfüller d. Gesetzes und die Prophetic," 1842; Der chr. Gemeindegottesdienst im apost. u. altkath. Zeitalt. 1854. — *K. Fred. Aug. Kahnis* of Leipsic, wrote a Gesch. d. Lehre vom h. Geiste, Bd. I. 1847; Die Lehre vom Abendmahl. 1851, and Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestsm. since 1750; and *Aug. William Dieckhof* of Göttingen; Die Waldenser im M. A. 1851, and Die ev. Abendmahlslehre im Ref. Zeitalt. Bd. I. 1854.—At the head of the *second* group, which is characterized by a Romanizing tendency with regard to the idea of the Church and of the ministry, stands *William Löhe*, preacher in Neudettelsau in Bavaria ("Drei Bd. v. d. Kirche," 2. A. 1852; Aphorismen ü. d. N. Th. Aemter; Kirche u. Amt.; Agende; Der ev. Geistliche). Next to him stands *Aug. Fred. Christ. Vilmar*, who began, 1856, his academical labors in Marburg with "Theologie der Thatsachen gegen die Theol. der Rhetorick;" *Otto Krabbe* of Rostock ("Die Lehre von d. Sünde u. d. Tode," 1838; Vorless. ü. d. Leb. Jesu. 1839; Die ev. Landeskirche Preussens, 1849); and *Theod. Kliefoth*, member of the high-consistory in Schwerin ("Einl. in die Dogmengesch, 1839;" Die ursprüngl. Gottesdienstordnung d. luth. K. 1847; Acht. Bd. v. d. Kirche, Bd. I. 1854; Liturgische Abhandll. 3 Bde. 1854 ff.) He founded (1854) the "Kirchliche Zeitschrift" in connection with the jurist *Otto Mejer* in Rostock ("Die Propaganda u. ihre Provinzen, 2 Bde. 1853"). — At the head of a third group, which harmonized with the first in the idea of the ministry, but was peculiarly characterized by the historical tendency of its theology, constituting a powerful

biblical realism in most emphatic antithesis to Hengstenberg's Spiritualism, and connecting itself again on this side with Chr. A. Crusius and A. Bengel, stands *J. Chr. K. v. Hofmann* of Erlangen, a theologian of great significance, possessing a dialectic talent, an acuteness, a consistency of system and logical development of the same, such as has not been possessed by any other since Schleiermacher. In his "Weissagung und Erfüllung (1841)" he appeared first as the antipode of Hengstenberg's apprehension of the Old Testament, in that he places history and prophecy in the most vital and mutually conditioning relation to each other, interprets both, as against the usual Spiritualism, in a literally realistic sense with regardless energy, and especially seeks to understand prophecy out of its historical basis. In his "Schriftbeweise" (3 Bde. 2. A. 1857 ff.) he attempted to produce a scientific *regeneration* of the contents of the faith of the Church and of Christianity out of the Scriptures, but he gave the same a form, which widely departed from the established view of the most important fundamental doctrines, especially the doctrine of the atonement, and defended it as a "Neue Weise, alte Wahrheit zu lehren" (1856) against the attempt made by *Philippi* to prove its unchurchliness. Thomasius and Harnack also testified against his alteration of the churchly doctrine of the atonement. Hofmann's theology, without its *dogmatic* singularities, found an enthusiastic adherent and co-laborer in *Franz Delitzch* of Erlangen, the most thorough connoisseur of rabbinical literature of all the Christian literati, as rich in spirit as in many-sided, exquisite learning, who, in opposition to Hofmann's sober intellectual tendency, opened his theology to theosophic influences, and also combated his unchurchly doctrine of the atonement (Die bibl. proph. Theologie, 1845; Vier Bd. von der Kirche, 1847; Auslegungen des Propheten Habakuk, des Hohenliedes, der Genesis, des Hebräerbriefes; System d. bibl. Psychologie, 1855; a commentary on the Psalms is in view)—further in *Michael Baumgarten* of Rostock (unwillingly silenced in 1858, § 55, 3), who certainly pushed Hofmann's historical views of redemption, especially in reference to the future position of Israel, even to caricature, and supplanted them with politico-liberalistic and mystico-fanatical elements. He wrote: Theol. Comment. zum Pentat. 2 Bde. 1843 f.; Die Apostelgesch. od. Entwicklungsgung der K. von Jerusalem bis Rom. 2 Bde. 2. A. 1859; Die Nachtgesichte Sacharja's, 2 Bde. 1854, and a large number of controversial writings. *Chr. Ernst Luthardt* of Leipsic applied and developed Hofmann's views in the province of the New Testament, with much spirit (Das johanneische Evang. nach sr. Eigenthümlichk. geschild, u. erkl. 2 Bde. 1853).

Allied to this tendency, but much more conservative and more closely touching the first group, are: *Moritz Drechsler* of Erlangen (*ob.* 1849), (Einheit u. Echtheit der Genesis, 1838; Der Prophet Jesaia, 3 Bde. 1845); — *Paul Caspari* of Christiania (Der Proph. Obadja, 1842; Beitr. zur Einl. in das Buch Jesaia, 1848; Ueber den Proph.

Micha u. s. proph. Schrift, 1852);—*Gust. Friedr. Oehler* of Tübingen, in spirit, learning, and independence, one of the first among the theologians of the Old Testament, on which account it cannot be sufficiently regretted that he has not yet proceeded from his "Prolegomenen zur Theol. des A. T. 1845," to an exposition of the science itself.—The theologians of *Dorpat* established in 1859 a "Dorpater Zeitschrift für Theol. u. Kirche," conducted in this spirit. From *their* midst has gone forth *Karl Friedr. Keil* (now private resident at Leipsic), who of all Hengstenberg's disciples has remained most faithful to the tendency and to the results of the master in general. He wrote: Apolog. Versuch ü. d. Bd. d. Chronik. 1833; Der Tempel Salomo's, 1839; Comment. zu d. Bd. d. Könige, 1846, u. z. B. Josua, 1847; Lehrb. d. hist. krit. Einl. ins A. T. 2. A. 1859; Fortsetzung u. Neubearbeitung der Häverneck'schen Einleit. ins A. T. 1855 f.; Bibl. Archäologie, Bd. I. 1858. (A condensed exegetical Handbook to the entire Old Testament is awaited from him).—Still another important theologian may also be mentioned here, who was at first a Lutheran, but then, resigning his professorship at Marburg, embraced Irvingianism, viz. *H. Wilh. Josias Thiersch* (Vorless. ü. Protestsm. u. Katholicism, 2. A. 1848; Versuch zur Herstellung des hist. Standpunktes für die Kritik d. N. Th. Schriften, gegen Baur, 1845; Die Kirche im apost. Zeitalter, 2. A. 1858). As Irvingian he was invested with the office of an angel; but when it was endeavored to promote him to the office of an apostle, he was not able to decide to accept this honor.

The Lutheran confession and Lutheran theology also found important representatives in distinguished jurists possessing theological authorship. Here belongs first of all: *Karl Friedr. Göschel* (§ 53, 1, 2; 54, 6; 56, 3, 4), privy councillor at Berlin, then consistorial president at Magdeburg, from which position he was forced by the revolution of March 1848. His oldest work, published anonymously by Tholuck: "Cäcilius u. Octavius, 1828," is of an apologetical character. He appears as a disciple of Hegel in: Aphorismen über Nichtwissen u. absol. Wissen, 1829; Der Monismus des Glaubens, 1832; Hegel u. s. Zeit mit Rücksicht auf Göthe, 1832. After Hegel's death he defended the Christian character of his philosophy in several treatises. Directed against *Dav. Strauss* is: Beiträge zur specul. Theol. v. Gott, d. Menschen u. d. Gottmenschen, 1838. His Christian juristic stand-point is expressed in the "Zerstreuten Blättern as den Hand-ut Hülfs-acten eines Juristen, 3 Bde. 1832 ff." and "Der Eid nach s. Princip, Begirff u. Gebranche, 1837." He also endeavors to develop deep Christian views out of Göthe's writings in his "Unterhaltungen zur Schilderung Göthescher Dicht-und Denkweeise, 3 Bde. 1834." He devoted the same talent with more objective truth to Dante's poems: "Ans Dante Aligh. göttl. Kom. 1834; Dante's Unterweisung über Weltschöppung u. Weltordnung, 1842," etc. To his specifically Lutheran period belong: "Ueber die Bedentung der luth. K. u. ihr Verhältn. zur allg. K. u.

zum Staate, 1849; Zur Lehre von d. letzen Dingen, 1850; Der Dualismus evang. Kirchenverfass, 1852; Der Mensch nach Leib, Seele u. Geist, 1856; Der Concordienformel nach Gesch., Lehre u. Bedeut, 1858." — *Friedr. Jul. Stahl*, born of Jewish parents at Munich, Prof. of law at Erlangen and Berlin, since 1852 member of the Berlin high-consistory, from whose transactions, however, he voluntarily withdrew in 1857; since 1849, in connection with *Ernst Ludw. v. Gerlach*, leader of the high-church, aristocratic reaction party in the Prussian chambers, and its eloquent orator; also permanent vice-president of the evangelical church diet. His chief work: "Philosophie des Rechts, 3 Bde. 1830 ff. 3. A. 1854 ff." endeavors to build a system of law and of the State upon the basis of the Christian revelation. Schelling's philosophy exerted a great influence upon the form of the first edition, but none at all upon the later ones. In his treatise: "Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protest. 1840," he declares the episcopal system to be the only authorized one. Distinguished among his later church-political writings are: "Ueber den christl. Staat u. s. Verhältn. zum Deismus und Judenth, 1847; Der Protestantism, als politisches Princip. 4. A. 1854; Wider Bunsen, 1.—3. A. 1856."

III. ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

§ 57. ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN GENERAL.

The *Papacy*, which was trampled into the dust but not humbled by Napoleon I., was restored (1814) by the allied princes of all confessions, and since then the popes have maintained the hierarchical principle for the most part with power and dignity. Many deep wounds, it is true, have been inflicted upon the papacy, but new hopes and new prospects have been opened to it. Religious *Libertinism*, in conjunction with politico-revolutionary tendencies, manifested itself more or less threateningly everywhere in the Roman Catholic world, but *Ultramontanism* also grew and strengthened during and after such catastrophies. The restored *Order of Jesuits* survived all the dangers which threatened its existence. Miracles and saints, together with canonizations after the manner of the middle ages, were also not wanting. *Inner Missions* developed an activity rich in efforts and results under the revival of the *orders* devoted to this service and through the establishment of new unions to this end. The zeal for Heathen Missions was also rekindled. The only

thing to be lamented in this is the ultramontane narrow-heartedness, which preferred to force itself with its missions in a disturbing way just where Protestant missions had already put in the sickle to cut the harvest. Roman Catholicism made the greatest and most successful efforts to establish itself in Protestant territory in England, North America, and in the South Sea. Roman Catholic *theology* made great advances in France, and especially in Germany (where Protestant science exerted an influence on its development).

1. *The Papacy.* — Napoleon concluded, as first consul of the French republic, a concordat (1801) with *Pius* VII. (1800-23), who had been elected pope at Venice under Austrian protection, according to which the church property reverted to the State, the sworn priests (although again eligible) resigned, the pope again resumed his ecclesiastical and temporal rights, but no papal bull could be published without the consent of the government in France, and the bishops were to be nominated by the government. The pope crowned the consul as emperor of France (1804), but as he still continued to adhere to his hierarchical principles, the emperor again (1808) took possession of the papal territory, and declared that the donation of his predecessor Charles was taken back (1809). The pope rejected the proffered annuity of two millions francs as an insult, placed the emperor under the bann, and was taken as a prisoner to Fontainebleau. A *National Council at Paris* (1811) was wrecked on the obstinacy of the pope. He made, it is true, concessions in a new concordat (1813), but he immediately regretted them and took them back. He was, finally, in 1814, restored by the allied princes to the full possession of his spiritual and temporal rights, and in May of the same year he returned to Rome. One of the first of his official acts was the *restoration of the Jesuits* by the bull Sollicitudo omnium, as occasioned by the almost unanimous request of entire Christendom. In 1815 he formally protested against the acts of the congress of Vienna, especially against the dissolution of the German empire, which had been determined on there, because it abolished the previously existing spiritual principalities. His protest against the refusal of Ferdinand IV. (I.) of Naples, to continue to pay the usual tribute, was equally without effect, because generally all relations of tribute had ceased to exist (1816). In the same year followed a condemnation of the Bible societies as a pest of Christendom, and a prohibition of translations of the Bible. He was succeeded by *Leo* XII. (1823–29). Being more rigid in his administration of the government than his predecessor, he also condemned the Bible societies, re-established the prisons of the inquisition, and celebrated the year of jubilee (1825) with a much larger indulgence, because the celebration of the year 1800 had been neglected. After *Pius* VIII.'s

reign of eight months, *Gregory* XVI. (1831–46) ascended the papal throne, and endeavored to maintain the hierarchical idea with earnestness and honor amid the disorders at home and the distractions abroad. The spreading Liberalism of the Carbonari revolt was suppressed by Austrian military intervention, but the liberalistic fermentation of young Italy continued. *Pius* IX. ascended the papal chair in 1846, the 259th pope according to Roman reckoning. Whilst he seemed to wish that in church affairs everything should remain as it had been, and also as occasion offered pronounced against the Bible societies, he began a thorough reformation of the affairs of the government in a liberal sense, and nourished the hope of young Italy, that by his mediation the national independence and political unity of Italy would be restored. Thus, however, he only increased the storm that soon burst upon his own head. The endless huzzah "Erviva Pio nono!" ended with the flight of the pope, which was soon followed (1849) by the proclamation of a Roman republic, in spite of bann and interdict. The arms of the young French republic disturbed the short dream by the conquest of Rome in behalf of the restoration of the temporal power of the pope, and the Austrians occupied the legations. But on account of the inextricable distractions of Italy, the pope was not able to return to the eternal city until April, 1850. Since then the papacy, although it has been supported at its own hearth only by French and Austrian bayonets, and has suffered new defeats in old Catholic countries, like Sardinia and Spain, has, nevertheless, gained a significance and influence, especially in Germany, such as it had not had for centuries. Already, during the time of his exile at Gaeta, Pius published a solemn declaration concerning the *immaculate conception of the virgin Mary*, to whose mighty protection he attributed his deliverance, and after his return the realization of this declaration lay nearest to his heart. To convene a general council, to which would have worthily belonged the honor and task of determining and establishing a dogma emphatically rejected by St. Bernhard and St. Thomas, seemed, it is true, even to the romantic Pius, as too hazardous. It was supplied by a conference of bishops especially invited for the purpose, and on the 8th December, 1854, the pope proclaimed, after the solemn celebration of the mass in the Sixtine chapel, with a loud voice, the great joy which was bestowed upon Christendom, and placed a costly brilliant diadem upon the head of the image of the queen of heaven. The disciples of St. Thomas remained silent at this practical imputation of heresy cast upon their master, a few single voices, which protested, were not heard, the bishops of all Roman Catholic countries proclaimed the new dogma, the theologians defended it, and the fondness of the people for spectacles rejoiced in pompous festivals in honor of Mary.

2. The *Society of Jesus*, after its abolition by Clemens XIV., continued to exist partly in secret, partly finding a refuge in the order of

the *Liguarions* or *Redemptionists*. This order (§ 44, 2) obtained thereby an importance, which it was not able formerly to acquire, but which it has since known how to preserve, especially through zealous instruction of the young. The restored order of the Jesuits, however, carried with it the inheritance of bitter hatred and suspicion from the past into the present. Besides, it was not able to regain the scientific importance of former ages, and it also was deficient in eminent men. But these deficiencies were compensated by an indestructible perseverance and elasticity, combined with unwearying activity. Nevertheless, it seemed not to be a match for the storm of Liberalism, which broke upon it from all sides, in spite of all the praise of ultramontane theologians, bishops, and statesmen. The revolution of July 1830 forced the Jesuits first out of France, and when they still continued to exist there under the protection of the bishops, the chambers and the government united against them, and Gregory XVI. was compelled to influence their general voluntarily to abolish all their colleges in France. The chief seat of the order was in Roman Catholic Switzerland, but the unfortunate issue of the war of 1847 drove them also out of this fastness, and Pius IX. was compelled even to approve of their banishment from the States of the Church. The revolutionary year of 1848 threatened the order with entire extinction, forced it out of Bavaria and Austria, and only allowed it to be undisturbed in Belgium. But the restoration of 1850 secured for it the return into all the Roman Catholic countries excepting Sardinia. Since then the disciples of St. Loyola have been renewed "as eagles," and they now travel through the countries, laboring by preaching to establish Roman Catholics in their faith, and to convert Protestants. Pius IX. also, under whose auspices *Augustine Theiner* (Gesch. d. Pontificates Clemens XIV. 2 Bde. Par. 1853) directed the heavy artillery of history taken "from the secret archives of the Vatican" against them, surrendered public instruction to them again.

The *other orders* also succumbed, at least for a time, in most of the States, to the storms of the revolution. *Joseph* II. made the beginning by secularizing more than 500 monasteries, and by condemning the remainder to a slow extinction. France decreed, Nov. 2, 1789, the abolition of all orders and monasteries, and in 1802 almost all monasteries were dissolved under Napoleon's auspices also in the German empire. However, Napoleon restored, from motives of expediency, the institute of the *merciful sisters*, whose scattered remnants he collected under the superintendence of the empress-mother into a general chapter in Paris (1807). In Portugal and Spain also, as lately in Sardinia, the death-penalty has been pronounced upon all monasteries (cf. §. 58, 1, 2). New monasteries arose only in France, Bavaria, as also in England and North America.

Worthy yet of special mention is the restoration of the *Order of Trappists*. When the brothers were driven from La Trappe in 1791,

the canton Frieburg offered them an asylum. The then master of novices, *Augustine* (*Henry de Lestrange*), established now a new monastery at *Valsainte* (which Pius VI. raised to an abbey in 1794), and in *Wallis* even a nunnery, into which, among others also, the princess *Louise de Condé* was received. The order flourished again here, and had several colonies also outside of Switzerland. But through the invasion of the French in 1798 it was also driven out of Valsainte. Augustine now obtained permission from the Russian emperor Paul I. for his brethren to emigrate to West Russia, Poland, and Litthauen. But they were compelled already in 1800 to leave Russia. Augustine travelled through Europe and even America, enduring unspeakable hardships, in order that he might provide for his associates. After the fall of Napoleon he purchased again the nunnery of La Trappe, and organized it as the mother-monastery of a multitude of new settlements in and outside of France, so that the order spread through him as it had never before (*ob.* 1827). The Trappists have even colonized in Algiers.

Very numerous, even numberless, are the *Brotherhoods* and *Sisterhoods*, which have been formed since the restoration of 1814. France especially has exhibited in this sphere an unparalleled fruitfulness and a wonderful inventive faculty in abstruse names for the same. Worthy of special distinction is the *Congregation of the poor Schoolsisters* in Bavaria, which was formed (1834) through the efforts of Bishop *Mich. Wittmann* of Regensburg, a pupil and friend of *Sailer*. This congregation has not only founded, during the brief time of its existence, about 40 settlements with numerous female schools in Bavaria, but it has also already established itself in other German Roman Catholic countries (Würtemberg, Silesia, Bohemia), and even in North America (Baltimore).

3. *Proselytism.* (Cf. *Hœninghaus*, chronol. Verzeichniss d. denkw. Bekehrungen zur kath. K. Aschaffb. 1837.—*Nitzsch*, Ursachen, etc., in the deutsch. Ztschr. 1851, Nr. 29.) — In the twilight of Romanticism the Roman Catholic Church appeared as the crystallized middle ages clothed with fresh glory, whilst the unpretentious character of the Protestant Church, especially in its then prevailing rationalistic garb, was offensive to imaginative minds. Transition to the Roman Catholic Church lay, therefore, in the current of the spirit of the age, which carried away many of the noblest contemporaries. The most distinguished converts of this century are, besides Stolberg (§ 44, 5), *Fr. Schlegel*, who was influenced by romantic poetry as unfolded in the Roman Catholic Church (1808); *Adam Müller*, who was led to take the same step by romantic poetry in connection with romantic views of the State (1805); further, *K. L. v. Haller*, the restorer of the science of politics according to mediæval-feudalistic and territorialistic principles (1820); *Jarcke* and *Phillips*, who walked in his footsteps (1824); *Friedr. Hurter*, the biographer of Innocent III., formerly superintendent at Zürich (1844); the blaséd novelist *Ida, Countess Hahn-Hahn;*

the publicist *Frans von Florencourt;* the Church historian *Gfrörer* (1853); the radical Hegelian *Daumer* (1858); and the Berlin licentiate *Hugo Lämmer.* — On the other hand, concern for the salvation of the soul, which found no satisfaction in Roman Catholic self-righteousness, led a number of pious men (*Martin Boas, Gossner, Henhöfer,* etc.) to embrace the Protestant doctrine concerning the Bible and justification, and from here in part into the Protestant Church. Still greater was the number of proselytes, who were led into the Protestant Church by Rationalism: their names have already passed into forgetfulness. In later times the proselytism of the Roman Catholic Church has been most successful in North America and in England. On the other hand, she has continually sustained the greatest losses in France, Ireland, Bohemia, and Sardinia, and is only able to suppress Protestant sympathies in Italy by the use of the prison, house of correction, and police.

The decision of the Church in the *Mortara affair* (1858) created a great excitement. The eight year old son of the Jew Mortara of Bologne was forcibly torn from his parents by the bailiffs of St. Ufficio, and taken to Rome, because his Christian nurse had said that she had baptized him two years before, when he was dangerously sick. In vain were the prayers and tears of the parents; in vain the cry of indignation, which was raised in all Europe; in vain all intercession; the Roman Catholic Church gives baptism the character indelebilis, and the pope declared that he could not change the laws of the Church. The pious nurse, however, who knew so well how to proselytize, was not censured by the laws of the Church.

4. *Ultramontanism.* — The mild, irenical, and profound mysticism of the noble Bishop *Sailer* (*ob.* 1832) met with a warm reception at the beginning of this period in the Roman Catholic Church of Germany. But the indifference of this school towards ecclesiastical works, its deep affinity with Protestant Pietism, and the undisguised proclivity of some of its adherents to the Protestant principle of the Bible and of justification, brought it into discredit with the hierarchy and its representatives, and called forth the antithesis of an Ultramontanism ever becoming more sharp. The master humbled himself like Fénélon; the disciples withdrew into the quiet closet, and gradually became extinct. Greater favor was shown by the Ultramontanes to another form of mysticism, which expressed itself in the miraculous cures of the Princess *Hohenlohe* (since 1820) and in the scars of the nun *Anna Catharine Emmerich* in the monastery at Dülmen in Westphalia (*ob.* 1824). In her latter years the poet *Clemens Brentano* sat at her feet, reverencing her as a saint, listening to her revelations concerning the life and sufferings of the Saviour and his mother, about which she was able to give the most exact information as to time and place, day and hour, as also the most unessential particulars (ex. gr. the fashion and color of the clothes of the co-workers). *Brentano* published from his

notes of these visions taken down with great care, "Das bittere Leiden unseres Herrn J. Chr. 1833, 6. A. 1842." The whole of the remainder is now being published under the supervision of a "pious and learned monk." — In the third decade of this century the opposition of the Ultramontane party was directed especially against the liberal and noble, but certainly latitudinarian, Baron v. *Wessenberg*, the friend and successor of the celebrated *K. v. Dalberg*, in the bishopric of Constance. Pius VII. decidedly refused to give his sanction. The government of Baden, however, protected him in the exercise of his office, until 1827, when, in consequence of a concordat with the pope, the bishopric of Constance was abolished. Since then Wessenberg has lived as a private citizen in Baden, and has offended the Ultramontanes by publishing a profound "Geschichte der groszen Kirchenversammlungen des 15. u. 16. Jahrh. Konst. 1840, 4 Bde." Ultramontanism also attempted to crush the excellent *Hirscher* in Freiburg, but the noble and also churchly conduct of the man put their efforts to shame. Within the last decades Ultramontanism has gained in power, and possesses also able scientific representatives. Its chief seat was *Bavaria*, its chief champion the always armed *Jos. von Görres* of Munich, who once apotheosized the revolution, then mediæval feudalism, hierarchism, and mysticism, and bewailed the Reformation as a second fall (*ob.* 1848). He established (1838) the "Historisch-politischen Blätter," at whose command (especially under *Edm. Jörg's* present direction) stands an unsurpassed versatility sparkling with spirit, wit, and ridicule. The most celebrated organs of Ultramontanism next to it, are the Paris Univers by *Veuillot*, and the Civiltà Cattolica, edited by the Jesuits at Naples, then at Rome. The talented Count *Jos. de Maistre*, Sardinian ambassador at St. Petersburg (*ob.* 1821), recognized in the infallibility of the pope the life-principle of all history (Du Papa; De l'église Gallicane; Soirées de St. Petersb.). The gigantic lie, that Protestantism is, in its inmost essence, not only ecclesiastically, but also politically revolutionary, whilst, on the other hand, Roman Catholicism is the only defence of States against revolution and democracy, is still dished up anew with unblushing audacity, in spite of the thousand-fold testimony of history against it, and (so true is the old proverb: Calumniare audacter, etc.) it is also believed.

5. *National Religious Liberalism.* — Whilst in the Roman Catholic Church, on the one hand, Ultramontanism was continually intensified and spread, on the other, anti-hierarchical Liberalism made itself felt more and more. Unions of clergymen were formed in Silesia (since 1826) and in South Germany (1830), which agitated the abolition of celibacy without result. The priest *Lamennais* in Paris, formerly a zealous adherent of the restoration and of absolutism, became in July 1830 the enthusiastic apostle of Liberalism. A preacher of universal human rights, he would have transplanted political radicalism into the heart of Christianity, and surrounded it with the halo of Roman Ca-

tholicism. The journal l'Avenir became the organ of a school formed around him, and his Paroles d'un croyant (1834), according to the judgment of the pope a book "small in compass, but enormous in wickedness," written in the most exalted prophetic style, created a great excitement. But the unnatural union of that which was absolutely irreconcilable, could not continue. His school gradually became extinct, and Lamennais himself continually approached the principles of modern Socialism (*ob.* 1854). Likewise as a result of the revolution of July (1830) the Abbé *Chatel* of Paris established a so-called French Catholic Church, whose rationalistic poverty only survived to 1842. Nobler and more earnest, but equally without result, was the anti-hierarchical efforts of the Abbé *Helsen* in Brussels. His apostolic Catholic Church was dissolved (1837); its remnants embraced Protestantism. Of a more threatening character was the founding of a *German Catholic Church* in 1844. In August of this year Bishop *Arnoldi* of Treves exhibited the holy seamless coat of Christ preserved there (cf. *J. Gildemeister* u. *H. v. Sybel;* Der h. Rock zu Trier und die 20 audern h. ungenähten Röcke. Düsseld. 2. A. 1844) for the adoration of the faithful, and thereby attracted hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Treves. A suspended priest, *John Ronge*, at that time family tutor at Laurahütte in Silesia, published in October a letter to Arnoldi in the Saxon journals, in which, under sparkling and empty phrases, he denounced the trade in relics like a Luther of the 19th century. Earlier already, preacher *John Czerski* of Schneidemühl in Poland had renounced the Roman Catholic Church (1844), and now, still independent of the Rongean movement, he, with his congregation, published a "Christian-apostolic-Catholic" confession of faith, which agrees in its negations with the principles of the evangelical Church, without, however, acknowledging its affirmation (the doctrine of justification), but, nevertheless, for the rest, wishing to hold fast to the fundamental truths of Christianity. Meanwhile, Ronge's letter was discussed in all the journals, and since the beginning of 1845 German Catholic congregations were formed throughout Germany (except in Bavaria and Austria), which became the rendezvous of all kinds of religious Liberalism (in part also from the Protestant Church). A so-called general convocation at Leipsic in March 1845, which was to give a constitution and confession to the new church, brought to light its lamentable religious Nihilism. Czerski, who at least would not reject the divinity of Christ, repudiated the Leipsic resolutions. Ronge, however, marched in triumph through Germany, whereby his hollowness and communistic tendency was revealed more and more. The better portion of his adherents began to be ashamed of their enthusiasm for the new reformer. His congregations in great part divided among themselves, many were dissolved, many of its leaders cast off the religious mask, and endeavored to regain their lost respect amid the revolutionary disorders of 1848 as communistic and republican reformers. The restora-

tion which followed put an end to its needy remnants. (Cf. *Edwin Bauer*, Gesch. d. deutsch-kath. K. Meiss. 1845.—*W. A. Lampadius*, d. deutsch-kath. Bewegung. Lpz. 1846.)

6. *The Unions.*—The stormy years of 1848 and 1849 brought great hopes and great dangers to the Roman Catholic Church of Germany, especially the hope of entire emancipation from the State and the danger of enslavement to the despotism of a Liberalism hostile to the Church. But its representatives knew how to steer skilfully between Scylla and Charybdis. To secure the first, they negotiated with the democracy; to avoid the last, with the reaction; and they were successful in gaining advantages from both. In Nov. 1848 the *German bishops* assembled at *Wurzburg* to consult together concerning the best way to proceed in this critical period. Unchangeable faithfulness to Rome was the first point settled; voluntary co-operation with the "political regeneration" of the fatherland, the second; thankful acceptance of the promise of unconditional freedom of conscience (in the fundamental rights of the Frankfurt parliament) in order to accomplish the most complete independence of the Church and absolute control of national education from the elementary to the high-schools, the third. They recognized the restoration of diocesan synods as an important means to elevate the clergy and to restore church discipline; but the holy Father considered the means as at that time doubtful. Shortly before this, however, an institute of far-reaching significance had been founded, in which also,—and prominently,—the laity were to co-operate, viz. the *Pius-union*, a Roman Catholic counterpart of the Protestant Church Diet. Soon after the days of March, unions were formed at several places in Germany, having for their object the protection and advancement of Roman Catholic interests. At the next anniversary of the building of the Cathedral at Cologne (Aug. 1848), the members of several of these unions met together and resolved upon a general convocation in Oct. 1848 at Mayence, where the first union of this kind was formed under the name of *Pius-union*. Here all the single unions were formed into a great collective union under the name of "*Catholic Union of Germany;*" although in practice the shorter name of *Pius-union* has been preferred. To direct the business of the collective union, one of the single unions was to be chosen every time from the annual general convocation, which was called "Vorart." The object of the union was: the obtaining and maintaining of the freedom of the Church and control of the same over the schools; national culture in the Roman Catholic spirit and practice of Christian mercy; as fundamental law obedience to the pope and to the episcopate; pacific posture towards the State and towards every existing form of government, so far as the rights of the Church were not thereby prejudiced; and defensive, not aggressive posture towards the non-Catholic confessions. The mother of God was chosen to be the patroness of the union. Every member bound himself to repeat a daily Pater-

noster and Ave Maria to further the objects of the union. At the second meeting at *Breslau* a letter was received from the pope, in which he gave his approbation and blessing. The meeting at *Vienna* (1853), however, had to acknowledge, that it had not succeeded in attracting the masses, for only the same faces were present. The meeting at *Cologne* (1854) became discordant, because the Comité refused to give the Prussian government a guarantee of abstinence from political expectorations and confessional polemics. The ninth general meeting at *Salzburg* (1857) was a living testimonium paupertatis, which the Roman Catholic world exhibited to the union. Little was felt here of important men, deeds, and speeches. The cathedral capitular *Himioben* of Mayence, the "real miles gloriosus of the meeting," uttered hectoring fanfaronades about the glorious victories of Roman Catholicism in Germany, and expressed the confident hope, in regard to the 40 new Protestant churches built by the Gustave-Adolphus union, that these would shortly again be cast out into the garden of rejected stones. Harlequinades were also not wanting: Prof. *Kreuzer* of Cologne ex. gr. comforted those present, in regard to the charge of Ultramontanism, with the proverb: "There stands the ox at the mountain," from which it follows incontestably, that the *oxen* are the real Cismontanes, because they are not able to pass over the mountain; and as regards the papacy, it is evident, that Christ himself, who called upon his father on the cross, was a papist; indeed, every man is a born papist, because the child lisps "Papa" already in the cradle, and other such comical things. As a change, it was also greatly lamented, that 207 large and 1234 small journals were in the service of the Protestants of Germany, whilst, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics had only 6 large and 81 small ones. The tenth meeting (1858) was held at *Cologne*. Its deportment was in general more dignified, the contents of its speeches more important, than those of the previous year. Still the jester *Himioben* was not wanting this time also. He exhorted the women to form Parament-unions, and informed them, that the first union of this kind was formed in the year 33 after Christ, in consequence of the first secularization, when the soldiers cast lots for the garment of the Saviour, which he had worn the evening previous as a chasuble at the first celebration of the mass. Indeed, we can even go further back than this: Mary, who made diapers for the child Jesus, was the proper originator of the union. After being edified with such trifles, but also hearing many important truths, especially concerning the study of history and the musical culture of the young, the meeting was closed by consecrating the pillar of Mary, built at Cologne in honor of the immaculate conception.—The individual unions pursued various objects. The *Bonifacius-unions* ex. gr. supported needy Roman Catholic congregations in Protestant Germany (also an imitation of the Gustave-Adolphus union); the *Charles Boromeo-unions* spread good Roman Catholic writings; the *Vincentius and Elizabeth-unions*

had for its object the visiting of the sick and the care of the poor; the *Journeymen-unions* (already founded by *Kolping* of Elberfeld, 1846) the spiritual and temporal sustenance of journeymen; the *Unions of the holy childhood of Jesus* is composed chiefly of children, who contribute monthly five pennies for the salvation of exposed heathen children (especially in China), and daily pray an Ave Maria for them. The Union has also got control of the political daily press, and established (1855) a "Katholische Literaturezeitung," edited by Dr. *Brischar* of Vienna. Besides, the founding of a Roman Catholic university in Germany (at Salzburg) by art-unions, etc., is discussed.

To advance *Roman Catholic Missions* among heathens and unbelievers, there exist at Rome, in addition to the Propaganda, fourteen other educational institutions (the German-Hungarian, English, Scotch, Irish, Greek, etc. college); in Paris three; in the whole of Roman Catholic Christendom, thirty. The *Picpus-association* in Paris (so called after its central establishment in Picpus street in Paris), serving the same end, has acquired a wide reputation. The founder of this union was the deacon *Peter Coudrin*, a pupil of the priest's seminary at Poitiers. Amid the cruelties of the revolution against the church and the priests, he received in concealment, through divine inspiration, the call to found a society, having for its object "to atone for the extravagances, crimes, and desecrations of all kinds, by devoting one day and night to the adoration of the most holy sacrament of the altar," to instruct the youth in Roman Catholicism, to educate priests, and to carry the gospel to the heathen. He actually founded such a union in 1805, and Pius VII. confirmed it in 1817. The founder died in 1837, after the association had already spread over all the five parts of the globe. Its chief object now is heathen missions.—Whilst the Picpus-union, as also the other seminaries and monastic orders, furnished an inexhaustible supply of missionaries, other unions were formed to procure the necessary supplies of money and of prayer, among which the *Lyons-union for the spread of the faith* is by far the most important since 1822. The weekly pecuniary contribution of each member is one sou, the daily contribution of prayer a Paternoster, and English salutation and a "Holy Francis Xavier, pray for us." Its fanatically ultramontane "Jährbücher zur Verbreitung des Glaubens in beiden Welten" is spread yearly in almost 200,000 copies (in almost every European language) among the people. Its yearly income amounts to almost four million francs. The popes have overwhelmed the members of the union with rich indulgences. Roman Catholic missions are most active in China, Japan, North America, and the Levant. They have also acquired greater importance since 1837, through a measure of violence on the part of the French marine in the South Sea, and through French colonization in Algiers in North Africa. A bloody persecution raged against Roman Catholic Christians (1837–39) in Tonkin and Cochin China, by which many priests and Christians suffered martyrdom.

7. *Roman Catholic Theology.*—A biblically orthodox, but churchly latitudinarian school, which had its chief representative in *Jahn*, was transplanted from the former to this period. To it belongs also the excellent *Leonh. Hug* of Freiburg, *ob.* 1846, (Einl. in die Schriften d. N. T. 1808, 3. A. 1826, 2 Bde.; Gutachten ü. d. Leben Jesu v. Strauss). *Sailer's* mystico-pietistic school (§ 44, 11) gradually died out without having contributed anything of importance to theology. The Archbishop *Wessenberg*, of importance also as a Christian poet and connoisseur, represents practically and scientifically a liberal Roman Catholicism, certainly not without rationalizing elements (Die Christl. Bilder, 2 Bde. 1826; Die gr. Kirchenversamll. d. 15. 16 Jahrh. 1840, 4 Bde.) Baron *Reichlin-Meldegg*, the friend and *biographer* of Dr. Paulus of *Heidelberg* (K. G. I. 1830), taught a superficial Rationalism, and in 1832 he joined the Protestant church. The learned *Movers* of Breslau (*ob.* 1856), a Richard Simon of this age, practised a boldness of destructive criticism on the canon and history of the O. T. that amazed even the father of Protestant hyper-criticism, De Wette (De utriusque recensionis Vaticiniarum Jeremiæ indole et origine, 1837; Die Phönizier, 1841 ff. 4 Bde.) — The noble *John Bapt. von Hirscher* of Freiburg, whom the Liberals too willingly reckoned among themselves, and the ultramontane fanatics condemn as a heretic, contributed towards an irenical and genial Roman Catholicism, which was as free from ultramontane as from rationalistic tendencies, and prejudiced Roman Catholic doctrines in nothing that was essential (Christl. Moral. 5. A. 1850, 3 Bde.; Katechetik. 4. A. 1845; Die kath. Lehre vom Ablass. 5. A. 1844, etc.) *George Hermes*, Prof. at Bonn, whose youth was not uninjured by critical philosophy, permitted the Roman Catholic dogmas of the Council of Trent to pass through the fire of doubt and rational investigation, with the confidence that they would endure the trial, because only what survived this trial was scientifically right and true. He died (1831) and left behind a school named after him, which has established itself especially in Treves, Bonn (*Braun* u. *Achterfeld*) and Breslau (*Elvenich* and *Balzer*), and has created a scientific organ in the "Bonner Zeitschrift für Philosophie u. kath. Theologie, 1833." Gregory XVI. condemned his writings (1835) (Einl. in d. Christkath. Theologie, 1819, 2. A. 1831; Christkath. Dogmatik, herausg. v. Achterfeld, 1824, 3 Bde.); and the new Archbishop of Cologne, *Droste-Vischering*, prohibited the students of Bonn from attending the lectures of the Hermesians. These made every effort to obtain the recall of the papal censure. *Braun* and *Elvenich* went to Rome for this purpose; but their assertion that Hermes did not believe *that* which the pope condemned was as little regarded as it had been previously in the case of the Jansenists. A controversy now arose, which was carried on by both sides with great passion, and which received new fuel through the Prussian-Cologne church controversy (§ 58, 7). Finally, in 1844, the professors Braun and Achterfeld of

Bonn were deposed from their professorships by the Arch-episcopal coadjutor *Geissel*. The professors of the Treves seminary, as also *Balzer* of Breslau (Beitr. zur Vermittelung eines richtigen Urtheils über Katholicism, u. Protestsm. 1840) retracted. (Cf. *Elvenich*, Acta Hermesiana, Gottg. 1836, and Acta Romana, Hann, 1838. *J. Perrone* (Jesuit at Rome), Gesch. d. Hermesianismus. From the Italian, Regensb. 1839; on the other side: Perronius, theologus Romanus vapulans. Col. 1840; *Chr. Gu. Niedner*, philosophiæ Hermesii explicatio et existimatio. Lpz. 1838; *Elvenich*, der Hermensianismus u. Perrone. Berl. 1844.) — A year before Hermes' condemnation, the same pope condemned the doctrine directly contrary to the Hermesian, taught by the Abbé *Bautain* of Strasburg, that the Christian dogmas cannot be proven, but must be believed, and therefore every application of the reason in the appropriation of saving truth is entirely excluded. Bautain immediately recanted as an obedient son of the Church.

Roman Catholic theology disregarded the development of German *philosophy* for a long time. Only since Schelling, whose philosophy had more points of contact with Roman Catholic views than any previous system, was a general and active interest awakened for philosophical studies and speculative confirmation and development of Roman Catholicism. *Franz v. Baader*, Prof. of speculative dogmatics in Munich (although not a theologian by profession, but rather a physician and metallurgist, *ob.* 1841), embraced the theosophy of the shoemaker of Görlitz. The most important among his numerous writings are: Vorlesungen über die specul. Dogmatik, 1828 ff. 5 Hefte, and Fermenta Cognitionis, 1822 ff. 6 Hefte. In his last years he broke entirely with Ultramontanism ("Ueber die Thunlichkeit od. Unthunlichkeit einer Emancipation von der röm. Dictatur, 1839;"—"Der morgenländische und abendländische Katholicismus, 1841.") A collective edition of his writings (1851 ff.) was published in connection with other friends by the late *Franz Hoffmann* of Würtemburg, whose "Vorhalle zur specul. Lehre Fr. Baaber's, 1836," was declared by the latter to be the purest and clearest exhibition of his doctrines. His doctrines were accepted by the Roman Catholic theological faculty of Giessen, whose destruction was certainly thereby hastened (§ 58, 6), — especially by *Leop. Schmid* (Geist des Katholicismus od. Grundlegung der chr. Irenik. 4 Bd. 1848 ff.) and *G. A. Lutterbeck* (die neutest. Lehrbegriffe, 2 Bde. 1853 ff.) A tendency closely related to that of Baader, although more closely allied with the Kabbala, was pursued by the talented *Molitor* of Frankfurt (Philos. d. Gesch. od. ü. d. Tradition, 4 Bde. 1827 ff.) — Reconcilableness towards Protestantism characterizes all the Roman Catholic adherents of this tendency.

A speculative theology of at least equally important speculative power, and in any case of purer Christian and more decided Roman Catholic contents, was developed by the world-priest *Anton Günther* of Vienna, in connection with his friend *Henry Pabst* and the beloved

preacher *Emmanuel Peith* of Vienna. Günther, a deep, original thinker, with combative humor, sparkling wit, and withal a roughness of expression bordering on burlesque, recognized the necessity of going back again, with philosophical and theological speculation, to Cartesius, who in his cogito ergo sum yet held fast to the dualism of God and creature, absolute and finite, spirit and nature, whilst all philosophy after him has fallen into pantheistic monism. Proceeding from self-consciousness, the human spirit, it is true, recognizes itself as free, but yet *bound* substance, which must, therefore, of necessity have an *absolute* substance before and besides itself, whilst it at the same time knows itself as one with and yet different from nature. For in it the union of *nature* and *spirit* is completed; both principles are combined in it as in a Communicatio idiomatum. Accordingly man has two souls, one rational, the spirit,—and another sensuous, the psyche, which is *one* substance with the body, and has as the plastic principle of the body its own will and consciousness, but is connected with the spirit in a formal unity. From this fundamental view he endeavored to solve the two problems of Christian speculation: Creation and incarnation, and undertook a war of annihilation against all monism and semimonism, idealistic and realistic Pantheism, humpbacked and non-humpbacked Semipantheism among Protestants and Roman Catholics. His first great work was the "Vorschule zu specul. Theol." (Bd. I.: Creationslehre, 1828, Bd. II. Incarnationstheorie, 1829, 2. A. 1846). Then followed: Peregrin's Gastmahl. 1830; Süd-u. Nordlichter am Horizonte specul. Theologie, 1832; Januskopfe, 1832 (in connection with Pabst); Der letzte Symboliker, 1834 (participation in the controversy between Möhler and Baur); Thomas a Scrupulis, zur Transfiguration der Persönlichkeits-Pantheismen neuester. Zeit, 1835; Die Juste-melieu's in d. deutsch. Philos. 1838; Eurystheus und Herakles, 1842; Lydia, ein philos. Taschenbuch zeit, 1849 (in connection with Veith). Although Günther never ascended a rostrum, he nevertheless soon gathered around him a great crowd of enthusiastic disciples; *J. H. Pabst*, doctor of medicine in Vienna (*ob.* 1838), translated the master's dark, aphoristic, almost dithyrambic effusions of mind and heart into luminous and spirited philosophical prose ("Der Mensch u. s. Geschichte, 1830; Giebt es eine Philos. des positiven Christenthums? 1832; Adam u. Christus, zur Theorie der Ehe, 1835,") and *John Eman. Veith* popularized them in sermons and devotional works (Das Vaterunser, 1831; Der heil. Berge, 1833, etc., 2 Bde.) Many of the former adherents of the condemned Hermes also, among others also *Baltzer*, became his disciples. On the other hand, the "Hist. polit. Blätter" charged him with annihilating all mystery in Christianity, with contradicting traditional churchly theology, etc., and a private docent of Philosophy at Bonn, *F. J. Clemens* (Die specul. Theol. A. Günther's u. die. kath. Kirchenlehre, 1853) became the spokesman of this party. Thus a violent controversy arose, of which

notice must also be taken at Rome. The disposition here was from the beginning to doom Günther to the same fate that befell Hermes 20 years before; yet it was a matter of long deliberation, for intercession from those high in authority at Vienna was made in his behalf. Finally in 1857 the formal reprobation of Günther's philosophy was announced, and all his works were placed in the Index prohibitarum. *Günther* submitted most humbly as an obedient son of the Church; likewise *Baltzer*, who had earlier experience in such matters.

But the Roman Catholic Church of Germany also possessed speculative powers of great importance outside of these two schools, so that, when necessary, it was able boldly to measure its strength with Protestant theology. The most important of these is *Francis Anthony Staudenmeier* of Freiburg (*ob.* 1856), (Joh. Scot. Erigena u. die. Wsch. sr. Zeit, Bd. I. 1840; Encykl. d. theol. Wsch, 2. A. 1840, 2 Bde.: Der Geist d. göttl. Offenb. od. Wsch. d. Geschichts-principien d. Christth. 1837; Die Philosophie des Christth. od. Metaphysik d. h. Schr. Bd. I.; Geist d. Christth. 3. A. 1842, 2 Bde.; Krit. d. Hegel'schen Systems vom Standp. d. chr. Philos. 1844; Die chr. Dogmatik, 1844 ff. 4 Bde.; Der Protestsm. in s. Wesen u. sr. Entw. 1845 ff. 3 Bde. Bd. III.; Die Grundfragen der Gegenwart, 1850). Next to him were distinguished: *J. Kuhn* of Tübingen (Das Leben Jesu, wissensch. bearb. 1838; Ueber Glauben u. Wissen, 1839; Ueber Princip u. Methode d. specul. Theol. 1841; Kathol. Dogmatik, Bd. I. II. 1846–57), *Karl. Werner* (System d. chr. Ethik. 3 Bde. 1850; Grundlinien d. Phil. 1855; Der h. Thomas v. Aquin, 3 Bde. 1858), *Mart. Deutinger* (Princip d. Philos. u. chr. Wsch. 1857), *H. Denzinger* (4 Bb. v. d. rel. Erkenntn. 2 Bde. 1857), *J. N. Oischinger* (Philos. u. Relig. 1849; System d. chr. Glaubenslehre, Bd. I. 1858, etc.); *J. Sengler* (Ueber d. Wesen u. die Bedeutung d. specul. Philos. u. Theol. 1837; Die Idee Gottes. 1845 ff. 3 Bde.), *Seb. v. Drey* of Tübingen (Die Apologetik als Wsch. Nachweis v. d. Göttlichk. des Christth. 1838 ff. 3 Bde.), and others.—*H. Klee* of Munich (Die Beichte, 1827; Kath. Dogm. 3. A. 1839, 2 Bde.; Dogmengesch, 1837, 2 Bde.; Kath. Moral. 1843, etc.), and *Xav. Dieringer* of Bonn (Lehrb. d. kath. Dogmatik, 3. A. 1853; System d. göttl. Thaten d. Christenthums, 2. A. 1857) belong more to the Positivists of the old school.

None of all the Roman Catholic theologians of modern times has reached the importance and influence which *John Adam Mühler* attained already in the 42d year of his age. Having been brought to a high scientific culture especially by the study of Schleiermacher's writings and of other Protestants, and devoting all the rich gifts of his heart and mind to the service of his Church, he won for it as great and even greater significance, than Schleiermacher before him did for the Protestant Church. His first treatise already: "Die Einheit der Kirche od. das Princip des Katholicismus, 1825," attested and guaranteed this. It was followed by his "Athanasius d. Gr. u. die K. sr. Zeit.

1827," and this by his principal work, "Symbolik, 1832, 5. A. 1838," which combats Protestant doctrines with the weapons of Protestant science, and silently ennobles and sublimates those of the Roman Catholic Church. Did the Protestants up to this time generally despise or ignore the contributions of Roman Catholic theologians, here a scientific power of the highest significance approached them, to despise which would have been a sign of weakness. And in fact, long as was the opposition which existed between both churches, no work from the camp of the Roman Catholics produced as much agitation and excitement in the camp of the Protestants as this, at least none with more reason. Of the Protestant rejoinders, those by *Nitsch* and *Bauer* were the most important. Möhler replied to that of the latter, who labored with him at the same university, in his "Neuen Unters. d. Lehrgegensätze zw. d. Kath. u. Prot. 1834, 2. A. 1835." The lukewarmness occasioned thereby rendered his residence at Tübingen unpleasant, and led him to accept a call to Munich. But increasing illness interfered with his scientific labors, and did not permit him to execute the great scientific works which he had made the task of his life. For already in 1838, in the vigor of his manhood, he was torn by death from his church and from science generally, which was justified in expecting from him still something great. But he sent rays of his spirit deep into the hearts and minds of hundreds of his enthusiastic pupils by his writings, addresses, and by his intercourse with them; and what the Roman Catholic Church of the present possesses of living scientific impulse and feeling was implanted, or at least revived and excited by him. His posthumous smaller works were collected by Döllinger (1839 f. 2 Bde.), and *Rheitmayr* published from his papers the first volume of a Patrology in 1839. His lectures on Church History constitute the basis of *Alzog's* text-book. *Staudenmaier* and *Kuhn* are the most important of his disciples in the sphere of dogmatics,—*Ign. Döllinger* of Munich (Die Reformation, ihre Entwickl. und Wirkung im Umfange des luth. Bekenntnisses, 1846 ff. 3 Bde.; Hippolyt. u. Kallistus od. d. röm K. im 3 Jahrh. 1853; Heidenth. u. Judenth., als. Vorhalle zur Gesch. d. Christenth. 1857), *K. Jos. Hefele* of Tübingen (Einführ. d. Christth. im südwestl. Deutschl. 1837; Der Kardinal Ximenez u. d. kirchl. Zustände Spaniens, 2. A. 1851; Concilienegeschichte, Bd. I. III. 1855 ff.) in the sphere of Church History. Roman Catholic learning (so far as ultramontane hatefulness, or historical concealment and bungling did not exert a baneful influence) has contributed many important works in the sphere of Church-historical monographs. Relatively weak and unimportant, on the other hand, are its *biblico*-critical, -historical and -exegetical contributions, most of all in the sphere of the Old Testament. The contributions of *Benj. Welte* of Tübingen (Nachmosaisches im Pentat. 1841; Buch Job. 1849; Herausgabe u. Fortsetz. d. Einl. ins A. T. v. J. H. Herbst. 3 Bde. 1840 ff.); of *Pet. Schegg* (Die kl. Proph. 2 Bde. 1854; Die Evangelien,

2 Bde. 1856; Die Psalmen, 3 Bde. 1857); *Adalb. Maier* (Einl. ins N. T. 1852; Korintherbr. 1857), are relatively of the most importance. A compilatory copious author is *Lor. Reinke* (Beitr. zur Erkl. des alt. Test. 4 Bde. 1851 ff.; Malachi, 1856; Messianische Psalmen, 1857, etc.)

§ 58. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC NATIONAL CHURCHES.

The restoration of 1814 again introduced a rigid ultramontanism into most of the purely Roman Catholic States. But the overbent bow broke now here, now there. The Papacy experienced the deepest humiliations and the greatest dangers just in the original Roman Catholic States of Romanic descent: in Spain, Portugal, France, and Sardinia. In consequence of the first French revolution the imperial rights and privileges of the German clergy were annihilated, its possessions were secularized, and the prelates were salaried as servants of the State, by the *chief decree of the imperial deputation* (1803). Only the prince-primas of the Rhine league and archbishop of Mayence, Baron *von Dalberg*, retained for a time his spiritual principality, whose seat was transferred to Regensburg, and received as indemnification the temporal principality of Frankfurt, which he resigned in 1813. A large number of Roman Catholic countries came under the rule of Protestant princes through the new division of territory made by the Congress of Vienna (1814). But as, besides, most of the bishoprics became vacant during the political complications of the previous decade, the governments now were active in bringing to pass an orderly state of ecclesiastical affairs through alliance with the papal chair, whereby many mistakes were made, and many vital questions concerning the relation of Church and State yet remain unsolved.

1. In *Italy* the old state of things returned after the restoration of 1814. But Liberalism with its strivings after the freedom and unity of Italy increased mightily, and, because mental bondage and Papism were identical, it worked to effect an uncatholization which was only too frequently also an unchristianization of the land. Where Liberalism was for a time victorious, there the Jesuits were driven out, and the power of the clergy restricted; where it was defeated, there both returned in increased strength. The arms of Austria, and later also of France, suppressed the revolutionary movements everywhere. *Pius* IX., who at first was not averse to placing himself at the head of the national movement, opposed as it was to all the traditions of the papacy, was compelled bitterly to atone for this connection with Liberalism

(§ 57, 1). Sardinia, Modena, and Parma, drew the bow of restoration most tightly, whilst Parma and Tuscany were distinguished for a relative kind of liberality. But when in 1848 Lombardy, in consequence of the French revolution of February, rose against Austrian dominion, King *Charles Albert* of Sardinia placed himself as the sword of Italy at the head of the liberal national movement. He, however, was defeated, and was compelled to abdicate (1849). *Victor Emmanuel* has permitted the liberal constitution of his father to exist, and even first gave it its full validity. The minister of justice, *Siccardi*, proposed a new act of legislation, according to which all spiritual jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, as well as the privilege of asylum and of tithes (the latter with partial indemnification), was to be abolished. The parliament approved, and the king signed it (1850). But the clergy, with the Archbishop *Fransoni* of Turin at their head, protested most vehemently against this sacrilegious attack on the rights of the church. Fransoni was compelled to atone therefor by one month's imprisonment, and, because he refused the last sacrament to a dying minister, he was condemned by a regular sentence to deposition and exile. The pope, Pius IX., declined every overture for a new concordat. The government, nevertheless, went forward only the more regardlessly. As Fransoni kept up a continual agitation from his exile in France, all the possessions of the archepiscopal foundation were sequestered in 1854, and a number of monasteries were confiscated. Soon thereupon all penalties in the statute-books concerning the spread of anti-Catholic doctrines were erased, and the non-Catholic military were exempted from compulsory presence at the mass on Sundays and holydays. The heaviest blow followed, March 2, 1855, in the form of the *monastery-law*, according to which all the orders and monasteries not devoted to preaching, to instruction, and to the care of the sick, were abolished (of 605 monasteries, 331 fell under this law). As this act of the chamber of deputies was in danger of failing in the Senate, the people rose in its favor in several cities. The pope did not omit to condemn all these sacrilegious measures, and, as his threats were disregarded, he pronounced in July, 1855, the great bann upon all originators, favorers, and executors of the same. This, it is true, caused some agitation among the common people, which, however, exploded nowhere. The government has been victorious up to this time, and goes boldly forward in carrying out its measures.

2. Into *Spain* also the restoration of 1814 again introduced Ultramontanism, but the triumph of the Liberals overthrew the hierarchical clergy after the death of Ferdinand VII. (1833). The revolution established its inquisition against monks and priests, and also celebrated its auto-da-fé's. All monastic orders were abolished, all monasteries were confiscated, the possessions of the Church were declared (1835–37) to be national property, and the papal nuncio was led across the borders. Since the accession to the throne of the present Queen Isabella

(1844) a beginning has been made in re-establishing a Roman Catholic Church in Spain. After many negotiations and fluctuations, amidst constant change of ministers, a *Concordat* was finally agreed upon (1851), according to which the church and monastery property not yet sold was restored, an indemnification given for that already sold, the number of former bishoprics reduced about six, instruction and censorship of books committed to the supervision of the bishops, and the Roman Catholic religion declared to be the only one to be tolerated. These terms were enlarged in the year following by an anti-Protestant alien-law. But although in March 23, 1854, the holy Virgin was chosen to be the generalissimo of the valiant army, and her image at Atocha decorated by the queen with a band of golden fleece, nevertheless, a revolution broke out soon after from the ranks of the army, which threatened to destroy ultramontane Roman Catholicism. Meanwhile, the republican party was not entirely successful. The motion in favor of the unconditional freedom of all religions failed by a small minority, and the new constitution of March 1, 1855, obligates the Spanish nation to preserve and to protect the Roman Catholic religion, to which the Spaniards belong; nevertheless, no Spaniard was to be persecuted on account of his faith, so long as he abstained from acts contrary to religion. A new law of May 3, 1855, ordained the sale of all church and monastery property, and compensation for the same by yearly rents according to the measure of the existing concordat. Several bishops were banished for obstinate opposition; the pope protested, and recalled his legates. Meanwhile, the clerical party soon regained influence with the queen. The sale of church and monastery property was arrested,—that already sold was compensated for by the restoration of former possessions. The matter has not yet been brought to a definite conclusion, on account of the frequent change of ministers. The sale of church property already commenced was suspended, until the Cortes had determined upon a proper indemnification.

In *Portugal* the experience of the Roman Catholic Church was not better. After the overthrow of the Cathedral of *Miguel* by the liberal Cortes, all the monastic orders were abolished, the property of the monasteries was appropriated by the State, and the spiritual rights of patronage were assumed by the civil government. However, since 1841 a union with Rome has again been brought about under Donna Maria. The government negotiated with regard to a concordat, but it has not up to this time been obtained. All papal decrees need royal confirmation. But the Codigo penal of 1852 also menaced every subject, who went over to one of the non-Catholic confessions, with the loss of civil rights.

The liberal movements extended also to *South* and *Central America*, and also called forth there similar revolutionary attempts in the sphere of the church, but the popular faith was more closely attached to the chair of Peter here than even in the mother-countries.

3. The charte of restoration in *France* (1814) secured for *Roman Catholicism* the character of the established religion, for the other confessions only tolerance and protection. But Ultramontanism in its worst form soon prevailed among the clergy to such a degree, that every mention of Gallican church-freedom was regarded as heresy. The support of this tendency by the State led to its overthrow in the second French revolution of 1830. The Roman Catholic Church thereby again lost the privileges of an established or State religion, and the Protestants, who had been persecuted and oppressed up to this time, obtained equal rights with the Roman Catholics. But Ultramontanism again became ascendant even under the new constitutional government, and France assumed the protectorate of Roman Catholicism throughout the world. In the revolution of February the Roman Catholic clergy willingly permitted themselves to be absolved from obedience to the citizen-King Louis Philippe, and they did not hesitate, because the Roman Catholic Church is compatible with every form of civil government which only allows freedom of the Church, to bless the trees of liberty, together with the sovereign people on the barricades. *Napoleon* III. seemed at first disposed to regard the concordat of 1801 as existing by law, and jealously to guard the liberties of the Gallican Church. And although his bayonets made it possible for the pope to return to Rome and still uphold his temporal authority there, the latter has not yet fulfilled the chief desire of his heart, by placing the imperial crown upon his head. Still the Ultramontanes have grown in favor with him, at least in appearance. On a journey through Roman Catholic Bretagne (1858) he most emphatically declared the necessity of a strong, monarchical, and Roman Catholic government. And *Veuillot*, the editor of the Univers, had an audience, at which he laid before the emperor a memorial concerning strict measures that ought to be adopted against books hostile to religion, among which the minister, General *Espinasse*, reckoned in the sense of the Univers, especially Protestant bibles (§ 55, 10). But notwithstanding all the manifestations of favor, which the leaders of the Ultramontane party receive at the present time, it is evident that the advancement of their interest is not an object, but only a means, which can be cast aside and supplied by its opposite at any moment, when it becomes useless or hindering. — The attempt (1858) to sequester the property of the hospitals and benevolent institutions, and to compensate for it by government rents, called forth so great an opposition through the whole country, that the plan had to be abandoned.—For the rest, there is no country in the whole Roman Catholic world that is at the present day so highly favored with visions and miracles, as Roman Catholic France. — In *Belgium*, Ultramontanism connected itself with political Liberalism against the Protestant government, but after the separation from Holland became a fait accompli (1830), the two parties separated and opposed each other, and are represented especially in

the Liberal university at Brussels, and the Ultramontane one at Louvain. The latter, for the prize of the complete and unconditional independence of the Church of the State, submitted to the election of another Protestant king.—In *Holland*, the organic law of 1848 guaranteed complete freedom of religion. Taking advantage of this, the pope, in 1853, organized a Roman Catholic hierarchy in the country, with four bishops and an archbishop, at Utrecht. The Protestant population was greatly agitated by this action. The liberal ministry was compelled to resign, but the chambers nevertheless finally permitted the papal arrangement to continue, securing the Protestant established Church only against abuses and encroachments from it. The Holland *Jansenists* (§ 44, 6) have been again excommunicated by the pope on account of their protestation against the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the virgin Mary.

4. The Roman Catholic population of *Ireland*, under Protestant land-proprietors, and with the obligation to pay tithes to the Protestant clergy, is still destitute of civil rights. Since 1809, *O'Connell*, an agitator of captivating eloquence, placed himself at the head of the oppressed people, in order to obtain for them religious and political equality in a legal way. Finally, in 1829, the *Emancipation-bill*, which granted to Roman Catholics admission to parliament and to all civil offices, was passed, being supported by Peel and Wellington. But the odious tithes remained, and were collected wherever resisted by military power. After many contests in both houses of parliament, the *tithe-bill*, which laid the tithes as ground-rent of the tenant on the land-proprietor, was passed (1838), whereby the question was only postponed. O'Connell so regarded it. He declared that justice and deliverance for Ireland was only to be obtained by abolishing the legislative union with Great Britain, which existed since 1800, and by re-establishing an independent parliament; and he organized the *Repeal Association* to this end. Since 1840 another not less powerful popular agitator, the Irish capuchin *Matthew*, the apostle of temperance, labored with unparalleled success, leading many thousands of drunkards to sign the pledge of total abstinence from all spirituous liquors (tee-totallers). He abstained from all political agitation, but the fruits of his labors nevertheless contributed towards it. *O'Connell* began his monster-meetings in 1843, to which hundreds of thousands crowded. The government impeached him, the jury pronounced him guilty, but the court of peers declared the proceedings null and void, and released him from prison (1844). Peel's ministry, to conciliate, carried the *legacy-bill*, which permitted the Roman Catholic Church to receive property in its own name, and the *Maynooth-bill*, by which the theological seminary at Mainooth was richly endowed by the State (1845). Long-continued famine, and, as a consequence, the emigration of many hundred thousands to America and Australia, almost depopulated Ireland within the last few years, whilst Protestant mis-

sions have labored successfully at the evangelization of the remainder through Bibles, tracts, and schools. On the other hand, on the 5th Nov. 1855, on the anniversary of the Gunpowder plot, the Redemptionists of Kingston near Dublin collected a large number of Bibles and burned them on the public street, and the archbishop-primas of Ireland referred, in a pastoral letter on the occasion, to the example of believers at Ephesus (Acts 19 : 19). Meetings for the founding of a Roman Catholic university in Ireland, independent of the State, are still held.—Encouraged to entertain the strongest hopes by the numerous transitions of Puseyites in *England* (§ 55, 8), the pope issued in September, 1850, a bull, by which the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England was re-established in twelve suffragan bishoprics under an archbishop of Westminster (Cardinal *Wiseman*). The bull created the greatest excitement among the Protestant population (anti-papal aggression), and the *ecclesiastical title-bill* forbade the use of ecclesiastical titles, not conferred by the laws of the land. But these measures by no means cut off the roots of the Romish aggression; conversions especially from the higher classes are still reported. The Roman Catholic prelates soon again used their repudiated titles without suffering punishment. Within six years not less than 54 splendid Roman Catholic churches in Gothic style have been erected. In *North America* the Roman Catholic Church has increased with like rapidity, although less by conversions than by the emigration of Irish and German Roman Catholics. Their number here is reckoned at present as being two millions souls. So much the greater is the violent excitement of the Natives, and especially of the Know-nothings (§ 55, 12). In any case, however, both in North America and in England, the accounts of the progress of the Roman Catholic Church are greatly exaggerated by both parties.

5. The Emperor of *Austria* retained from the Roman empire only the name of an advowee of the papal chair and of the Roman Catholic Church. The remnants of the church-constitution of Josephine have been since then gradually destroyed, and Roman Catholicism has been retained as the established religion, although the government preserves its independence over against all hierarchical claims. The government, since the restoration from the revolutionary disorders of 1848, has been much more compliant to the demands of the hierarchy. Already in April, 1850, an imperial patent exempted the papal and episcopal decrees from the necessity of imperial approbation, and on Aug. 18th, 1855, a concordat with the pope was signed, by which the hierarchy in Austria obtained unprecedented power and independence. The first article guarantees to the Roman Catholic religion in the whole empire all the rights and privileges to which it had claim according to divine institution and canon law. In the other articles, the intercourse of the bishops with Rome is granted unconditionally; no papal decree required in future the placet of the emperor; the prelates are unre-

stricted in the exercise of their hierarchical duties; the religious instruction of all the schools is placed under their supervision; no one is permitted to teach religion or theology without their approbation; only Roman Catholic teachers dare be in Roman Catholic schools; they have the right to prohibit all books that might be injurious to the faithful; all ecclesiastical cases at law belong to their forum, although the apostolic chair gives its consent that the purely temporal legal affairs of the clergy be decided before the civil courts; the right of nomination to vacant episcopal chairs is granted to the emperor, etc. The lower orders of the clergy, which are without any rights over against the prelates according to the concordat, have shown themselves to be not especially pleased with it, and the joy over it has also not been very great among the Roman Catholic laity. Even the government seems to entertain well-grounded apprehensions concerning its unlimited operation.—*Bavaria* was the first German State which, after the Congress of Vienna, concluded (1817) a concordat with Rome, by which all the prerogatives demanded by canonical law were guaranteed to the Roman Catholic Church; besides, two archbishoprics with six bishoprics were organized, the re-establishment of several monasteries permitted, the right of prohibiting books granted to the bishops, the annates restored, the election of bishops transferred to the king, their confirmation to the pope, etc. The excitement of the Protestant population concerning this concordat was allayed by a new organic law (1818), by which perfect freedom of conscience to all subjects, and equal civil rights to the three Christian confessions, was most solemnly guaranteed. The inconsistency of this law with the concordat was apparent, but the government permitted the former to prevail over the latter, even under the Ultramontane rule of King *Louis* (§ 55, 7). In 1850, it is true, the assembled bishops at Freising demanded the final and full realization of the existing concordat, but they obtained only small concessions through a rescript of 1852, which were somewhat enlarged on renewed complaints in 1854. The Ultramontane party took special offence at the circumstance that King *Maximilian* called so many distinguished learned Protestants to Munich. *Dr. Ringseis* gave public expression to this indignation in a university address, which represents Protestant science as a confused chaos (1855).—*Hanover* concluded a concordat with the papal chair in 1824, by which the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Osnabrück were re-established.

6. The Protestant governments of the South German States having Roman Catholic subjects assembled at Frankfurt in 1818, to form in common a concordat with Rome. But on account of the great contrariety of claims, nothing other was attained than a new circumscription of the bishoprics in the so-called *Upper Rhine Church province* (1821) (the archbishopric of *Freiburg* for Baden and the two Hohenzollern principalities, the bishopric of *Mayence* for Hesse-Darmstadt, of *Fulda* for Hesse-Cassel, of *Rottenberg* for Würtemberg, of *Limburg* for Nassau

and Frankfurt); and this also was only realized in 1827 after many mistakes, with the understanding that the election of bishops was to proceed from the chapters, but that the sovereign could strike off the obnoxious names from the list of candidates which was to be submitted to him before the election. What the pope would not admit into the concordat was proclaimed in 1830 by the princes, in behalf of the real equalization of Protestants and Roman Catholics, to be the law of the land; papal and episcopal decrees require approbation before their publication; taxes dare not be levied by any ecclesiastical court; appeal from the abuse of spiritual power to the civil courts; the future priests to receive their scientific education at universities; their practical training at the theological seminaries, etc. The pope issued a breve, in which he designates these arrangements as a scandal of innovations, and reminds the bishops of what is said (Acts 5 : 29.) But only the Bishop of *Fulda* heeded this admonition, and succeeded in abolishing the Roman Catholic theological faculty at *Marburg* after a brief existence, and in committing the education of priests alone to the seminary at Fulda. *Hesse-Darmstadt* founded a theological faculty at Giessen (1830); *Baden* had a Roman Catholic university already at Freiburg; and Würtemburg had also already in 1817 connected the faculty at Ellwangen with the university of *Tübingen*, and richly endowed it with a refectory. There reigned in all these faculties, in addition to a scientific spirit, a noble liberality without perversion of the Roman Catholic basis of faith. Some priests, who refused in Würtemberg to perform mixed marriages, were punished by the State; and when the aged Bishop *Keller* of Rottenburg, hitherto peaceable and submissive to the government, complained before the chambers about the violations of the rights of the Roman Catholic Church, and demanded the release of the same from the guardianship of the State, his motion failed in both chambers (1841). The revolutionary year of 1848 first gave the bishops prospect of the success of a contest for the unconditional freedom of the church. When in 1849 the bishopric of Mayence became vacant, Rome rejected Prof. *Leopold Schmid* of Giessen (§ 57, 7), who had been desired by *Darmstadt* and regularly elected by the chapter. The government permitted itself to be satisfied with the induction of the Ultramontane Baron *von Ketteler*, who did not rest until he had entirely desolated the Roman Catholic faculty of Giessen, and until the last student had removed from here to the newly established seminary at Mayence (1851). At the same time the five bishops (Feb. 1851) published a joint *memorial*, in which they demanded free intercourse with Rome, abolition of the sovereign placet, independent administration of church-property, abrogation of the examination of young priests by the State, unhindered exercise of episcopal power of punishment, abrogation of appeal to the State, change of academical studies, establishment of episcopal seminaries, supervision of schools, investiture of all spiritual offices alone by the bishops,

etc. As the government delayed its answer, they declared, in 1852, that they would from this time forward proceed as if everything had been conceded to them; and when the answer finally came, refusing what they demanded in most things, that, obeying God rather than man, they would proceed quite according to canonical law (1853). *Baden*, where the revolution shook the foundations of the State most of all, and where besides a young regent just at this time took hold of the reins of government, seemed best adapted to a dictatorial attempt. The eighty years old Archbishop of Freiburg, *Hermann von Vicari*, began it by prohibiting the mourning for the deceased (heretical) grand-duke, which had been appointed by the Roman Catholic high-consistory of Karlsruhe according to an old custom, and by condemning more than a hundred priests, who nevertheless observed it, to penances (1852). In the following year he publicly declared that he would for the future proceed according to the demands of the episcopal memorial, and he did it at once by appointing priests on his own authority, and by delaying the examination of seminaries without consulting the commissioner of the government. As a warning was disregarded, the government issued an order that all episcopal decrees until further notice must be subscribed by a grand-ducal special commissioner thereto appointed before their publication. The archbishop at once pronounced the bann upon him, as well as upon the entire high-consistory, published a fulminating pastoral letter, which was to be read with excommunication in all the churches, and commanded that the priests should preach for four weeks to instruct the people concerning this matter. He at the same time solemnly protested against all rights of sovereignty on the part of the State. The government banished the Jesuits, prohibited the reading of the pastoral letter, and punished the disobedient clergy with fines and imprisonment. Enthusiastic letters from foreign bishops and large collections of money were received; on the other hand, in 1854, both chambers gave the government a vote of confidence in regard to this matter. The archbishop, meanwhile, proceeded still more boldly and regardless of consequences. In May, 1854, the government began a criminal prosecution against him, during which he was guarded in his own house as a prisoner. The efforts of his party to excite the Roman Catholic population by demonstrations, were fruitless. After the close of the investigation, the archbishop was released from durance, and he proceeded again in his former way. But the government was also firm, and proceeded against all refractoriness with punishment and reprisals. In June, 1855, finally, a provisional agreement was arrived at in Rome. It consists in this, that all prosecutions be abandoned, and the archbishop fill all vacant benefices provisionally with vicars, until a concordat is obtained,—which has not yet happened.—On the other hand, *Würtemberg* concluded a concordat with the pope in 1857, by which the Roman Catholic Church has also become the established church of this country.

The bishop alone disposes of all vacant benefices; he has further the right to introduce religious orders and congregations without interference. The government renounced the right of having a commissioner at the examination of seminaries, and the bishop can establish seminaries where he pleases, and as many as he pleases. The sovereign placet is entirely given up. On the contrary, the pope permits, for a time, that the purely temporal legal matters of the clergy be transacted before the civil courts.

7. *Prussia* concluded a concordat with Rome already in 1821, according to which six bishoprics and two archbishoprics were established in the land. The free election of bishop was granted to the chapters, but in a secret appendix-article Rome promised, instructing the chapters, that only gratæ personæ were to be chosen. A rupture took place in spite of all the connivance of the government concerning the contradiction between canonical and civil law in regard to the mixed marriages existing between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The Council of Trent absolutely forbade such marriages. A subsequent papal bull of 1741, however, permitted them under the condition of a merely passive assistance of the Roman Catholic clergy at the marriage, and of an obligation on the part of those thus marrying to educate their children in a Roman Catholic way. The Prussian law of 1803 enacted, on the contrary, that in doubtful cases all the children should adopt the religion of the father. But as this law also became valid since 1825 for the Rhine provinces, and the bishops here on this account made inquiry of the pope, *Pius* VIII. issued a breve (1830), which allowed the priest to solemnize marriages only in those cases where the instruction of the children in Roman Catholicism was guaranteed; in all other cases only a passive assistance was declared permissible. The government, however, received from the priests concerned, at a secret private convention (1834), the promise that they would not refuse to officiate in other cases; and the Archbishop of Cologne, Count *Spiegel*, who was both a friend and patron of Hermesian theology, gave ecclesiastical legislative authority to this convention. Spiegel's successor was *Clemens Droste of Vischering* (1836), after that he had given his adhesion formally to the convention, because he, as he later excused himself, had not called into question the agreement affirmed by the government with the breve. So soon, however, as he obtained a clearer insight into their contradictory character, he strictly forbade his clergy to solemnize any marriage without the guarantee required by the breve. At the same time he endeavored to give force to the papal condemnation of Hermesian theology by forbidding the students of Bonn in the confessional from attending the lectures of the Hermesians. As the archbishop could not be influenced to yield his position, he was arrested in 1837 as faithless to his word and exciting rebellion, and was taken to the castle of Minden. Both of the powers interested justified their conduct in public memorials,

with which was connected an immense number of controversial treatises from both parties. Görres called the archbishop the "Athanasius" of the 19th century. The example of the Archbishop of Cologne also emboldened the Archbishop *Dunin* of Gnesen and Posen to issue a secret pastoral letter, in which every priest of his diocese was threatened with suspension who did not unconditionally obey the papal breve (1838). He was legally deposed therefor, and condemned to a half year's imprisonment, but the king prevented the execution of the penalty. Dunin, however, fled from Berlin to Posen, and was now taken to the castle of Colberg (1839). Amid such complications *Frederick William* IV. ascended the throne (1840). Dunin was restored to his office in magnanimous confidence. Droste also was released from his imprisonment with public apology, and received, with his approbation and that of the pope, a coadjutor in the hitherto Bishop of Spire, *Geissel*, who administered the archbishopric in his name and with the right of succession (1842). The government let the Hermesians fall; the law in regard to mixed marriages remained in force, although so that the conscience of the Roman Catholic clergy was to be spared under all circumstances (cf. *K. Hase*, die beiden Erzsbischöfe. Lpz. 1839). After the year of revolution the Prussian bishops also presented a memorial containing the well-known Ultramontane demands. The organic law of Jan. 31, 1850, guaranteed free intercourse with Rome, and a Roman Catholic faction was formed in the chambers which voted at one time with the right wing, then with the left, as Ultramontane interests demanded. The government granted many things, although it in a measure forbade the studying in foreign Jesuit institutions and limited Jesuit missions (1852). When in March, 1853, the Bishop *Arnoldi* of Treves commanded his clergy only then to allow mixed marriages, when by an oath the education of the children in the Roman Catholic faith was granted by both parties, and even then also to refuse them ecclesiastical solemnization, the king declared that he would immediately dismiss any officer from his army who would submit to so shameful a condition. The prince-regent, at his accession to the throne (1858) declared, that the utmost parity must exist between both confessions. For the rest, how just the complaints of the Ultramontanes concerning slights are, appears from the fact that the State has only appropriated $400,000 annually to the ecclesiastical affairs of its ten millions of Protestants, whilst it permits the worship of six millions of Roman Catholics to cost it *three times* as much. To this must be added yet for extraordinary objects $10,000 for the former, but $50,000 for the latter. — In *Mecklenburg-Schwerin* the Chamberlain *von Kettenburg* went over to the Roman Catholic Church, and appointed a Roman Catholic priest on his estate. The government, however, banished this priest, because the laws of the country did not permit any Roman Catholic worship which went beyond simple family worship. A compliant on this account brought before the federal diet, then before the German diet, was disregarded by both.

8. The ecclesiastical chief administration of *Roman Catholic Switzerland* belonged formerly to the bishoprics of Constance, of Milan, and of Besançon. But soon after the Reformation already the Roman court established a nunciature (at Lucerne) for the direct maintenance of the papal interests in Switzerland. When now in 1814 the liberal *Wessenberg*, for a long time already suspected of heresy (§ 57, 4), was called as coadjutor to Constance (without papal confirmation), the nuncio of Lucerne intrigued among the confederates until these petitioned the pope for the establishment of an independent and national bishopric. Pius VII. hastily tore the bond hitherto existing. But as every canton laid claim to the episcopal seat, a papal grand-vicar was appointed at Lucerne instead of a national bishopric. At the same time the Jesuits made their appearance. Thereby Roman Catholic Switzerland, and Lucerne at the head, became a chief home of Ultramontanism. The Jesuistic party, however, was also opposed by a radical liberal one, which attempted to overthrow the Ultramontane government in 1845, but was suppressed. As, meanwhile, the diet meddled in these internal affairs of the Roman Catholic cantons, the latter formed a separate league to maintain and protect their faith and their rights of sovereignty. This led to the civil war. The special league was defeated; the Jesuits and the Ultramontane government must disappear (1847). In the new federal constitution, which Switzerland made in 1848, the unconditional freedom of conscience and the civil equality of all Christian confessions is guaranteed, and the banishment of the Jesuits is renewed. A law of 1850 places the religious education of children of mixed marriages absolutely under the will of the father. Since this time, however, both Ultramontanism and Jesuitism have again celebrated great triumphs in the Roman Catholic cantons.

§ 59. THE ORTHODOX GREEK CHURCH.

The *orthodox* Church of *Russia* has elevated itself more and more, especially since *Alexander* I. Theological learning was not rare among the higher clergy, and the government also provided for the better intellectual culture of the lower clergy. The *Greeks* in the West Russian provinces, who have been united with Rome since 1594, expressed the wish at the *Synod of Polozk* to return to the bosom of the orthodox church, and they were accordingly again received at the command of the Emperor.— The *orthodox* church in the *Turkish* provinces stood under the patriarch of Constantinople and its holy synod. Disappointed in their expectations from the Congress of Vienna, the Greeks arose in their own strength against Turkish tyranny. In 1814 a new *Hetairia* was formed, which soon spread over the whole

country, and nurtured thoughts of freedom among the people. The war of freedom broke out in 1821. The first consequence of it was a fearful massacre, especially in Constantinople. The patriarch *Gregorius*, together with his entire synod and about 30,000 Christians, were murdered within three months with terrible cruelty by the Turks. Finally, in 1830, the *London Conference* declared Greece to be an independent State, and a meeting of bishops at Nauplia in 1833 emancipated the Greek Church from the patriarch, who stood under Turkish arbitrariness. The chief supervision of the church was committed to a permanent *holy synod* at Athens, which was established by the king, but was entirely independent in all internal affairs. — But in 1840, Christian princes of all confessions reconquered the holy land for the Turks from the hands of a rebellious vassal, and the political interests of the Christian States of Europe are so complicated in regard to the Orient, that in 1854 it could be affirmed in the English parliament, that the existence of Turkey, even with its putrefaction and weakness, was necessary in the degree, that it must be reconstructed. The Turco-Russian war, which was closed at the beginning of 1856, therefore, made no material change in the condition of the Christians. For even though the *Hatti Humayun* of Feb. 18, 1856, granted them equal civil rights with the Moslems, especially also ability to bear arms and equality before the courts, still, well-meant as it may be by the Sultan, it is scarcely any longer regarded in practice, as formerly the also well-meant Hatti-scheriff of Gülhane (1839).

1. Whilst Protestant (especially North American) missionaries are unweariedy active in evangelizing the schismatic churches of the Orient (Nestorians, Armenians, Maronites) through distribution of Bibles and school-instruction, Rome also does not spare any labor in endeavoring to bring back these as well as the orthodox church itself into the bosom of the only saving church, but certainly without any apparent success. Only a short time ago (1855) the converted Greek *Pitzipios* of Scio founded an oriental Christian society at Rome, which has this object alone in view. Its leading thought, which Pitzipios has developed in a special treatise (L'église orientale, Rome, 1855, in German, by *H. Shiel*, Vienna, 1857), is this, that the oriental church is Roman Catholic of right and of God since the council of Florence, and it is only the lust of power and selfishness of the clergy which will not permit the historically grounded and lawfully existing unity to come to a manifestation.

IV. ANTI-CHRISTIANITY.

§ 60. SECTS AND FANATICS.

THE proper home for the formation and gathering of sects in this period is North America. Here *Unitarianism* from England found entrance, whilst the *Methodists* and *Baptists* from America and England began to missionate on the continent of Europe. But in Europe also fanatical phenomena made their appearance here and there, which were in part guilty of *frantic* outrages. Even *Gnosticism*, with intellectual and moral errors, showed itself again in several societies. The *Harmonites* in North America represented a combination of communism with religious fanaticism. The *Darbyites* constituted the saints of modern times upon independentistic foundation, whilst on the other hand, the *Irvingites* and their caricature, the *Mormons*, represented the revival of the apostolic offices and charisma, — the latter with the addition of socialistic and gnostic tendencies.

1. *The Propagation of the Older Sects.* — *Baptistic* doctrines and practice proceeded often also in Germany from unchurchly Pietism and Mysticism in an independent way. Besides, the English missionary *Oncken* of Hamburg worked towards the same end since 1834. Thus gradually from 30 to 40 small baptistic congregations arose, especially in East Prussia (where Memel is their chief seat), in Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, in Würtemberg and Hessia, etc. Prussia granted them limited tolerance in 1843; also Würtemberg and Hessia. Mecklenburg warded them off by fines and imprisonments. But Denmark, which proceeded against them even more sharply, was finally compelled to permit the organization of a congregation at Fredericia (1842). Since then the number of their adherents has increased on the continent from year to year. Hamburg granted them full recognition in 1858, with the prohibition, however, not to baptize in public.— The North American missionary *Jakoby* proselyted for *Methodism* from Bremen.—The *Unitarians* possess yet in Siebenbürgen of old a privileged and organized church establishment. In England the law still threatens them with the death-penalty, which, however, has not been inflicted for a long time. But they were not the less an object of insult and indignation to the people. A popular storm broke loose in 1791, upon *Jos. Priestley*, the celebrated chemist and natural philoso-

pher, who presided over a Unitarian congregation at Birmingham. His house, together with his scientific collection and apparatus, was burned; he only saved his own life with difficulty, and soon after emigrated to North America. But it was only after his death (1804) that the tendency represented by him met with favor there, and now hundreds of Unitarian congregations were formed in a short time. Its most celebrated apostle was *Ellery Channing* of Boston (*ob.* 1842). The blooming period of American Socinianism, however, has passed away already. Its latest most important representative was *Theodore Parker* of Boston (*ob.* 1860), who, advancing to the most notorious Rationalism, also emancipated himself entirely from the authority of the Bible. — Unitarian congregations have also greatly increased in England since they obtained formal tolerance in 1813.

2. *Fanatical Phenomena.* — *Johanna Southcote* of England imagined that she was the woman clothed with the sun spoken of in Rev. 12, or the bride of the Lamb. She appeared in 1801 with her prophecies. Her adherents, the *New Israelites*, built a chapel in London for their worship. A splendid cradle was prepared to receive the long promised Messiah, but Johanna died in 1814, without giving birth to him.— *Thomas Pöschl*, Roman Catholic priest at Ampfelwang near Linz, excited by Sailer's mysticism, labored to awaken and nourish a more living Christianity, which certainly was not altogether free from fanatical excitement (expectation of the approaching end of the world) in his congregation by devotional meetings and distribution of pietistic tracts. When this district was again joined to Austria in 1814, he was imprisoned, and his adherents connected themselves with a farmer named *Jos. Haas*, who led them only deeper into fanaticism. Indeed, their fanaticism went finally so far, that on Good Friday 1817 they permitted a young maiden from their midst to die a sacrificial death for her brothers and sisters after the example of Christ. *Pöschl* was filled with horror at this awful deed, which was charged upon *him*. He died (1837) in prison. — A very similar deed of horror was perpetrated a few years later in the village of *Wildenspuch*, in the canton of Zurich. *Margaret Peter*, the daughter of a peasant, gathered around herself a little crowd of adherents, who revered her as a saint. In her fanaticism she had her younger sister killed and herself nailed to the cross with incredible courage "for the salvation of many thousand souls" (1823).—The *Jumping sect* in Ingermannland (concerning which *C. Ullmann* has given information in the "Mittheilungen u. Nachnichten für die evang. Geistlichk. Russl. 1857. III.") traces its origin to 1813. Proceeding from a religious excitement independent of the church, they came to the conviction that every individual required the direct illumination of the Holy Spirit in order to his salvation; they also soon believed that they enjoyed this illumination, and ecstatic praying, singing, and crying, connected with clapping of hands and *jumping* at their meetings, gave evidence of being possessed by the

Holy Spirit. The special illumination required as correlative also a special holiness, and this was sought not only in despising marriage, but also in abstaining from meat, beer, brandy, and tobacco. He who applied for admission into the sect was required to prove nudus super nuda before the eyes of the meeting, that the old Adam with his sexual susceptibility was dead in him. The "holy love," which they placed in the stead of marriage, also led here, as ever, to fleshly errors, and this was the reason why many of them, after the example of *Skopzi* (§ 42, 5), with whom they probably were connected, choose the much more certain means of castration. Authors and chiefs of the sect were named, and were said to have been present here and there at the meetings, but the civil authorities were not able to get hold of them. At all events, the sect is now near its end. — A peculiar phenomenon appeared among the Swedish peasants since 1842 in the so-called *calling voices*. Uneducated laymen, especially women and even children, broke out, after preceding convulsions, into deeply moving sermons of repentance and prophecies concerning the approaching judgment of God. The contents of their sermons did not conflict with the doctrines of the church.

3. *The Harmonites.* (Cf. *J. Wagner*, Gesch. d. Harmoniegesellsch. Vaihingen, 1833.) — The dissatisfaction of the Würtemberg Pietists, which was increased by liturgical innovations, caused many emigrations at the beginning of this century. The farmer *George Rapp*, who believed himself to be favored with divine inspiration, emigrated to America with his adherents in 1803, and founded near Pittsburg the colony of *Harmony* with communistic basis, which he ruled autocratically as patriarch, high-priest, and judge. He sold the establishment in 1823 to the Scotchman *Robert Owen*, on account of its unhealthy location, and went with 700 Harmonites to Indiana, where he founded the new colony of *Economy*. Prosperity and peace reigned in the society until in 1821, when an adventurer named *Bernhard Müller* entered it as a troubler. He had before this played a brilliant part at Offenbach under the name of *Proli* as a prophet called to found a spiritual world-monarchy, but only escaped legal prosecution by flight. He appeared in the same character at Economy, claiming to be of princely descent, and calling himself Count *Maxim. v. Leon.* Rapp recognized him as a prophet. Proli caused a great part of Rapp's adherents to apostatize. Rapp had to pay them a large sum out of the common treasury, and Proli founded with them the *Society of New Jerusalem* at Philippsburg. When he had squandered the property of his adherents he abandoned them (1833), leaving them behind in great misery, and soon thereafter he was drowned in the Missouri river. Rapp's society maintained itself until his death in 1847.

4. *The New Templars.* (Cf. *Carové*, der Messianismus d. neuen Templar. Lpz. 1834.—*W. F. Wilcke*, die Tempelerei. Lpz. 1835.)— After the revolution of July there appeared publicly in Paris (1831) a

secret order, professing to have an unbroken series of grand-masters from the Old Templars, of whose existence mention is already made in the middle of the previous century. The religion of these *New Templars*, which has propagated itself as the primitive revelation through the Greek and Egyptian mysteries, and from which Moses also drew materials, then was further advanced by Christ and given to the grand-masters of the Templars by John and his successor in esoteric tradition, teaches a divine trinity of being, deed, and consciousness, an eternity of the world apart from God, and an indwelling of God in man. As the only true Christianity (église chrétienne primitive) it seeks to overthrow the Romish Church. The curious Parisians enjoyed themselves for a time with the striking worship and costume of the Templars, and then forgot them.

5. *The so-called Hypocrites* (*Mucker*) *in Königsberg.* (Cf. *H. Olshausen*, Lehre u. Leben des Königsb. Theosophen J. H. Schöonherr. Königsb. 1834, *v. Wegnern*, Zuverläss. Mittheill. über Schönherr's Leben u. Lehre, in Illgen's hist. theol. Zeitschr. 1838. II.—*G. H. Diestel*, ein Zeugenverhör im Criminalprocesse gegen Ebel u. Diestel. Lpz. 1838. —*G. v. Hahnenfeld*, die rel Bewegung zu Königsb. Braunsb. 1858.)—There lived, at the beginning of this century (*ob.* 1826), at Königsberg, a pious but peculiar theosophist, named *John Henry Schönherr*, who, starting from the reception of two primitive beings (Elohim), namely, primitive fire and primitive water (fire-Eloah and water-Eloah, Gen. 1 : 2), from the conjunction and co-operation of which creation proceeded,—formed a gnostic-theosophic system, by which, on the basis of the Scriptures, he imagined that he had solved the problems of theogony and cosmogony, of hamartigeny and soteriology. Of the small circle of his disciples, two preachers, *Ebel* and *Diestel*, distinguished themselves, of whom especially the former labored with as much zeal as success as author, teacher, pastor, and preacher, for the awakening and revival of Christian feeling in the congregation. Their theosophy, which they inherited from Schönherr, exerted little or no influence on their official labors in the congregation; but they thought they must not withhold their deeper knowledge of revealed truth from a smaller circle of anxious souls of both sexes. Prof. *Olshausen* also, and *v. Tippelskirch* (then yet a student), who became better known later as Romish chaplain to an embassy, as also a Count *Finkenstein*, belonged for a time to this circle, but they soon withdrew and publicly combated this theosophy. Soon, however, rumors of mystico-religious practice of sensuality, which was based upon a gnostic dualistic view of religion and of nature, also became public. Those belonging to this circle were nicknamed the hypocrites (Mucker). Already a garden in Königsberg was spoken of as the "Seraphim grove," where they practised their orgies. Upon the complaint of a man of rank, who believed that the morality of his wife was endangered by this circle, the consistory instituted a preparatory investigation and

suspended *Ebel* and *Diestel*. In consequence of a thorough criminal investigation in 1839, both were formally deposed from office, and *Diestel* was besides condemned to imprisonment. Both appealed, and after a lengthy investigation they were finally in 1849 found guilty by the supreme court of Berlin, which confirmed the deposition of both, but released them from any other punishment, and granted them the privilege of being appointed to non-spiritual offices elsewhere. This sentence charges them with spreading a doctrine that contradicts and nullifies the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, to which, moreover, was given an application in regard to sexual relations, "which, even though designed by its author to promote holiness, must be regarded in truth as being very pernicious in its consequences, and could be nothing other in its nature than injurious to bodily health and provocative of the worst vices." *Ebel* was acquitted of the charge of sectarianism, because he neither formally renounced the church nor established a special worship, although it is true that an exclusive and closely united circle of adherents was formed around him.

6. *The "Catholic Apostolic Church" of the Irvingites.* (Cf. *M. Hohl*, Bruchstücke aus d. Leb. u. d. Schriften Irving's. St. Gallen, 1839.—The article by *Reich* in the Studd. u. Kritt. 1849, I., by *Schulze*, in Reuter's Repert. 1849, H. 7.—*L. J. Jacobi*, die Lehre d. Irvingiten. Berl. 1853.—*F. V. Schulze*, der Irvingismus. Berl. 1856.—*J. E. Jörg*, der Irvingianism. Münch. 1856.—*A. G. Rudelbach*, der Irvingism. In the luth. Zeitschrift. 1858, II.–IV.)—*Ed. Irving*, a powerful and beloved preacher of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in London, accepted the doctrine that original sin dwelt in the human nature of Christ just as in ours, but that it was conquered and destroyed by the power of his divine nature. He at the same time came to the conviction that the spiritual gifts of the apostolic church could and must be renewed and revived by prayer and faith, and in fact the presumed gift of speaking in unknown tongues, exalted exclamations and prophesyings, soon manifested themselves in some members of his congregation. The presbytery of his church deposed him in 1832, and the Scotch general synod excommunicated him in 1833. Rich and respectable friends of the Episcopal Church (among them especially a rich banker, the subsequent Apostle *Drummond*) took up the outcast, and gave him the means to build a new church, but they also introduced into it, in spite of Irving's opposition (he died in 1835) a high-church Puseyite tendency, which soon dislodged the heretical as well as the puritanic element, and forced in the enthusiastic at least in hierarchical and liturgical formalism. The revival of the apostolic office became the centre of the movement. After various unfortunate attempts, the calling of twelve *Apostles* through the divinely illumined *Prophets* was accomplished. From the apostles as the chief rulers and guardians of the church *Evangelist* and *Shepherds* (or *angels* — Rev. 2 : 1, 8, etc.) were now consecrated according to Eph. 4 : 11, to each of the latter

of which was subordinated six elders and six deacons, so that the clergy of each congregation consisted of thirteen persons (a copy of Christ and his twelve disciples). Seven congregations were formed in London as copies of the seven apocalyptic congregations (Rev. 1 : 20), which together in their seven-fold perfection were to be the model and representative of the universal church. The promise of the near return of the Lord stood in the fore-ground of their new revelation. The Lord, who would come again during the lifetime of the first apostles, and who was, therefore, expected very confidently by them, was compelled by increasing corruption and depravity to defer his return indefinitely, and even to arrest the full development of the second apostolate, which was appointed for the heathen, and for a time represented by Paul, because the church was no longer worthy of it. But now finally, after eighteen centuries of dishonor, during which the church unfolded itself as the *Babel* of the Apocalypse (the Reformation of the sixteenth century also included), and has become ripe for judgment, the time has come, when the apostolate has been restored, to prepare the way for the end of all things. It was asserted at the beginning with great confidence, that none belonging to them would die, but that all would survive the end of the world. But since that death has torn so many, even several apostles from the midst of them, it is said that those are already born who shall survive the dawn of the consummation. It may break every day, every hour. It is to begin with the first resurrection (Rev. 20 : 5) and with the simultaneous transformation of the living saints (the wise virgins, *i. e.* the Irvingites), who will be borne up to the Lord in the clouds, and be united with him in a higher place by the marriage-supper of the Lamb. They are concealed in security, whilst Antichrist persecutes the other Christians (the foolish virgins), who can only be saved by severe martyrdom, and executes judgment on Babel. The heathen church is now at an end; on the other hand, the conversion of the Jews has commenced, who, being pressed by want and the persecution of the man of sin, seek and find a refuge in Palestine. After a complete, although only a brief victory of Antichrist, the Lord appears visibly in the midst of those who have risen from the dead and of the transformed. The kingdom of Antichrist is destroyed, Satan is bound, the saints live and rule with Christ a thousand years upon the earth delivered from the curse. After this Satan will be again let loose for a short time, and will cause a great apostacy. Finally Satan's overthrow follows, together with the second resurrection and the last judgment. — In regard to the *worship* of the Irvingites, their liturgy, professing to have been formed by the apostles, is only a compilation of Anglican and Roman Catholic elements. The idea of a priesthood and of sacrifice is very prominent, and splendid priestly garments are an essential requisite. Nevertheless, they rejected the Romish doctrine of a bloodless repetition of the bloody sacrifice, as also the doctrine of transubstantiation. They, however,

insisted strictly upon the payment of *tithes* as made a Christian duty by Heb. 7 : 4. Their *typical* interpretation of the history and legislation of the Old Testament, especially of the tabernacle, could easily become the most absurd that was ever given. — The first sending forth of the Apostles, only to reconnoitre and prepare the ground for future efforts, took place in 1835. The first public demonstration was made in 1836 by an apostolic "epistle to the patriarchs, bishops, and overseers of the Church of Christ in all lands, as also to the emperors, kings, and princes of all nations of the baptized," which was sent to the most distinguished of those addressed (also to the pope), but was altogether disregarded (printed in Rheinwald's Acta eccls. 1837, p. 793 ff.) Since then they have carried on their missionary work more publicly. But they from principle only direct their efforts towards those who already believe and take no part at all in heathen missions, because they say that they are sent forth neither to the heathen, nor yet to unbelievers, but only to collect and save believers. In England, where they at first met with great favor, their time seems already to have come to an end. They only succeeded in establishing a few congregations in North America. Their efforts in Germany and Switzerland seem to promise better success. They gained here several respectable theologians (*Karl Rothe*, *Albert Köppen*, and especially *Henry W. J. Thiersch*, the proper Tertullian of this modern Montanism), which was so much the more important for them, as they lacked influential, at least scientifically and theologically educated, adherents. Frankfurt-on-the-Main became a chief point of their labors, especially through the agency of the book-trade (bookseller *Zimmer*). Besides, they established congregations at Berlin, Stettin, Königsberg, Marburg, and Basle. They even found favor among the Roman Catholic clergy, especially in Bavaria. But a series of depositions and excommunications during 1857 suppressed this movement. There have been published of their theopneustic (apostolic) writings, in addition to the "Zuschrift an die Patriarchen," etc.; "Die Ordnung der Feier der h. Eucharistie und der h. Communion" (but only printed as manuscript); "Die mosaische Stiftshütte als Vorbild für die Christl. K. Frankf. 1847;" "Die Kirche in unserer Zeit. Düsselth. 1843;" "Die Entrückung od. die Verwandlung der lebendigen Heiligen von *John Hooper*. Berl. 1847;" "Erzählung von Thatsachen in Verbindung mit der jetzigen Lage u. der Zukunft der Kirche;" "Die sieben Sendschreiben der Off. Joh.;" "Schatten u. Licht in dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der K. von *Charles Böhm*, bevorwortet von *Thiersch*. Berl. 1855." Irving himself wrote the little book: "Die Kirche mit ihrer Ausstattung von Macht und Heiligkeit, aus d. Engl. Stuttg. 1841."—For the rest, their missionary representatives in Germany are distinguished by a religious and moral earnestness joined with dignity, mildness, and amiableness of character. Likewise, it cannot be denied that, apart from their groundless apostolate and what is connected

therewith, a sound, clear, moderate, and genuine churchly feeling, expresses itself in their views, in their judgments, and in their efforts.

7. *The Darbyites or Plymouth Brethren.* (Cf. *J. J. Herzog*, les Frères de Plymouth. Laus. 1855.)—The Plymouth Brethren, related on the one hand with Irvingianism by their expectation of the near approaching advent of Christ, and likewise regarding themselves as the latter-day saints, formed, on the other hand, the most decided antithesis to Irvingian hierarchism by their absolute Independentism. *John Darby*, at first advocate, then a clergyman in the Anglican church, established a sectarian, apocalyptico-independent society at *Plymouth*, but he soon emigrated to Paris, and from thence to Vaud (1840), where Lausanne became the chief seat of the sect. They held, that all spiritual offices, all ecclesiastical forms, are of evil, and a witness of the secularization of the church. There is only *one* office, the spiritual priesthood of all believers, and every believer has the right to preach and to administer the sacraments. Not only the Roman Catholic, but also the Protestant church is a Babel. They are rigidly Calvinistic in doctrine.

8. *The Amen Society.*—It owes its origin to the Jewish-Christian *Israel Pick* of Bohemia, who, being converted by Scotch missionaries, was baptized Jan. 1, 1854. In the conviction that he did not thereby renounce his Judaism, but rather only first then *became* in truth a Jew, he came, through a one-sided apprehension of the promises given to his nation in the Old Testament, to thoughts and plans similar to those entertained by *Christ. Hoffmann* of Würtemberg (§ 55, 4), only that the latter would accomplish the gathering of the people of God in the promised land through heathen-Christians, but *Pick* through Jewish-Christians. The entire Mosaic law, including the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision, was to be (together with baptism and the Lord's Supper) there the foundation of the ecclesiastical and civil organization, and because the idea of salvation was first to be fully manifested in this true Israel, heathen Christianity would also through it first attain to the full possession of the blessings of grace appointed for it. Every effort, therefore, is made in the interest of all heathen-Christians to prepare the way for this colonization of Palestine through converted Israelites. But as Pick met with little favor among his countrymen with such ideas, he turned to the Christians converted from the heathens, and he succeeded in here and there gaining a few adherents, to whom he gave the name of the *Amen* Society, because all the promises of the old covenant are *yea* and *amen* in Christ. The centre of the society is in Munich-Gladbach.

9. *The Mormons or Latter-day Saints.* (Cf. *Mor. Busch*, Die Mormonen. Lpz. 1855; *Theod. Olshausen*, Gesch. der Mormonen. Göttg. 1855.)—*Joseph* (*Joe*) *Smith*, a bankrupt farmer of the State of Vermont, who was engaged in knavish hunting for hidden treasure, declared in 1825, that, directed by divine revelations and visions, he dug out of the hill of Comara in New York a stone chest containing golden tables in-

scribed with holy records. A pair of prophetical spectacles (Urim and Thummin) which were also in the chest, enabled him to read, to understand, and to translate the records. He published the translation in the *Book of Mormon*. According to this book, the Israelites emigrated to America under their captain *Lehi*, after the destruction of the kingdom of the ten tribes. The nation, however, perished after many changes on account of its sins. Its last prophet *Mormon* wrote his revelation on the above-mentioned brazen tables, which he hid in the earth as a future testimony for the latter-day saints. Smith now declared that he was called of God to establish the church of the *Latter-day Saints* on the basis of these records and the revelations that were made to himself. The leading tendency of this sect is the religious socialistic establishment of a theocratic community under the direction of apostles and prophets. Crowds of believers soon flocked around the new prophet. It is true, the widow of a preacher in New York affirmed, that the Book of Mormon was an almost literal plagiarism from a historico-didactic romance, written by her deceased husband, Solomon Spaulding. Further, that the manuscript came into the hands of the printer, *Sidney Rigdon*, who was Smith's right-hand, and after that it disappeared. But this did not disturb the faithful; just as little also the circumstance, that, besides Smith and his associates, no one could testify to the existence of the tables. In 1830 Smith and his adherents emigrated to the State of Missouri. To escape from the daily increasing hatred of the people they went to Illinois, and founded here the city of *Nauvoo*, together with a splendid and majestic temple. The wealth, power, and extent of the community increased rapidly through diligence, industry, and good discipline; but in the same degree also the envy, hatred, and wrath of the people, who accused them of the worst crimes. To avoid the shedding of blood, the Governor summoned the two chiefs, Joseph Smith and his brother Hiram, to submit to voluntary imprisonment for the purpose of a judicial investigation. They obeyed. But an armed raging mob attacked the prison, and shot both of them (1844). The mob then grew into a great army, which destroyed the city of Nauvoo, burned the temple, and expelled the inhabitants, These now numbering 15,000, travelled in several successive companies "through the wilderness" towards the West over the mountains, to establish beyond them a Zion. Smith's successor, as prophet and hierarch, was *Brigham Young*. The journey occupied two full years. In the great salt sea basin of the territory of *Utah* or *Deseret* they laid the foundations of Salt Lake City, or New Jerusalem, as the capitol of a new State. The gold mines of California did not entice them away, for their prophets taught them that it was better to pave streets, to build houses, and to cultivate fields, than to seek for gold. In this way they also here soon became a flourishing community. The ambiguous book of Mormon receded, as it appears, more and more into the back-ground; on the other hand, the doctrines and prophecies of their

apostles and prophets became more prominent. The most talented among these is *Orson Pratt.* To him chiefly belongs the credit of developing a most fantastic system of religion, which, compiled from neo-platonic, gnostic, and theosophico-mystical elements, reveals all the mysteries of time and eternity. They have, in common with the Irvingites, who recognize in the Mormons their own demoniac caricature, the revival of the apostolic and prophetic offices, the gift of speaking in tongues and of miracles, the expectation of the near second advent of the Lord, the paying of tithes, etc. But that which distinguishes them from all other Christian sects is the practice of *polygamy* as a religious duty, inasmuch as only those women who are "sealed" to a latter-day saint can participate in the blessedness of eternal life. The book of Morman prohibited polygamy. A later revelation made to Smith allowed it at least to the overseers; nevertheless, it was at this time still concealed from and denied to the "heathen." It was only openly acknowledged in 1852, and made the duty of all "saints." The permissibleness of polygamy is not only proven from the Old, but also from the New Testament (Matth. 19 : 29). On the other hand, the saints would punish adultery and prostitution with death. — Their missionaries have also been active within the last decade in spreading the sect in Europe. It is said that 50,000 converts have been baptized in England and Scotland, of whom about 20,000 have already emigrated to Utah. In Denmark, Schleswig, in Western Germany, and in Switzerland, their missionaries have also met with great success. They have endeavored to draw all their converts to Utah, in order soon to reach their first great object,—to be recognized by the United States as an independent State, and to be freed from the burdensome obligation of being ruled by a governor appointed by the central government. From connivance with the odd saints the office of governor was at first entrusted to the prophet Brigham Young. But his administration was so arbitrarily absolute, that the other government officers were compelled to leave Utah to save their lives. The newly elected president of the Union, *Buchanan*, fully resolved to restore the authority of the government, appointed a new governor in Young's place, named *Cummings* (1857), and sent troops to Utah, who were to enforce his recognition and authority. Young prepared to resist even unto death. However, a compromise was finally made. A full amnesty was granted to the saints, the government troops entered peaceably in June 1858 into Salt Lake City, and Young now lives on pretty friendly terms with the governor.

§ 61. PRACTICAL ANTICHRISTIANITY.

Whilst Antichristianity (1 Thess. 2 : 11), especially in the philosophy of self-deification, prepared a way for itself theoretically, efforts were also put forth to introduce it practically into the world.

In *Germany* the poet *H. Heine* proclaimed the gospel of the rehabilitation of the flesh; around him was gathered in 1834 and 1835 the literature of *Young Germany* (*K. Gutzkow, Th. Mundt,* etc.), whose pantheistic and immoral principles called forth pretty general indignation, in spite of their poetic garb. In *France, St. Simonism* flourished only for a short time. But of a much more threatening character was *Socialism* in England and *Communism* in France, Germany, and Switzerland. That the revolution of 1848 broke out so suddenly and almost at the same time in so many different places, that it was of a character radically destructive of all order and all right, — this was chiefly the result of Communism. Nevertheless, it has not been able up to this time to attain its proper object even in a temporary way. Amid all the disorders of the present, the promise stands still secure, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church of Christ.

1. *St. Simonism.* (Cf. *Carové,* d. St. Simonism, u. die neuere franz. Philos. Lpz. 1831. — *M. Veit,* St. Simon, u. d. St. Simonisten. Lpz. 1834.) — The Count *St. Simon* of Paris, impoverished by many wild undertakings, thought of establishing a new blessed order of the world, with pure enjoyment without any poverty and deprivation, by means of a thorough organization of industry. An unfortunate attempt at suicide, from the consequences of which he died (1825), made him a saviour of the world in the eyes of his disciples. The revolution of July 1830 gave the new-world religion, which would give the flesh its long denied rights, and to each individual that position in the community which his capacities and talents deserved, a new impulse. The Father *Enfantin,* whom his adherents honored as the highest revelation of Deity, contended with pompous phrases and in fantastic costume for the emancipation of woman and against the unnature of marriage. But St. Simonism was soon condemned (1832) by the public as ridiculous, by the courts as immoral, and the remnants of its adherents fled from the ridicule of the people and the vengeance of the courts to Egypt, where they soon disappeared.

2. *Socialism and Communism.* (Cf. *C. B. Hundeshagen,* der Communismus im Laufe der Jahrhh.; in the Studd. und Kritt. 1845. III.— *L. Reybaud,* Études sur les réformateurs contemporains ou socialistes modernes. Brux. 1841. — *H. Gelzer,* Zur. Gesch. d. modernen Radicalism. u. Communismus. Basel. 1847.)—The Scotchman *Robert Owen,* after he had made practical experiments on a small scale with his manufactories, addressed himself through lectures and tracts to the working classes of England, to win them to the idea of Socialism. A noble brotherhood, having for its object mutual advancement and en-

joyment of the common possessions of the fraternity, was to make an end of all the misery of the earth. Religion, marriage, family, and private property, were to be abolished, as being the source of all evil; the training of children was to be public, etc. To promote this object a socialistic union, with nearly a half million members, with a central residence and a yearly congress at Birmingham, was organized in 1836 in Great Britain and Ireland, especially in the great manufacturing cities. However, the danger with which this union threatened Church and State has already been avoided by the sound sense of the English people.—On the other hand, the same reformatory ideas, only in a more bold and radical form, appeared on the continent as *Communism*. Already during the first French revolution a certain *Babœuf* issued a communistic manifesto (1797). His ideas were embraced by *Charles Fourier*, later by *Proudhon*, *Cabet*, and others in France, and by *W. Weitling*, *Max Stirner*, etc., in Germany. A secret communistic propaganda spread over the whole of Western Europe. Its missionaries were especially travelling journeymen. All altars were to be cast down, all religion was to be exterminated, as being a pest to humanity, family and marriage were to be abolished, as being the roots of all selfishness, all goods and pleasures of the world were to be equally enjoyed; "war on the rich" was the battle-cry. The revolution of 1848, for which they prepared the way, compelled them, by its results, to flee to England or North America.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

FIRST CENTURY.

A.D.	Vol. and Paragraph.
14–37.	Tiberius, Emperor, I. 23, 1.
40.	Conversion of Paul, I. 16.
41–54.	Claudius, Emperor, I. 23, 1.
44.	Martyrdom of James the Elder, I. 17.
45.	First Missionary Tour of Paul, I. 16.
50.	Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, I. 19, 1.
50–54.	Second Missionary Tour of Paul, I. 16.
54–58.	Third Missionary Tour of Paul, I. 16.
54–68.	Nero, Emperor, I. 23, 1.
64.	Persecution of Christians in Rome. Paul, *ob.*, I. 23, 1.
66–70.	Jewish War, I. 21.
70–100.	John in Ephesus, I. 17.
81–96.	Domitian, Emperor, I. 23, 1.

SECOND CENTURY.

98–117.	Trajan, Emperor, I. 23, 2.
107.	Symeon of Jerusalem, Martyr, I. 23, 2.
115.	Ignatius of Antioch, Martyr, I. 23, 2.
117–38.	Hadrian, Emperor, I. 23, 2. Basilides, Valentine, I. 28, 2, 3.
132–35.	The Insurrection of Barcochba, I. 21.
150.	Celsus, I. 24, 4. Marcion, I. 28, 10.
160.	Easter-controversy between Polycarp and Anicetus, I. 31, 1. Montanus, I. 37, 1.
161–80.	Marcus Aurelius, Emperor, I. 23, 3.
166.	Justin Martyr, *ob.*, I. 39, 2.
167.	Persecution of Christians in Smyrna, I. 23, 3.
168.	Martyrdom of Polycarp, I. 23, 3.
177.	Persecution of Christians at Lugdunum and Vienna, I. 23, 3.
180–93.	Commodus, Emperor, I. 23, 3.
196.	Easter-controversy between Polycrates and Victor, I. 31, 1.
193–211.	Septimus Severus, Emperor, I. 23, 4.

THIRD CENTURY.

A. D.		Vol. and Paragraph.
201.	Tertullian becomes a Montanist,	I. 37, 2.
202.	Pantænus, *ob.*,	I. 39, 4.
	Irenæus, *ob.*,	I. 39, 3.
220.	Clement of Alexandria, *ob.*,	I. 39, 4.
	Tertullian, *ob.*	I. 39, 5.
235.	Settlement of the schism of Hippolytus,	I. 38, 1.
235–38.	Maximinus the Thracian, Emperor,	I. 23, 4.
243.	Ammonius Saccas, *ob.*,	I. 24, 2.
244.	Arabian Synod in opposition to Beryllus,	I. 40, 5.
249–51.	Decius, Emperor,	I. 23, 5.
250.	The Schism of Felicissimus,	I. 38, 2.
251.	The Schism of Novatian,	I. 38, 3.
253–56.	Controversy about the Baptism of Heretics,	I. 32, 2.
353–60.	Valerianus, Emperor,	I. 23, 5.
254.	Origen, *ob.*,	I. 39, 4.
258.	Cyprian, *ob.*,	I. 39, 5.
260–68.	Gallienus, Emperor, Edict of Toleration,	I. 23, 5.
262.	Synod of Rome in opposition to Sabellius and Dionysius of Alexandria,	I. 40, 6.
269.	Third Syrian Synod in opposition to Paul of Samosata,	I. 40, 7.
277.	Mani, *ob.*,	I. 29, 1.
284–305.	Diocletian, Emperor,	I. 23, 6.

FOURTH CENTURY.

303.	Commencement of the Diocletian Persecution,	I. 23, 6.
305.	Synod of Elvira,	I. 35, 1.
306.	The Schism of Melitus in Egypt,	I. 38, 4.
	Constantius Chlorus, *ob.*,	I. 23, 7.
311.	Galerius, *ob.*,	I. 23, 6.
	Mensurius, *ob.*,	I. 63, 2.
312.	Constantine's Campaign against Maxentius,	I. 23, 7.
313.	Edict of Milan,	I. 23, 7.
318.	Arius accused,	I. 50, 1.
323–37.	Constantine the Great, sole Monarch,	I. 42, 1.
325.	First Œcumenical Council at Nice,	I. 50, 1.
335.	Synod of Tyre,	I. 50, 2.
336.	Athanasius deposed. Arius, *ob.*,	I. 50, 2.
341.	Council of Antioch,	I, 50, 2.
343.	Synod of Sardica,	I. 50, 2.
	Persecution of Christians under Shapur II.,	I. 64, 2.
346.	Council of Milan in opposition to Photinus,	I. 50, 2.
348.	Ulfilas, Bishop of the Goths,	I. 76, 1.
350–61.	Constantius, sole Monarch,	I. 42, 1.
351.	First Council of Sirmium in opposition to Marcellus,	I. 50, 2.
357.	Second Council of Sirmium. Homoiites,	I. 50, 3.
358.	Third Council of Sirmium,	I. 50, 3.
359.	Synods of Seleucia and Rimini,	I. 50, 3.

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361–63. Julian the Apostate, Emperor, I. 42, 2.
361–413. The Meletian Schism at Antioch, I. 63, 1.
362. Synod of Alexandria under Athanasius, I. 50, 4.
366. Schism of Dmasus and Ursinus, I. 63, 1.
368. Hilary of Poictiers, *ob.*, I. 47, 5.
373. Athanasius, *ob.*, I. 47, 4.
379–95. Theodosius I., Max., I. 42, 3.
380. Synod of Saragossa, I. 54, 2.
381. Second Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, I. 50, 4.
385. Priscillian beheaded at Treves, I. 54, 2.
390. Gregory of Nazianzus, *ob.*, I. 47, 4.
391. Destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria, I. 42, 3.
393. Council of Hippo, I. 59, 1.
395. Division of the East and West Roman Empire.
397. Ambrose, *ob.*, I. 47, 5.
399. Rufinus condemned at Rome as an Origenist, I. 51, 2.
400. Martin of Tours, *ob.*, I. 54, 2.

FIFTH CENTURY.

402–17. Innocent I. of Rome, I. 46, 2, etc.
403. Synodus ad Quercium, I. 51, 3. Epiphanius, *ob.*, I. 47, 4.
407. Chrysostom, *ob.*, I. 51, 3.
408–50. Theodosius II. in the East, I. 52, 3.
411. Collatio cum Donatistis, I. 63, 2.
412. Synod of Carthage in opposition to Cœlestius, I. 53, 4.
415. Synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis in opposition to Pelagius, I. 53, 4.
416. Synods of Milene and Carthage in opposition to Pelagius, I. 53, 4.
418. General Synod of Carthage, I. 53, 4.
420. Jerome, *ob.*, I. 47, 5. Persecution of Christians under Behram II., I. 64, 2.
428. Nestorius chosen Patriarch of Constantinople, I. 52, 3.
429. Theodorus of Mops., *ob.*, I. 47, 1. Vandals in North Africa, I. 76, 3.
430. Cyril's Anathemas, I. 52, 3. Augustin, *ob.*, I. 47, 5.
431. Third Œcumenical Council at Ephesus, I. 52, 3.
432. Patricius in Ireland, I. 77, 2. John Cassianus, *ob.*, I. 53, 5.
440–61. Leo I., Max., I. 46, 2, etc.
444. Cyril of Alexandria, *ob.* Dioscurus his successor, I. 52, 4.
445. Valentinian III.'s Rescript, I. 46, 2.
448. Eutyches excommunicated at Constantinople, I. 52, 4.
449. "Robber-Synod" of Ephesus, I. 52, 4. Invasion of Britain by the Angles and Saxons, I. 77, 4.
451. Fourth Œcumenical Council at Chalcedon, I. 52, 4.
457. Theodoret, *ob.*, I. 47, 1.
475. Semi-pelagian Synods of Arles and Lugdunum, I. 53, 5.
476. Downfall of the West Roman Empire, I. 76, 6. The Monophysite Encyclion of Basiliscus, I. 52, 5.

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482. Henoticon of the Emperor Zeno, I. 52, 5.
484–519. Thirty-five years' Schism between the East and West, I. 52, 5.
496. The Battle of Tolbiac. Clovis baptized, I. 76, 9.
498. The Persian Church adopts Nestorianism, I. 52, 3.

SIXTH CENTURY.

503. Synodus Palmaris, I. 46, 2.
517. Council of Epaon, I. 76, 5.
527–65. Justinian I., Emperor, I. 52, 6.
529. Synods of Arausis and Valence, I. 53, 5.
The Rule of Monk Benedict of Nursia, I. 85.
533. Theopaschite Controversy, I. 52, 6. Downfall of the Empire of the Vandals, I. 76, 3.
541. Renewed Condemnation of Origen at Constantinople, I. 52, 6.
544. Condemnation of the three Chapters, I. 52, 6.
553. Fifth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople, I. 52, 6.
554. Downfall of the East-Gothic Empire in Italy, I. 76, 7.
563. Synod of Braga, I. 54, 2. Columba among the Picts and Scots, I. 77, 3.
568. The Lombards under Alboin in Italy, I. 76, 8.
589. Synod of Toledo under Recared, I. 76, 2. Columban and Gallus among the Vosges, I. 78, 1.
590–604. Gregory I., Max., I. 46, 2, etc.
595. Gregory of Tours, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
596. Augustine sent among the Anglo-Saxons, I. 77, 4.
597. Columba, *ob.*, I. 77, 3. Ethelbert baptized, I. 77, 4.

SEVENTH CENTURY.

606. Emperor Phocas acknowledged the Primacy of Rome, I. 46, 2.
611–41. Heraclius, Emperor, 52, 8.
622. Hejirah, I. 65.
636. Isidore of Seville, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
637. Omar conquered Jerusalem, I. 65.
638. Monothelete Ecthesis of Heraclius, I. 52, 8.
640. Omar conquered Egypt, I. 65.
642–68. Constans II., Emperor, I. 52, 8.
646. St. Gallus, *ob.*, I. 78, 1.
648. Constans II.'s Typos, I. 52, 8.
649. The first Lateran Synod under Martin I., I. 52, 8.
652. Emmeran in Regensburg, I. 78, 2.
657. Constantine of Mananalis, I. 71, 1.
662. Maximus, Confessor, *ob.*, I. 52, 8.
664. Synod of Streaneshalch (Syn. Pharensis), I. 77, 6.
668–85. Constantine Pogonnatus, I. 52, 8; 71, 1.
677. Wilfrid among the Frisians, I. 78, 3.

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680. Sixth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople (Trullanum I.), I. 52, 8.
690. Willibrord among the Frisians, I. 78, 3.
692. Concilium Quinisextum (Trullanum II.), I. 63, 3.
696. Rupert of Bavaria (Salzburg), I. 78, 2.

EIGHTH CENTURY.

711. The Saracens conquered Spain, I. 81.
715–31. Gregory II., Pope, I. 66, 1; 78, 4.
716. Winfrid went to Frisia, I. 78, 4.
717. Corbinian in Freisingen, I. 78, 2.
717–41. Leo the Isaurian, Emperor, I. 66, 1.
718. Winfrid in Rome, I. 78, 4.
722. Winfrid in Thuringia and Hesse, I. 78, 4.
723. Winfrid the second time in Rome. His consecration as Bishop (Boniface) and oath of allegiance, I. 78, 4.
724. The fall of the ancient oak at Geismar, I. 78, 4.
726. Leo's first edict against image-worship, I. 66, 1.
730. Leo's second edict against image-worship, I. 66, 1.
731–41. Gregory III., Pope, I. 66, 1; 78, 4; 82, 1.
732. Boniface, Archbishop and Apost. Vicar, I. 78, 4. Defeat at Poictiers, I. 81.
735. The Venerable Bede, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
739. Willibrord, *ob.*, I. 78, 3.
741. Charles Martel, *ob.*, I. 78, 4. Gregory III.; Leo the Isaurian, *ob.*
741–52. Zacharias, Pope, I., 78, 4.
741–75. Constantine Copronymus, Emperor, I. 66, 2.
742. *Concilium* Germanicum. Sturm founded Fulda, I. 78, 4.
743. Synod at Liptinæ.
744. Synod of Soissons, I. 78, 4.
745. Boniface, Archbishop at Mayence, I. 78, 4.
750. John Damascenus, *ob.*, I. 68, 4, 5.
752. Childeric III. dethroned. Pepin the Short, King, I. 82, 1.
754. Iconoclastic Synod at Const., I. 66, 2.
755. Boniface, *ob.*, I. 78, 4. The establishment of the Papal dominion through Pepin's donation, I. 82, 1.
760. Canonic Rule of Chrodegang of Metz, I. 84, 4.
767. Synod of Gentilly, I. 91, 2; 92, 1.
768–814. Charlemagne, I. 82, 1.
772–95. Hadrian I., Pope, I. 82, 1.
772. Destruction of Eresburg, I. 78, 5.
774. Charlemagne's donation to the Papal See, I. 82, 1.
785. Widukind and Albion were baptized, I. 78, 5.
787. Seventh Œcumenical Council of Nice, I. 66, 3. Establishment of Monastery and Cathedral Schools, I. 90.
795–816. Libri Carolini, I. 92, 1.

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792. Synod of Ratisbon, I. 91, 1.
794. General Synod of Frankfurt, I. 91, 1; 92, 1.
795–816. Leo III., Pope, I. 82, 2.
799. Alcuin's Controversy with Felix at Aix-la-Chapelle, I. 91, 1.
800. Leo III. crowns Charlemagne, I. 82, 2.

NINTH CENTURY.

804. Close of the Saxon War, I. 78, 5. Alcuin, *ob.*, I. 90, 2.
809. Council at Aix-la-Chapelle on *filioque*, I. 91, 2.
813–20. Leo the Armenian, Emperor, I. 66, 4.
814–40. Louis the Pious, I. 82, 2.
817. Reformation of Monasticism through Benedict of Aniane, I. 85, 2.
820–29. Michael Balbus, Emperor, I. 66, 4.
825. Synod of Paris against image-worship, I. 91, 1.
826. Theodorus Studita, *ob.*, I. 66, 4. Ansgar goes to Denmark, I. 80, 1.
827. Establishment of Saracenic dominion in Sicily, I. 81.
829–42. Theophilus, Emperor, I. 66, 4.
833. Formation of the See of Hamburg, I. 80, 1.
835. Synod of Thionville, I. 82, 2. Pseudo-Isidore, I. 87, 2.
840. Claudius of Turin, *ob.*; Agobard of Lyons, *ob.*, I. 92, 2.
840–74. Charles the Bald, I. 82, 2, 5.
842. Feast of Orthodoxy, I. 66, 4. Theodora ordered the extermination of the Paulicians, I. 71, 1.
843. The Treaty of Verdun, I. 82, 2.
844. Eucharistic Controversy of Paschasius Radbertus, I. 91, 3.
845–82. Hincmar of Rheims, I. 83, 1.
847. See of Hamburg-Bremen, I. 80, 1.
848. Synod of Mayence against Gottschalk, I. 91, 4.
850–859. Persecution of Christians in Spain, I. 81, 1.
853. Synod of Chiersy. Capitula Carisiaca, I. 91. 4.
855. Synod of Valence for Gottschalk, I. 91, 4.
856. Rabanus Maurus, *ob.*, I. 90, 5.
858–67. Nicholas I., Pope, I. 82, 4.
858. Photius, Patriarch of Const., I. 67, 1.
859. Synod at Savonnières, I. 91, 4.
861. Methodius among the Bulgarians, I. 72, 3.
863. Cyrill and Methodius in Moravia, I. 79, 1.
865. Ansgar, *ob.*, I. 80, 1.
867. Encyclical Letter of Photius, I. 67, 1.
867–86. Basil the Macedonian, Emperor, I. 67, 1.
867–72. Hadrian II., Pope, I. 82, 4.
869. Eighth Œcumenical Council (Latin) at Const., I. 67, 1.
870. Treaty of Mersen, I. 82, 2.
871. Basil the Macedonian conquered the Paulicians, I. 71, 1. Borzivoi and Ludmilla baptized, I. 79, 2.
871–901. Alfred the Great, I. 90.

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875. John VIII. crowned Charles the Bald, Emperor, I. 82, 5.
879. Eighth Œcumenical Council (Greek) at Const., I. 67, 1.
886–911. Leo the Philosopher, Emperor, I. 67, 2.
891. Photius, *ob.*, I. 67, 1.

TENTH CENTURY.

910. Abbot Berno founded Clugny, I. 98, I.
911. The German Carolingians die out, I. 82, 5.
911–18. Conrad I., German King, I. 96, 1.
914–28. John X., Pope, I. 96, 1.
919–36. Henry I., German King, I. 96, 1.
934. Henry I. exacted toleration of Christianity in Denmark, I. 93, 1.
936–73. Otto I., Emperor, I. 96, 1.
942. Odo of Clugny founded the Cluniacum-congregation, I. 98, 1.
950. Gylas of Hungary baptized, I. 93, 2.
955. Olga baptized in Const., I. 72, 4.
960. Atto of Vercelli, *ob.*, I. 101, 1.
962. Establishment of the holy Roman German Empire, I. 96, 1.
963. John XII. deposed at a Synod in Rome, I. 96, 1.
966. Miecislav of Poland baptized, I. 93, 2.
968. Establishment of the See of Magdeburg, I. 93, 2.
970. Transportation of Paulicians to Thracia, I. 71, 1.
973–83. Otto II., Emperor, I. 96, 1.
974. Ratherius of Verona, *ob.*, I. 101, 1.
983–1002. Otto III., Emperor, I. 96, 1.
983. Mistevoi overthrew all Christian Institutions among the Wends, I. 93, 2.
987. Hugo Capet assumes the French crown, I. 96, 1.
988. Vladimir christianized Russia, I. 72, 4.
991. Synod at Rheims, Gerbert., I. 96, 1.
992–1025. Boleslav Chrobry of Poland, I. 93, 2.
996–999. Gregory V., Pope, I. 96, 1.
997–1038. St. Stephen, I. 93, 2.
997. Adalbert of Prague, Ap. among Prussians, *ob.*, I. 93, 3.
999–1003. Sylvester II., Pope, I. 96, 1.
1000. Olaf Tryggvason, *ob.*, I. 93, 1. Christianity in Greenland, I. 93, 1. Stephen of Hungary obtained the crown, I. 93, 2.

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1002–24. Henry II., Emperor, I. 96, 2.
1005. Monk Nilus, *ob.*
1008. Olaf Skautkonung of Sweden, *ob.*, I. 93, 1.
1009. Bruno martyred, I. 93, 3.
1012–24. Benedict VIII., Pope, I. 96, 2.
1014–36. Canute the Great, I. 93, 1.

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1018. Romuald founded the Camaldolite Order, I. 98, 1.
1024–39. Conrad II., Emperor, I. 96, 2.
1030. Olaf the Fat of Norway, *ob.*, I. 93, 1.
1031. Downfall of the Ommiyah in Spain, I. 95, 2.
1039–56. Henry III., Emperor, I. 96, 2.
1046. Synod of Sutri, I. 96, 2.
1048. Bruno of Cologne founded the Carthusians, I. 98, 3.
1048–54. Leo IX., Pope, I. 96, 3.
1050. Synod of Rome. Vercelli against Berengar, I. 102, 2.
1053. Synodal Letter of Michael Cerularius, I. 67, 3.
1054. Excommunication of the Greek Church through the Papal Legates, I. 67, 3.
1056–1106. Henry IV., Emperor, I. 96, 3.
1059. Nicholas II., Pope, conferred the election of Pope on the College of Cardinals, I. 96, 3.
1060. Robert Guiscard established the Norman rule in Italy, I. 95, 1.
1066. Assassination of Gottschalk, King of the Wends, I. 93, 2.
1073–85. Gregory VII., Pope, I. 96, 4.
1077. Henry IV., a penitent at Canossa, I. 96, 4.
1079. Berengar at Rome avers Transubstantiation, I. 102, 2.
1081–1118. Alexius Comnenus, Emperor, I. 71, 1, 3.
1088–99. Urban II., Pope, I. 96, 5.
1095. Councils of Piacenza and Clermont, I. 94.
1096. First Crusade. Godfrey of Bouillon, I. 94, 1.
1098. Synod at Bari. Anselm of Canterbury, I. 67, 4.
Robert of Citeaux founded the Cistercian Order, I. 98, 2.
1099. Conquest of Jerusalem, I. 94, 1.
1099–1118. Paschal II., Pope, I. 96, 5.

TWELFTH CENTURY.

1106–25. Henry V., Emperor, I. 96, 5.
1106. Michael Psellus, *ob.*, I. 68, 3.
1109. Anselm of Canterbury, *ob.*, I. 102, 1, 3.
1115. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, I. 103, 1; 98, 2.
1118. Founding of the Order of Templars. Knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, I. 98, 6.
1119–24. Calixtus II., Pope, I. 96, 5.
1119. Basil, Head of the Bogomiles, died at the stake, I. 71, 3.
1121. Norbert founds the Order of Remonstrants, I. 98, 3.
1122. The Concordat of Worms, I. 96, 5.
1123. Ninth Œcumenical Council (I. Lateran) II. 6, 3.
1124. Peter de Bruys burned, I. 108, 3.
Tanchelm killed, I. 108, 4.
First Missionary Tour of Otto v. Bamberg, I. 93, 2.
1128. Second Missionary Tour of Otto v. Bamberg, I. 93, 2.
1130–43. Innocent II., Pope, I. 96, 6.

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1135. Rupert of Deutz, *ob.*, I. 103, 3.
1139. Tenth Œcumenical Council (II. Lateran), I. 96, 6.
1140. The Synod of Sens condemns Abelard's writings, I. 103, 1.
1141. Hugo St. Victor, *ob.*, I. 103, 2.
1142. Abelard, *ob.*, I. 103, 1.
1143. Arnold of Brescia effects the expulsion of the Pope from Rome, I. 96, 6.
1145–53. Eugene III., Pope, I. 96, 6.
1146. Fall of Edessa, I. 94, 2.
Second Crusade, Conrad III.; Louis VIII., I. 94, 2.
1149. Henry of Lausanne, *ob.*, I. 108, 3.
1150. Decretum Gratiani, I. 99.
1152–90. Frederick I., Barbarossa, I. 96, 6.
1153. Bernard of Clairvaux, *ob.*, I. 103, 1.
1154. Vicelin, *ob.*, I. 93, 2.
1154–59. Hadrian IV., Pope, I. 96, 6.
1155. Arnold of Brescia condemned to death, I. 108, 3.
1156. Peter the Venerable, *ob.*, I. 98, 1.
The Order of Carmelites founded, I. 98, 3.
1157. Christianity introduced into Finland, I. 93, 3.
1159–81. Alexander III., Pope, I. 96, 6.
1164. Peter Lombard, *ob.*, I. 104, 2.
Meeting of the Estates at Clarendon, I. 96, 6.
1165. Catharian Council at Toulouse, I. 108, 1.
1168. The Island of Rügen christianized, I. 93, 3.
1170. Thomas à Becket murdered, I. 96, 6.
1176. Battle of Legnano, I. 96, 6.
1179. Eleventh Œcumenical Council (III. Lateran), I. 96, 6.
1180. John of Salisbury, *ob.*, I. 103, 3.
1182. The Maronites unite with Rome, I. 73, 3.
1186. Meinhart in Livonia, I. 93, 3.
1187. Saladin takes Jerusalem, I. 94, 3.
1189. Third Crusade (Fred. Barb.), I. 94, 3.
1190–97. Henry VI., Emperor, I. 96, 6.
1190. Establishment of the Teutonic Knights, I. 98, 6.
1194. Eustathius of Thessalonica, *ob.*, I. 68, 3.
1198–1216. Innocent III., Pope, I. 96, 7.

THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

1202. Joachim v. Floris, *ob.*, I. 108, 4. The Order of the Brethren of the Sword founded, I. 93, 3. Genghis Khan overthrows the kingdom of the Presb. John, I. 93, 4.
1204. Amalric of Bena, *ob.*, I. 108, 2.
1204–61. The Latin Empire in Constantinople, I. 94, 4.
1207. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, I. 96, 7.
1208. Peter of Castlenau slain, I. 109, 1.

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1209–29. Crusade against the Albigenses, I. 109, 1.
1209. The Council of Paris against the sect of the Holy Ghost. Erigena condemned, I. 108, 2. Christian commences his mission among the Prussians, I. 93, 3.
1212. Battle of Tolosa, I. 95, 2.
1213. John of England receives his kingdom as a papal fief, I. 96, 7.
1215–50. Frederick II., Emperor, I. 96, 7, 8.
1215. Twelfth Œcumenical Council (IV. Lateran), I. 96, 2.
1216. The Dominican Order confirmed, I. 98, 4.
1216–27. Honorius III., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1217. Fourth Crusade. Andrew II. of Hungary, I. 94, 4.
1223. The Franciscan Order confirmed, I. 98, 4.
1225. Francis of Assisi, *ob.*, I. 98, 4.
1226–70. Louis IX., St., I. 96, 6; 94, 6.
1277–41. Gregory IX., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1228. Fifth Crusade (Fred. II.), I. 94, 5. Settlement of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, I. 93, 3.
1229. The Synod of Toulouse, I. 109, 2.
1231. St. Elisabeth, *ob.*
1232. The Inquisition, I. 109, 2.
1233. Conrad of Marburg slain, I. 109, 2.
1234. Crusade against the Stedingers, I. 109, 2. Decretum Gregorii, I. 99.
1237. The Union of the Order of the Sword with the Teutonic Knights, I. 98, 6.
1243–54. Innocent IV., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1245. Thirteenth Œcumenical Council (I. Lyons), I. 96, 8. Alexander of Hales, *ob.*, 104, 1.
1248. The corner-stone of the Cologne Cathedral laid, I. 106, 6. Sixth Crusade (Louis IX.), I. 94, 6.
1253. William Ruysbroek (de Rubruquis) among the Mongols, I. 93, 4. Robert Grosstete, *ob.*, 104, 3.
1254. Condemnation of "The Everlasting Gospel," I. 108, 4.
1260. The first march of the Flagellants at Perugia, I. 114, 1.
1260–82. Michael Palæologus, Emperor, I. 67, 4.
1261–64. Urban IV., Pope, I. 96, 8.
1262. Arsenian Schism, I. 70, 1.
1268. Conradin on the scaffold, I. 96, 8.
1269. Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX., I. 96, 8.
1270. Seventh Crusade (Louis IX.), I. 94, 6.
1271–76. Gregory X., I. 96, 8.
1272. Italian Mission to the Mongols. Marco Polo, I. 93, 4.
1273–91. Rudolph of Hapsburg, Emperor.
1274. Fourteenth Œcumenical Council (II. Lyons), I. 67, 4. Bonaventura, *ob.*, I. 104, 1. Thos. Aquinas, *ob.*, I. 104, 1. Robert of Sorbonne, *ob.*, I. 104, 3.
1275. The Strassburg minster, I. 105, 6.

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1280. Albertus Magnus, *ob.*, I. 104, 1.
1282. The Sicilian Vespers, I. 96, 8.
1283. Prussia subjugated, I. 93, 3.
1286. Barhebræus, *ob.*, I. 73, 2. Raymund Martini, *ob.*
1291. Fall of Acre, I. 94, 3. John de Monte-Corvino goes to the Mongols, I. 93, 4.
1294. Roger Bacon, *ob.*, I. 104, 3.
1294–1303. Boniface VIII., Pope, I. 110, 1.
1296. The Bull Clericus laicos, I. 110, 1.
1300. The First Roman Jubilee, I. 115. The Lollards in Antwerp, I. 114, 1. Gerhard Segarelli burned, I. 108, 4.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1302. The bull Unam sanctam, I. 110, 1.
1305–14. Clement V., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1307. Dolcino burned, I. 108, 2.
1309–7. The Popes in Avignon, I. 110, 2.
1311–12. Fifteenth Œcumenical Council in Vienna, I. 110, 2. The Order of Templars dissolved, I. 112, 3.
1315. Raymund Lullus, *ob.*, I. 93, 5.
1316–34. John XXII., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1321. Dante, *ob.*, I. 114, 4.
1322. The Franciscan Order split, I. 112, 2.
1322–47. Lewis the Bavarian, Emperor, I. 112, 2.
1329. Master Ekkart, *ob.*, I. 117, 1.
1332. William Durandus, *ob.*, I. 116, 1. John de Monte-Corvino, *ob.*, I. 93, 4.
1334–42. Benedict XII., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1335. Bishop Hemming in Lapland, I. 93, 3.
1338. Electoral Union in Rhense, I. 110, 2.
1339. Union Negotiations at Avignon. Barlaam, I. 67, 5.
1340. Nicholas v. Lyra, *ob.*, I. 116, 2.
1341–51. Hesychast Controversy in Constant., I. 69, 5.
1342–52. Clement VI., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1346–78. Charles IV., Emperor, I. 110, 2.
1347. Cola di Rienzi, I. 110, 2. Emperor Lewis, *ob.*, I. 110, 2. William Occam, *ob.*, I. 116, 1.
1348. University of Prague founded, I. 119, 2.
1348–50. The Black Death. Flagellant processions, I. 114, 1.
1349. Thomas Bradwardine, *ob.*, I. 116, 2.
1355. Charles IV. renounces all imperial supremacy over the territory of the Church, I. 110, 2.
1360. Wycliffe opposes the mendicant Friars, I. 119, 1.
1361. John Tauler, *ob.*, I. 117, 2.
1365. Henry Suso, *ob.*, I. 117, 2.
1369. John Palæologus enters the Latin Church, I. 67, 5.

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1374. The Dancers, I. 114, 1.
1378–1409. The Papal Schism, I. 110, 3.
1380. Catharine of Siena, *ob.*, I. 112, 2.
1384. Wycliffe, *ob.*, I. 119, 1. Gerhard Groot, *ob.*, I. 112, 6.
1386. Introduction of Christianity into Lithuania, I. 93, 3.
1400. Florentius Radewin, *ob.*, I. 112, 6.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1402. Hus appointed preacher of Bethlehem Chapel, I. 119, 3.
1409. General Council at Pisa, I. 110, 3. Emigration of the Germans from Prague, I. 119, 3.
1410–15. John XXIII., Pope, I. 110, 2.
1410–37. Sigismund, Emperor, I. 110, 3.
1412. Indulgence traffic in Bohemia, I. 119, 3.
1413. Papal ban against Hus, I. 119, 3.
1414–18. General Council of Constance, I. 110, 3.
1415. Martyrdom of Hus, I. 119, 3.
1416. Martyrdom of Jerome of Prague, I. 119, 3.
1417. Vincentius Ferreri, leader of the Flagellants, I. 114, 1.
1417–31. Martin V., Pope, I. 110, 3.
1420. Calixtines and Taborites, I. 119, 4.
1423. General Council of Paria and Siena, I. 110, 3.
1424. Ziska, *ob.*, I. 119, 4.
1425. Peter d'Ailly, *ob.*, I. 118, 1.
1429. Gerson, *ob.*, I. 118, 1.
1431–43. General Council at Basel, I. 110, 3.
1433. Basel Compacts, I. 119, 4.
1434. Defeat of the Hussites at Böhmischbrod, I. 119, 4.
1438. Papal Council at Ferrara, I. 110, 3. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, I. 110, 3.
1439. Union Council at Florence, I. 67, 6.
1453. Fall of Constantinople, I. 67, 6.
1456. Laurentius Valla, *ob.*, I. 120, 1.
1457. Francis of Paula founded the Order of the Minimi, I. 112, 4.
1458–64. Pius II., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1459. General Council of Mantua, I. 110, 4.
1464–71. Paul II., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1467. Convention of the Bohemian Brethren at Lhota, I. 119, 5.
1471. Thomas à Kempis, *ob.*, I. 118, 1.
1471–84. Sixtus IV., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1482. Rudolph Agricola, *ob.*, I. 120, 2.
1483. Luther born Nov. 10, II. 2, 1. Spanish Inquisition, I. 115, 1.
1484–92. Innocent VIII., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1484. Malleus Maleficarum, I. 115, 2. Zwingli born, Jan. 1, II. 10, 1.
1489. John Wessel, *ob.*, I. 119, 6.
1492–1503. Alexander VI., Pope, I. 110, 4.

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1492. Fall of Granada, I. 95, 2.
1493–1519. Maximilian I., Emperor, I. 110, 4.
1495. Gabriel Biel, *ob.*, I. 116, 1.
1497. Melanchthon, b., II. 2, 5.
1498. Savonarola at the stake, I. 119, 7.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1502. University of Wittenberg founded, II. 2, 1.
1503–13. Julius II., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1508. Luther appointed Professor in Wittenberg, II. 2, 1.
1509. Calvin, b., II. 8, 1.
1509–47. Henry VIII. of England, II. 9, 4.
1510. Luther visits Rome, II. 2, 1.
1511. Council of Pisa, I. 110, 4.
1512. Luther made a doctor and appointed preacher, II. 2, 1. The Fifth General Lateran Council, I. 110, 4.
1513–21. Leo X., Pope, I. 110, 4.
1514. Reuchlin's Controversy with the Dominicans, I. 120, 2.
1515–47. Francis I. of France, II. 19, 7.
1516. Epistolæ obsc. virorum, I. 120, 2. Erasmus' N. T., I. 120, 3. Zwingli, preacher at St. Mary's Church in Einsiedelm, II. 10, 1.
1517. The Lateran Council, I. 110, 4. Luther's theses, Oct. 31, II. 2, 2.
1518. Luther in Heidelberg, and before Cajetan in Augsburg, Miltiz, II. 2, 3. Melanchthon Prof. in Wittenberg, II. 2, 5.
1519. Disputation in Leipsic, II. 2, 4. Zwingli in Zurich, II. 10, 1. Olav and Lorenzo Peterson in Sweden, II. 19, 1.
1519–56. Charles V., Emperor, II. 3, 3.
1520. Papal bull against Luther, II. 3, 1. Preaching free in Zurich, II. 10, 2. Christian II. in Denmark, II. 19, 2.
1521. Luther at Worms, II. 3, 4. Melanchthon's Loci, II. 4, 1. Ignatius Loyola wounded, II. 29, 2.
1521–2. Luther at the Wartburg, II. 3, 5.
1522. The Zwickau prophets in Wittenberg, II. 4, 1. Reuchlin, *ob.*, I. 120, 2.
1522–23. Hadrian VI., Pope, II. 6, 1.
1523. Thomas Münzer in Allstädt, II. 4, 4. Luther's controversy with Henry VIII., II. 5. Reformation in Livonia, II. 19, 3. The first martyrs, H. Voes and J. Esch, II. 8, 1. Fall of Sickingen, II. 4, 2.
1523–34. Clement VII., Pope, II. 6, 3.
1524. Staupitz, *ob.*, I. 117, 2. Carlstadt in Orlamunde, II. 4, 3. Erasmus opposes Luther, II. 5, 1. Diet of Nuremberg, and overthrow of the regency of the Empire, II. 6, 3. Regensburg league, II. 6, 4. Hans Tausen in Denmark, II. 19, 2. The Order of Theatines founded, II. 29, 3.

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1525. Controversy about the Lord's Supper, II. 11, 1. Luther's marriage, II. 9. Albert of Prussia, hereditary duke, II. 4, 5. The Order of Capuchins founded, II. 29, 4.

1525–32. John the Constant, Elector of Saxony, II. 5, 5.

1526. Synod of Homburg, II. 7, 2. The Torgau Confederacy, II. 6, 5. Diet of Spires, II. 6, 7. Disputation at Baden, II. 10, 6.

1527. Diet of Odense, II. 19, 2; of Westeräs, II. 19, 1.

1528. The fraud of Pack, II. 12, 1. Disputation in Berne, II. 10, 6.

1529. Church visitation in Saxony, II. 7, 1. Diet of Spires, II. 12, 3. Marburg colloquy, II. 12, 4. First peace of Cappel, II. 10, 9.

1530. Diet of Augsburg. Confessio Augustana, II. 12, 2.

1531. The Smalcaldic league, II. 13, 1. Zwingli, *ob.* Second Cappel peace, II. 10, 9.

1532. John Frederick the Magnan., Elector, II. 13, 2. Religious peace of Nuremberg, II. 13, 2. Farel in Geneva, II. 18, 1. Henry VIII. renounces allegiance to the Pope, II. 19, 4.

1534. Luther's complete translation of the Bible, II. 9, 1. The Reformation in Würtemberg, II. 13, 2. Jacob Horter in Transylvania, II. 19, 11.

1534–35. Anabaptist disorders in Münster, II. 13, 6.

1534–49. Paul IV., Pope, II. 14.

1535. Vergerius in Wittenberg, II. 14, 1. Calvin's Institutes, II. 18, 5.

1536. Erasmus, *ob.*, I. 120, 3. Wittenberg Concord, II. 13, 8. Calvin in Geneva, II. 18, 2. Diet of Copenhagen, II. 19, 2. Menno Simons baptized, II. 27, 2.

1537. Articles of Smalcald, II. 14, 1. Antinomian Controversy, II. 21, 2.

1538. The Nuremberg league, II. 14, 2. Calvin driven from Geneva, II. 18, 3.

1539. The Frankfort suspension, II. 14, 3. Reformation in Albertinian Saxony, II. 14, 4. Joachim II. reforms Brandenburg, II. 14, 5. Diet of Odense, II. 19, 2.

1540. The Society of Jesus, II. 29, 2. The Landgrave's bigamy, II. 15, 1. Religious conferences at Spires, Hagenau, and Worms, II. 15, 2.

1541. Carlstadt, *ob.*, II. 4, 3. The Regensburg Interim, II. 15, 3. The Naumburg See, II. 15, 5. Calvin recalled to Geneva, II. 18, 3.

1542. Reformation in Brunswick, II. 15, 6. States' convention in Bonn, II. 15, 7. Francis Xavier in the East Indies, II. 30, 1.

1544. Diet at Spires; Peace of Crespy; Wittenberg Reformation, II. 15, 9. Diet at Westeräs, II. 19, 1.

1545–47. Council of Trent, II. 16, 4.

1544. Regensburg Colloquy; murder of John Diaz, II. 15, 10. Synod at Erdöd, II. 19, 10.

1546. Luther, *ob.*, Feb. 18, II. 15, 11. Reformation of the Electoral Palatinate, II. 15, 6. Herman of Cologne under the ban; he resigns, II. 15, 2.

1546–47. Smalcaldic war, II. 16.

1547–49. Council of Bologne.

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1547–53. Edward VI. of England, II. 19, 4.
1548–72. Sigismund Augustus of Poland, II. 19, 8.
1548. The Augsburg Interim, II. 16, 5. The Leipsiç Interim, II. 16, 7. Adiaphoristic Controversy, II. 21, 4. Priests of the Oratory, II. 29, 3.
1549. Consensus Tigurinus, II. 18, 7. Andr. Osiander in Königsberg, II. 21, 3. Jesuit mission in Brazil, II. 30, 3.
1550–55. Julius III., Pope, II. 16, 8.
1550. Brothers of Mercy, II. 29, 3.
1551–52. Resumption of the Council of Trent, II. 16, 8.
1551. Majorist Controversy, II. 21, 5. The first Jesuits in Germany, II. 31, 2.
1552. Treaty of Passau, II. 17, 3. The Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy begun, II. 21, 7. Francis Xavier, *ob.*, II. 30, 1.
1553–58. The Catholic Mary of England, II. 19, 4.
1553. The Elector Maurice, *ob.*, II. 17, 1. Servetus burned, II. 28, 2.
1554. Consensus pastorum Genevensium, II. 18, 7. John Frederick the Magnanimous, *ob.*
1555. Religious peace of Augsburg, II. 17, 5. Commencement of the Synergistic Controversies, II. 21, 6.
1555–98. Philip II. of Spain, II. 19, 12.
1556–64. Ferdinand I., Emperor, II. 31, 1.
1557. States' diet at Clausenburg, II. 19, 11. Confessio Hungarica, II. 19, 10.
1558–1603. Elizabeth of England, II. 19, 4.
1559–65. Pius IV., Pope, II. 29, 1.
1559. Gustavus Vasa's mission in Lapland, II. 22, 6. Confessio Gallicana, II. 19, 7.
1560. Confessio Scotica, II. 19, 5. John à Lasco, *ob.*, II. 19, 8. Calvinism in the Palatinate, II. 24, 1. Melanchthon, *ob.*, II. 21, 7.
1561. Gotthard Kettler, Duke of Courland, II. 19, 3. Religious conferences at Poissy, II. 19, 7.
1562–63. Resumption and close of the Council of Trent, II. 29, 1.
1562. Confessio Belgica, II. 19, 6. Edict of St. Germain, II. 19, 7. The 39 Articles of the Anglican Church, II. 19, 4. Calvinizing of Bremen, II. 24, 2. The Heidelberg Catechism, II. 24, 1. Lælius Socinus, *ob.*, II. 28, 4.
1563. Act of Uniformity, II. 19, 4.
1564. Calvin, *ob.*, II. 18, 4. Michael Angelo, *ob.*, II. 29, 7. Professio fidei Tridentina, II. 29, 6. Cassander's union-project, II. 31, 1.
1564–76. Maximilian II., Emperor, II. 31, 1.
1566. Corpus doctr. Pruthenicum, II. 21, 3. Catechismus Romanus, II. 29, 6. Confessio Helvetica posterior, II. 18, 7. The league of the Guises, II. 19, 6.
1567. The writings of Mich. Baius condemned, II. 29, 5.
1570. General Synod at Sendomir, II. 19, 8. Third peace of St. Germain, II. 19, 7.

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1572–85. Gregory XIII., Pope, II. 29, 1.
1572. John Knox, *ob.*, II. 19, 5. St. Barthol. massacre, Aug. 24, II. 19, 7.
1573. Pax dissidentium in Poland, II. 19, 8.
1574. Maulbroun convention, II. 21, 9. Restoration of Catholicism in Eichsfelde, II. 31, 2.
1576. The Torgau Book, II. 21, 9. Pacification of Ghent, II. 19, 6.
1576–1612. Rudolph II., Emperor, II. 31, 1.
1577. The Form of Concord, II. 21, 9. Restoration of Catholicism in Fulda, II. 31, 2.
1578. Passewin, the Jesuit, in Sweden, II. 31, 3.
1579. The Union of Utrecht, II. 19, 6.
1580. The Book of Concord, II. 21, 9. Possewin in Russia, II. 31, 3.
1582. Second attempt to reform Cologne, II. 17, 6. Matthew Ricci in China, II. 30, 2. The calendar changed, II. 29, 1.
1585–90. Sixtus V., Pope, II. 29, 1.
1586. The Feuillants, II. 29, 4.
1587. Mary Stuart beheaded, II. 19, 5.
1588. Louis Molina, II. 29, 5.
1589–1610. Henry IV., of France, II. 19, 7.
1589. Patriarchate of Moscow, II. 72, 4.
1590. Margrave Jacob of Baden embraces Catholicism, II. 33, 4.
1592. Articles of the Saxon Visitation, II. 21, 10.
1593. Meeting of the Estates in Upsala, II. 19, 8.
1594. Synod of Brzesc, I. 72, 4.
1595. Synod of Thorn, II. 19, 8.
1597. The principalities of Anhalt adopt Calvinism, II. 24, 3. Congregatio de auxiliis, II. 29, 5.
1598. The Edict of Nantes, II. 19, 7.
1600. Giordano Bruno burned, II. 26, 3. The Society of the Piarists founded, II. 35, 2.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1604. Maurice makes Hessen-Cassel Calvinistic, II. 34, 1. Faustus Socinus, *ob.*, II. 28, 2.
1605. The Gunpowder plot, II. 33, 3.
1606. The peace of Vienna, II. 19, 10.
1608. The Jesuits found the State of Paraguay, II. 35, 3.
1609. The letter of Majesty, II. 19, 9.
1610–43. Louis XIII., of France, II. 33, 2.
1610. Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, II. 40, 1.
1611. Pères de l'Oratoire, II. 35, 2.
1613. Transition of the Elector John Sigismund of Brandenb., II. 34, 3. George Calixtus in Helmstädt, II. 38, 2.
1614. Confessio Marchica, II. 34, 3.
1616. Leonhard Hutter, *ob.*, II. 39, 2.

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1618. The Maurines in France, II. 35, 2.
1618–48. The Thirty Years' War, II. 33, 1.
1618–19. The Synod of Dort, II. 40, 1.
1619–37. Ferdinand II., Emperor, II. 33, 1.
1620. The Valteline massacre, II. 33, 1.
1621. John Arndt, *ob.*, II. 39, 1.
1622. Francis of Sales, *ob.*, II. 36, 1. Congregatio de propaganda fide, II. 35, 3.
1624. End of the controversy concerning the κένωσις and χρῦψις, II. 38, 1. Jacob Böhme, *ob.*, II. 39, 2.
1625. The Jesuits in Abyssinia, II. 32, 1.
1628. Adam Schall in China, II. 35, 3.
1629. The edict of Restoration by Ferdinand II.; II. 33, 1.
1631. Religious conference at Leipsic, II. 34, 4.
1632. Gustavus Adolphus slain at Lützen, II. 33, 1.
1637. John Gerhard, *ob.*, II. 38, 4.
1638. The school of Rakov broken up, II. 28, 4. Cyrillus Lucaris strangled, II. 32, 2. Scottish Covenant, II. 34, 4.
1641. Irish massacre, II. 33, 3.
1642. Condemnation of the Jansenist Augustine, II. 36, 2.
1643–1715. Louis XIV. of France, II. 33, 2.
1643. The orthodox Confession of Peter Mogila, II. 32, 3.
1645. Hugo Grotius, *ob.*, II. 40, 4. Religious conference at Thorn, II. 33, 5.
1649. Charles I. of England beheaded, II. 33, 3. The Quakers, II. 42, 3.
1650. Descartes, *ob.*, II. 43, 1.
1652. Liturgical reform of the patr. Nikon, II. 42, 5.
1653. Innocent X. condemned the five Jansenist theses, II. 36, 2.
1654. Christian of Sweden embraced Catholicism, II. 33, 4. John Val. Andreä, *ob.*, II. 39, 1.
1655. Consensus repetitus fidei vere Lutheranæ, II. 38, 2.
1656. George Calixtus, *ob.*, II. 38, 2. Pascal's Lettres provinc., II. 36, 2.
1660. Vincent de Paula, *ob.*, II. 35, 2.
1661. Religious Conference at Cassel, II. 34, 4.
1664. The Order of Trappists founded, II. 35, 2.
1666. Spener in Frankfort, II. 38, 3.
1669. J. Cocceius, *ob.*, II. 40, 3.
1673. The Test-act, II. 33, 3.
1675. Formula Consensus Helvetici, II. 40, 2.
1676. Paul Gerhardt, *ob.*, II. 34, 4. Gisb. Vœtius, *ob.*, II. 40, 3.
1677. Spinoza, *ob.*, II. 43, 1.
1682. Quartuor propositiones Cleri Gallicani, II. 35, 1.
1685. Abrogation of the Edict of Nantes and expulsion of the Waldenses from Piedmont, II. 33, 2.
1686. Spener in Dresden and the Collegia philobiblica in Leipsic, II. 38, 3. Abr. Calov, *ob.*, II. 38, 4.

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1687. Michael Molinus compelled to abjure, II. 36, 1. Pennsylvania settled, II. 42, 3.
1689. Toleration Act, England, II. 34, 5.
1690. The Pietists driven from Leipsic, II. 38, 3. John Eliot, *ob.*, II. 41, 2.
1691. Spener in Berlin, II. 38, 3.
1693. Quesnel's New Testament, II. 44, 9.
1694. The University of Halle founded, II. 38, 3.
1697. Frederick Augustus the Strong, of Saxony, embraces Catholicism, II. 33, 4.
1699. Fénélon's propositions condemned, II. 36, 1.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1701. Thomas of Tournon in the East Indies, II. 35, 3.
1702. Löscher's Unschuldige Nachrichten, II. 46, 1. Eva Buttlar's sect, II. 49, 4.
1703. Collegium caritativum in Berlin, II. 48, 2.
1704. Bossuet, *ob.*, II. 33, 5. Peter Codde deposed, II. 44, 6.
1705. Spener, *ob.*, II. 38, 3.
1706. Lutheran Mission founded in Tranquebar, II. 46, 7.
1707. The praying children in Silesia, II. 46, 1.
1709. Port Royal abolished, II. 36, 2.
1712. Richard Simon, *ob.*, II. 37, 1. The Mechithartist congr., II. 44, 2.
1713. The Constitution Unigenitus, II. 44, 6.
1714. Godfr. Arnold, *ob.*, II. 39, 2. The Inspiration congregations founded in Wetteraw, II. 49, 2.
1715–74. Louis XV. of France, II. 44, 4.
1715. Fénélon, *ob.*, II. 36, 1.
1716. Leibnitz, *ob.*, II. 43, 1.
1717. Mad. Guyon, *ob.*, II. 36, 1.
1721. The holy Synod at St. Petersburg, II. 45. Hans Egede's mission to Greenland, II. 46, 7.
1722. Herrnhut founded, II. 47, 2.
1727. A. H. Franke, *ob.*, II. 46, 6. Thomas of Westen, *ob.*, II. 39, 6. Formation of the Brethren's (Moravian) Church, II. 47, 2.
1728. Callenberg's Institution for the conversion of the Jews, II. 46, 7.
1729. Fr. Buddeus, *ob.*, II. 46, 2. The Methodist society, II. 48, 1.
1731. Emigration of the Evang. Salzburgers, II. 44, 4.
1732. Moravian Mission to St. Thomas, II. 47, 6.
1733. Moravian Mission to Greenland, II. 46, 7.
1736. John Clericus, *ob.*, II. 40, 4. Zinzendorf banished, II. 47, 3.
1740–86. Frederick II. of Prussia, II. 40, 3.
1741. Special Covenant of the Brethren with the Lord Jesus, II. 47, 4.
1749. The Moravians (Brethren) recognized in Saxony, II. 47, 3.
1750. Seb. Bach, *ob.*, II. 46, 5. The Jesuit government of Paraguay terminated, II. 44, 3.

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1751. Semler prof. in Halle, II. 50, 4.
1752. J. A. Bengel, *ob.*, II. 46, 2.
1754. Chr. v. Wolf, *ob.*, II. 46, 2. Winckelmann a convert, II. 44, 5.
1755. J. L. Mosheim, *ob.*, II. 46, 2.
1758–69. Clement XIII., Pope, II. 44, 2.
1759. The Jesuits banished from Portugal, II. 44, 7.
1760. Zinzendorf, *ob.*, II. 47, 3.
1762. Judicial murder of Jean Calas, II. 44, 4.
1765. Universal German library, II. 50, 3.
1765–90. Joseph II., Emperor, II. 44, 8.
1769–74. Clement XIV., Pope, II. 44, 7.
1772. Swedenborg, *ob.*, II. 49, 5.
1773. The Order of Jesuits abolished, II. 44, 7.
1774–99. Pius VI., Pope, II. 44, 8.
1774. Wolfenbüttel Fragments, II. 50, 4.
1775. Chr. A. Crusius, *ob.*, II. 46, 2.
1776. Order of Illuminati founded, II. 44, 10.
1778. Voltaire, *ob.* Rousseau, *ob.*, II. 44, 10.
1780. Joseph II., Monarch, II. 44, 8.
1781. Joseph II., edict of toleration, II. 44, 8.
1782. Pius VI. in Vienna, II. 44, 8.
1786. Ems punctuation and Synod of Pistoja, II. 44, 8.
1787. Edict of Versailles, II. 44, 4.
1788. Religious edict of Wöllner, II. 50, 2.
1789. The French Revolution, II. 44, 9.
1791. Wesley, *ob.*, II. 48, 1. Semler, *ob.*, II. 50, 4.
1792. Spangenberg, *ob.*, II. 47, 5.
1793. The Christian Religion abolished in France. Temple de la Raison, II. 44, 10.
1794. Le peuple Français reçonnait l'Être suprême et l'immortalité de l'âme, II. 44, 10.
1795. The London Miss. Society founded, II. 51, 5.
1799. Pius VI. a prisoner in France, II. 44, 9. Schleiermacher's discourses on Religion, II. 56, 1.
1800. Stolberg, a convert, II. 44, 5.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1800–23. Pius VII., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1801. French concordat, II. 57, 1.
1804. The British and Foreign Bible Soc. founded, II. 54, 9.
Kant, *ob.*, II. 50, 7. The pope crowns Napoleon, II. 57, 1.
1806. End of the German Empire.
1809. Napoleon banished; the pope captured, II. 57, 1.
1810. The American For. Miss. Soc. established at Boston, II. 54, 10.
Schleiermacher prof. in Berlin, II. 56, 1.
1811. French National Council in Paris, II. 57, 1.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1812. Neander the historian called to Berlin, II. 56, 1.
1813. Second French concordat, II. 57, 1.
1814. Congress of Vienna. The pope restored. The Jesuits reinstated, II. 57, 1.
1815. The Holy Alliance, II. 52.
1816. The Mission School at Basel, II. 54, 10. The House of Refuge in Düsselthal, II. 54, 9.
1817. Harmes' Theses, II. 54, 1. Frederick William III. and the Union, II. 54, 3. The venerable Compagnie in Geneva prohibits preaching upon the divinity of Christ, original sin, and predestination, etc., II. 55, 5.
1818. The Congregation of Dissenters founded at Kornthal, II. 55, 4.
1822. The Prussian Liturgy introduced, II. 54, 3. Society of Lyons for the spread of the Gospel, II. 57, 6.
1823–29. Leo XII., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1825. The Book of Mormon, II. 60, 7.
1826. Tholuck goes to Halle, II. 55, 3.
1827. Hengstenberg's Evang. Kirchenzeitung, II. 54, 1.
1829. Emancipation bill, England, II. 58, 4. Mission institution at Barmen, II. 54, 10.
1829–30. Pius VIII., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1830. The July Revolution, France, II. 55, 10. London Conference, II. 59. The Halle controversy, II. 54, 1. Abbé Chatel in Paris, II. 57, 5. The slave-trade abolished, II. 54, 10.
1831–46. Gregory XVI., Pope, II. 57, 1.
1831. Hegel, *ob.*, II. 53, 1.
1832. Dr. Scheibel driven from Breslau, II. 54, 4. J. M. Sailer, *ob.*, II. 57, 4.
1833. Commencement of the Puseyite agitation, II. 55, 8. The Synod of Nauplia, II. 59.
1834. Schleiermacher, *ob.*, II. 56, 1. Boutain recalled to Strassburg, II. 57, 7.
1835. Strauss' Life of Christ, II. 56, 4. Hermesianism condemned, II. 57, 7. Edward Irving, *ob.*, II. 60, 6. Persecution of Christians in Madagascar, II. 54, 10.
1836. The Dresden Mission institution founded, II. 54, 10. Society of deaconesses at Kaiserwerth, II. 54, 9.
1837. The Zillerthal emigrants, II. 55, 6. Commencement of the Cologne disturbances, II. 58, 7.
1838. Archb. Durim of Posen, II. 58, 7. Emigration of the Stephanites, II. 55, 2. The Altenburg rescript, II. 55, 2. J. A. Möhler, *ob.*, II. 57, 7. The English Tithe-bill, II. 58, 4.
1839. Dr. Strauss called to Zurich, II. 55, 5. The Synod of Polozk, II. 59.
1840. Frederick William IV. of Prussia, II. 58, 7.
1841. Schelling goes to Berlin, II. 53, 1. Organization of the Lutherans who separated from the Prussian State Church, II. 54, 4. Establishment of the Evangelical See in Jerusalem, II. 54, 10. The Gustavus Adolphus Society founded, II. 54, 5.

A. D. Vol. and Paragraph.

1843. The Free Church of Scotland established, II. 55, 8.

1844. German Catholic Church, II. 57, 5. Wislicenus, *ob.* Schrift, *ob.* Geist, II. 53, 1. Nauvoo destroyed, II. 60, 9.

1845. Free Church of Vaud, II. 55, 5. Assembly of the German Catholic Church in Leipsic, II. 57, 5. The Maynooth bill, II. 58, 4.

1845–46. Conversions in Livonia, II. 55, 11.

1846. Pius IX., Pope, II. 57, 1. The Evangelical Alliance established in London, II. 54, 5. The Evangelical Conference in Berlin, II. 54, 5. Prussian General Synod in Berlin, II. 55, 1.

1847. Toleration patent of Prussia, II. 55, 1. The Swiss "Sunderbund" war, II. 58, 8. The Lola-Montez scandal, II. 55, 7.

1848. The March Revolution, II. 53. Establishment of the Evangelical Church Diet in Wittenberg, II. 54, 5. The Missionary institution of Dresden removed to Leipsic, II. 54, 10. Pius societies formed by the Catholics, II. 57, 6.

1849. Rome Republican, II. 57, 1. Formation of Lutheran provincial societies in Prussia, II. 54, 6. First convention for Inner Missions, II. 54, 9.

1850. Installation of the Supreme Consistory in Berlin, II. 55, 1. Return of the pope to Rome, II. 57, 1. Church title-bill of England, II. 58, 4.

1851. Memorial letter of the bishops of the Upper Rhine, II. 58, 6.

1852. Eisenach Conference, II. 54, 5. Division of the Prussian Supreme Consistory according to their confessions, II. 55, 1. Commencement of the Catholic disturbance in Baden, II. 58, 6.

1853. The Church diet in Berlin adopts the Augustana, II. 54, 5. Unfavorable decision of the king of Prussia regarding the Lutherans, II. 55, 1. Founding of the Hermansburg Miss. institution, II. 54, 10.

1854. Invention of the Melanchthonian Church, II. 54, 7. Sanction of the Immaculate Conception, II. 57, 1.

1855. Monastery law of Sardinia, II. 58, 1. Austrian Concordat, II. 58, 5. Alexander II. of Russia assumes the Empire, II. 52.

1856. The Turkish Hatti-Humayun, II. 59.

1857. Günther's philosophy condemned, II. 57, 7. The Evangelical Alliance in Berlin, II. 54, 5. The Church agitation in Bavaria, II. 55, 7.

1858. Prince Regent William of Prussia assumes the government, II. 55, 1. Liturgical agitation in Baden, II. 55, 4.

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